THE JOURNAL OF THE
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OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR 1908.

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ERRATA.

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Page 345, line 9, for 146 years read 140 years.

Page 1029, line 12, for APTAØY read APTØY.

JOURNAL R.A.S., 1908.

Page 102, line 2 from the bottom, for samugam read shamugam.

Page 494, lines 5, 6, cancel the words Māgadha and in Magadha.

Page 914, line 17, for Yangandharāyana read Yaugandharāyana.

Page 914, last line, for confounded read compounded.

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

The system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International Oriental Congress of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.
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(Anuñāsika)...... ṅ
(Visārga)...... ḫ
(Jihvāmūliya)...... ḫ
(Upadhmāniya)..... ḫ

$ (Avagraha)...... ' $
Udātta...... ugeot
Svarita...... ugeot
Anudātta...... ugeot
II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

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Diphthongs:
- كي (ki) 
- وسلا (wasla)
- هامزا (hamza)

Vowels:
- أي (ai)
- ي (i)
- اي (ae)

Additional Letters:

Persian, Hindi, and Pakštú.
- ب (p)
- ج (j or ch)
- س (z or zh)
- گ (g)

Turkish only.
- ک (when pronounced as k)

Hindi and Pakštú.
- ب (b)
- د (d)
- ر (r)
- ن (n)

Pakštú only.
- ت (ts)
- گ (g)
- چ (j)
- ک (ksh)
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I.
A DEFENCE OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE SOUTHERN BUDDHISTS
FROM CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THEM BY CERTAIN MODERN SCHOLARS, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE EETZANA ERA.

BY HARRY C. NORMAN.

AUTHORITIES EMPLOYED.
The Mahāwansa, Turnour. Ceylon, 1837.
Mahāwansa Tikā or Wansatthapakāsini. Colombo, 1895.
Rhys Davids: Buddhist India. London, 1903.
JRAS, 1904: articles by Fleet (pp. 1 ff., 355) and Kielhorn (p. 364).

THE following short disquisition endeavours to show that, taking them all in all, the Chronicles of the 'Southern' Buddhists are, on the whole, sufficiently consistent to justify historical conclusions being deduced from

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their evidence. It is, of course, quite palpable that the earlier part of the Chronicles is inserted to furnish an historical prelude to the appearance of Mahinda, the principal actor in the conversion of Ceylon; but in spite of the great temptation to exaggeration and overstatement, the ancient authors of the Chronicles have done their work conscientiously, if not critically. Putting aside the mythological elements, which are always easily detected and may be as easily discounted, it may be said that in matters of historical detail they are surprisingly accurate, and have shown a power of restraint which does them credit when we compare their sober statements with the hyperbolic annals of the Puraṇic school of mythologizing historians.

It seemed necessary to enter into a detailed examination of dates and figures to do this, as the statements of writers who are confessedly masters in the special departments of knowledge which they have taken for their province have been often but little favourable to the Sinhalese authorities. I may quote the statements of three writers on this subject.

Kern (German translation, ii, 283) says: "Es ist durchaus nicht unmöglich dass die Ceilonesische noch die beste ist, nichtsdestoweniger darf man nicht darauf bauen, und das ist das einzige, was wir hier darüber auszusagen haben." He then seeks to transform various early kings into astronomical myths (p. 287, cf. Senart's analogous treatment of the Buddha legend). But in view of what has been said in the Buddhist sacred books (see Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India," passim) about the earlier kings, and of the fact that, as we shall try to show below, the Sinhalese dates of Candragupta and Asoka approximate closely to those discovered from Greek historians, such a process does not appear to be justified.

Professor Rhys Davids (Buddhist Suttas, xlvii) says that "The Theraparamparā gives the name of the member of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants, that is, the Thera who
ordained Mahinda (the son of Asoka), then the name of the Thera who ordained that Thera, and so on. There are only five of them from Upāli, who was ordained sixteen years after Buddha’s death down to Mahinda inclusive. This would account, not for 236, but only for about 150 years.” He then supports this by probable reasoning, and enforces his reasoning by a modern example. What he says is sufficiently refuted by the Table of Theras given below.

Mr. Vincent Smith is the principal offender; he professes the most absolute scepticism. He says (Asoka, pref., 6): “I reject absolutely the Ceylonese chronology prior to the reign of Dutthagāmini in about B.C. 160. The undeserved credit given to the statements of the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian history.” The way in which Mr. Smith examines his “monkish fictions” may be seen from the fact that he makes both Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa give Candragupta a reign of twenty-four years! It is a little hard upon the “silly fictions of mendacious monks” to condemn them before taking their whole testimony.

The present short treatise tries to give in a summary form such details as may show that the statements of the three celebrated scholars above mentioned require, if not correction, at least modification. Nothing new has been stated except the theory of the ‘Eetzana’ era, introduced with the purpose of trying to find if some such era, taken from the authorities discussed themselves, would not make the Chronicles fairly right if a method of adjustment be employed.1

1 Dr. Oldenberg (Vinaya, i. xxxviii) says in regard to the Sinhalese annalists: “I agree perfectly with the remarks made by Dr. Bühler respecting the Sinhalese chronology: ‘the smallness of the period, sixty years of which are besides covered by the reigns of Candragupta and Bindusāra, where Brahmans and Buddhists agree in their figures, makes a considerable deviation from the truth improbable, and for practical purposes the number of years given by the Buddhists may be accepted as a fact.’”
The Councils have not been discussed, as this opens up a question too far-reaching to be treated of in the present thesis, with its limited sphere of discussion. But it must be kept in mind that the Sinhalese and Burmese authorities are unanimous on the Three Councils. Kern (ii, 314) asks why Sonaka is not mentioned in connection with the Second Council. Bigandet (ii, 120) names among the "principal members" present a 'Thanna,' who must correspond to Sona. He is made out to be a disciple of Ananda, not of Dāsaka, but still his presence is recorded, even if he is not made to enter as a prominent figure into the recorded discussions.

The detailed lists of kings, Theras, and missionaries constitute the backbone of this disquisition. As far as the author knows, no such complete lists have as yet been drawn up. First of all is given the list of Theras, with as many details about them as can be drawn from the Chronicles, then a list of kings of India and Ceylon according to the Sinhalese annals. This is followed by an epitome of the Burmese dates, and a list of missionaries according to Sinhalese and Burmese evidence. Asoka's reign has been fixed as the limit of enquiry.
TABLE I.

The Great Theras (from Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa).

b.b. = before Buddha's death; a.b. = after Buddha's death.

Upali. Ordained 44 b.b. He died in the 6th year of Udayibhadda = 30 a.b. During this time he was Chief of the Vinaya. We are also told seventy-four years elapsed between Upasampada and death. $44 + 30 = 74$.

Dasaka. Ordained 16 a.b. (24th year of Ajatasattu, 16th of Vijaya). He died in the 8th year of Susunaga = 80 a.b. Dasaka was Chief of the Vinaya fifty years. That is, he died in 80 a.b. Sixty-four years elapsed between Upasampada and death, which again gives 80 a.b. The Mahavamsa says that he was 12 when he met Upali. Therefore he was born in 4 a.b.

Sonaka. Ordained 40 years after Dasaka's ordination = 56 a.b. (20th year of Panduvasa, so read for Pakundaka, = 10 of Nagadasa = 59 or 58, not quite the same). He died in the 6th year of the Ten Brothers = 124 a.b. Sonaka was Chief of the Vinaya forty-four years. Therefore he died in 124 a.b. Between his Upasampada and death sixty-six years had elapsed. This would give us on one reckoning 122 a.b., by the royal reckoning 124 a.b. The Mahavamsa says he was 15 when he met Dasaka. Therefore he was born in 41 a.b.

Siggava. Ordained forty years after Sonaka's ordination = 96 a.b. or 99 by the royal reckoning. This event is fixed in the 10th of Kalasoka and the 11th of the Interregnum = 100 a.b. He died in the 14th year of Candragupta = 176 a.b. Siggava was Chief of the Vinaya fifty-five years. Therefore he died in 179 a.b. Between Upasampada and death seventy-six years elapsed. This would make him die in 172 a.b. The Mahavamsa says he was 18 when he met Sonaka. Therefore he was born in 78 a.b.

Moggaliputta Tissa. Ordained sixty-four years after Siggava's ordination = 160 a.b. (2nd of Candragupta = 58 of Pakundaka = 164). He died in the 26th year of Asoka = 244 a.b. He was Chief of the Vinaya sixty-eight years. This would make him die in 247 a.b. Between Upasampada and death eighty-six years elapsed. This gives 246 a.b. He was 20 when he met Siggava. Therefore he was born in 140 a.b.
Mahinda. Ordained sixty-six years after Moggaliputta's ordination = 226 A.B. (6th of Asoka = 48th of Muṭasiva = 224). He was born in 204.

The above figures, though not all exactly congruent, show at any rate that Professor Rhys Davids has been too hasty in his generalisation.

**TABLE II.**

**KINGS OF INDIA AND CEYLON.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MV.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>DV.</th>
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<td>Udāyibhadda, 24-40 A.B.</td>
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<td>Anuruddhaka 40-48</td>
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<td>Nāgadalā, 48-72</td>
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<td>Susunāga, 72-90</td>
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<td>Kāḷāsoka, 90-118</td>
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<td>Ten Sons, 118-140</td>
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<td>Ten Nandas, 140-162</td>
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<td>Candragupta, 162-196</td>
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<td>Bindusāra, 196-224</td>
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<td></td>
<td>224</td>
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</table>

Asoka's abhisheka said to be in 218 A.B., four years after his accession says the Dipavamsa, while the Mahāvamsa says he came to the throne before consecration in 218 A.B. See *infra.*

**KINGS OF CEYLON.**

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<td>Interregnum, 38-39</td>
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<td>Panduvāsadeva, 39-69</td>
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<td>Abhaya, 69-89</td>
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<td>Muṭasiva, 176-236</td>
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In 236 A.B., Devānampiya Tissa ascended the throne.

1 MV. = Mahāvamsa; B. = Buddhaghosa (Samantapāśādikā, ap. Oldenberg, vol. iii, p. 292 ff.); DV. = Dipavamsa.
TABLE III.

Burmese List of Indian Kings.

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<td>Udāyibhadda, 25–40</td>
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<td>Two princes (A. and M.), 49–49</td>
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<td>Susunāga, 53–81</td>
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<td>Kālāsoka, 81–109</td>
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<td>Nine Nandas, 142–163</td>
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<td>Candragupta, 163–187</td>
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<td>Bindusāra, 187–214</td>
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Other events mentioned in Bividet are:

214  Asoka's accession.
218  He "received the royal consecration."
222  He became favourable to Buddhists.
223  He consecrated the Caityyas, and throughout his realm issued a proclamation that people should attend to the eight precepts. Then Mahinda was ordained.

The Third Council began in 235 and ended in 236. At this time the Burmese version tells us that Moggaliputta was 72 years old, but this must mean "old as a member of the order," namely, 72 years must have passed since his Upasampadā. This would approximate to the account of the Sinhalese chronicles.

Bividet quotes (ii, 149) the Tathāgata-Avadāna as saying that missionaries were not sent out till 236 A.B., that is to say, till after the Great Council.

1 The Aṭṭhaṅgasāla.
TABLE IV.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES SENT OUT BY ASOKA.

Majjhantika to the Gandhāras — so DV. MV. and Bigandet: Kāsmīra and Gandhāra.

Mahādeva to Mahisa—DV., MV. Bigandet says: Revati to Mahithakanpantala (= Mahisamanḍala?).

Rakkhita to Vanavāsi. DV. gives the Thera, MV. gives Thera and country, Bigandet does not mention either.

Yonadhhammarakkhita to Aparantaka—DV., MV., Bigandet.

Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha—DV., MV., Bigandet.

Mahārakkhita to the Yavana region—DV., MV. Bigandet says:

Damma Rekkīta to Yānnaka.

Majjhima, Kassapagotta, Durabhīṣara, Sahadeva, Mūlakadeva to the Himavat. MV. mentions only Majjhima. Bigandet: Mitzi and several brethren.

Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi—DV., MV., Bigandet.

Mahinda and four companions (MV. gives the names as Ittiya, Uttiya, Sambala, Bhaddasāla) to Laṅkā. Bigandet also gives the names. (Bigandet, ii, 141; Oldenberg’s Dipavamsa, ch. viii; Turnour’s Mahāvamsa, ch. xii.)

The Chronicles speak of each principal missionary as having four companions.

THE ‘EETZANA’ ERA.

Rhys Davids (“Buddhist India,” p. 18) says in respect of Devadaha: “It was at the last-mentioned place that the mother of the Buddha was born. And the name of her father is expressly given as Anjana the Śākiyan.” And he adds, as his authority, the Apadāna, quoted in the Commentary on the Therīgāthā, p. 152. Anjana is the Eetzana of Bigandet.

Bigandet (i, 13) has an interesting remark: “When Eetzana became king of Dewaha, a considerable error had crept into the calendar. A correction was deemed necessary. There lived a celebrated hermit or Rathee, named Deweela,
well versed in the science of calculation. After several consultations on this important subject in the presence of the king, it was agreed that the Kaudza era of 8,640 years should be done away with on a Saturday, the first of the moon of Tabaong, and that the new era should be made to begin on a Sunday, on the first day of the waxing moon of the month Tagoo. This was called the Eetzana era."
The following important events are dated by it in Bigandet:

Suddhodana, born at Kapilavastu . . . . 10
Māyā, born at Devaha . . . . 12
Marriage of Suddhodana and Māyā . . 28
Gautama born . . . . . 68
Marriage of Gautama and Yasodharā . . 86
Gautama leaves Kapilavastu . . . . 97
Gautama becomes the Buddha . . . . 103
Suddhodana dies, aged 97 . . . . 107

"It was in the 37th year of Buddha's public mission that Adzatathat ascended the throne of Magatha" . . . . 140

The Buddha died . . . . 148

"It was at the conclusion of the (first) council that King Adzatathat, with the concurrence of the Buddhist patriarch (Kassapa), did away with the Eetzana era, and substituted the religious era beginning in the year 148 of the said era; that is to say, on the year of Gaudama's death, on a Monday, the first of the waxing moon of Tabaong."

Aṇjana is not mentioned in the Dipavamsa, but the Mahāvamsa in the second chapter tells us that the last of the descendants of Sihassara was Jayasena. His son was Sihahānu the Sakya. In Devadaha was a Sakya ruler, Devadaha. He had two children, Aṇjuna and Kaceanā. Aṇjana married Yasodharā, daughter of Jayasena. Aṇjana had two daughters—Māyā and Pajāpati, and two sons—Daṇḍapāṇi and Suppabuddha.
Now, if Aṇjana was relatively so unimportant a person in Indian history, why date an era from him? Except from the Buddhist point of view his historical importance is not great. Is it possible that a confusion may have arisen between Ujjeni and Aṇjana? We are told in the Bhāgavatāmṛta (v. Turnour, introd., xv), in the midst of much 'Faselei,' that Paraṇjaya, son of the twentieth Magadha king, was put to death by his minister 'Sunaca,' who placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of his master. This is said to have happened two years before the Buddha's appearance on the earth. "Now" (says Sir William Jones, loc. cit.) "a regular chronology according to the number of years in each dynasty has been established from the accession of Pradyota, to the subversion of the genuine Hindu government."

Let us take the orthodox date of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, 543 B.C. His birth will then be 623 B.C., it being universally agreed in all the chronicles that he died in his 80th year. Now, can there possibly have been a confusion between the two eras secular and religious, the old kingly era reasserting itself in spite of the pious efforts of Buddhist chronologists? Suppose we infer 623 (date of the birth as traditionally given) + 2, then we get 625 for the starting-point of the era. This will put the Buddha's birth at 557 B.C., the departure at 528, the attainment of Sambodhi at 522, and the date of the Parinibbāna will be 477. This comes very close to the date arrived at from the other end by chronologists taking their departure from the facts given us by Greek historians.

Let us now consider some facts in connection with Asoka. The regal consecration constitutes a point of difference between the two chronicles. The Dipavaṃsa dates his accession at 214 A.B.; his coronation at 218. So does the Burmese account. The Mahāvaṃsa dates his accession at 218; his coronation at 222. Where the Mahāvaṃsa seems to have gone wrong is over the reign of Candragupta,
which it says lasted 34 years. The other authorities say 24 years. If we subtract the difference of 10 from the Mahāvamsa's 224, we get 214. All the chronicles agree in the order of the early Indian kings; the only difference is in the respective durations of their reigns. We cannot tell how the Dipavamsa list would have worked out, as it only gives some of the kings. But the advantage of the Burmese list is that not only does it give the kings in their proper order, but also that the sum of their reigns (in years A.B.) works out correctly according to the statement of 214 years in Bigandet. It may therefore be assumed that Asoka came to the throne 214 A.B., and was consecrated in 218 A.B. The Dipavamsa is quite explicit. Speaking of Mahinda, it tells us that he was born in 204; when Mahinda was 10 years old, Asoka killed his brothers; he then passed four years reigning over Jambudīpa. Asoka was anointed king in Mahinda's fourteenth year.

In this connection the author ventures with some diffidence to suggest that Dr. Oldenberg does not seem to have given quite a right translation of a line on p. 43:

Paripunna visavassamhi Piyadassī abhisiṇcayun.

He translates: "They crowned Piyadassi after full twenty years (?)". Now, as the chronicle is calculating on the basis of Mahinda, the expression must surely mean "in Mahinda's twentieth year." We learn afterwards that Mahinda received his Upasampadā six years after Asoka's coronation, when we are told "paripunnavisativasso Mahindo Asokatrajo." This would give us 224, the date, namely, when Asoka became a "relation of the Faith." Did he then receive a second consecration on becoming a real Buddhist? A parallel would be the case of the king Devānampiya Tissa, Asoka's contemporary, who received two consecrations, one as a non-Buddhist and one as a Buddhist. And there seems to have been some point in using the name Piyadassi here instead of the Asoka of two
lines above. It is his new name as a Buddhist emperor. This interpretation may seem fanciful, but it is the only one which seems to make the line translatable. Otherwise it seems necessary to regard the line as an interpolation.

Both chronicles tell us that Asoka supported non-Buddhists for three years. Then he became favourable to the Buddhists. This nearly agrees with the Burmese account. The story of the conversion by Nigrodha is also practically the same in all three versions, as is also that of the erection of the monuments in honour of the Buddha. This brings us to the point where Asoka desires to become a "relation of the Faith" (dāyādo sāsane). In the Dipavamsa, vii, verse 13, Asoka, after showing great liberality to the Order, is made to say:

Aṅño koci pariccāgo bhiyyo mayham na vijjati,
Saddhā mayhām dalhatarā, tasmā dāyādo sāsane.

The cunning Moggaliputta Tissa tells him that a still greater sacrifice must be made by one who intends to merit the title of "Relation of the Faith." "The man who gives up his son or daughter, the issue of his body, and causes them to receive the Pabbajjā ordination, becomes really a relation of the Faith." Hence both Mahinda and Sanghamittā are initiated. The year of this event was 224 A.B. We are told that this took place in the 64th year of Moggaliputta’s Upasampadā, which works out correctly if we go by the royal record and not by Theras (164 + 60 = 224).

This brings us now to the Third Council, convened by universal testimony 235–6 A.B. by Moggaliputta Tissa, who, as it were, set a seal upon the successful proceedings of the body by proclaiming the Kathāvatthu (Kathāvatthum pakāsāyi), and afterwards sending forth missionaries, among them Mahinda.

1 Bigandet, "four."
As to the sending of the missionaries we have conclusive proof. Firstly, we have the urns found by Cunningham with the inscriptions discussed by Rhys Davids ("Buddhist India," 299-300). Secondly, we have the statement of the Chronicles (Dipavaṃsa, viii, and Mahāvaṃsa, xii) and Bigandet (ii, 141). The names and directions differ somewhat, but there is a great harmony between all three accounts.

There remain the edicts of Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt (Senart, "Inscrs. de Piyadassi," ii, 165 foll.). Piecing these together, we gather first that Asoka was a lukewarm Buddhist for a little more than two and a half years (so we must take sātīlekāni adhitiyāni with Oldenberg and grammar). This would correspond to the "three years" of the Chronicles, and bring us to 221. "But a little more than six years has passed since I entered the order (and in this 'little more than six' include the 'little more than two and a half'), and great zeal has been shown by me." This would bring us to 224. This interpretation seems to harmonize best with all three accounts, in the Chronicles and Bigandet. This is the time when he became a "relation of the Faith." As to the mysterious figures 256, it is impossible as yet to say definitely what they mean, until we get more information from literature (Pāli or Prākrit) or from another inscription. In the limited extent of our present knowledge, all we can say is that neither Bühler's idea of 256 meaning years from the Parimibbāna, nor Senart's 'mission' and 'missionnaire,' nor Fleet's 'wanderer,' can be regarded as anything but conjectural till we have some evidence of a definite accredited meaning for vi-vas. The Sārnāth inscription certainly favours the meaning 'illuminate.' But more is needed, namely, an unmistakable use of vivuttha. Vivasana occurs

* [See also Fleet, JRAS, 1905. 681.—En.]
at least three times in the sixth volume of the Jātaka, ed. Fausböll, and always with ratyā, e.g., vi, 491:

Tato ratyā vivasane suriyass' uggamanam pati.¹

If a conjecture may be hazarded as to the meaning of these enigmatical figures, let us take the date 224, the occasion of Mahinda's admission into the Order. What analogous event in Buddhistic annals can we point to? I think, to the admission of Rāhula. Now this took place in the year 31 (or say 32) before the Buddha's demise. Add 224 to 32, and the result is 256. It seems quite probable that the king should date the admission of his own son from the date of the admission of the Buddha's son Rāhula. This seems reasonable enough, and would, if correct, go still more to prove the accuracy of the early annalists.

Applying the dates of the Sinhalese and Burmese Chronicles to the date of the Parinibbāna as determined from the discussion of the Eetzana era, we get fairly reasonable dates, if not so correct as might be, perhaps, for periods determined by other evidence, namely, 315 B.C. for Candragupta and 259 B.C. for Asoka. These, even if termed 'floruits,' are still sufficiently close to justify the ancient worthies from the charge of 'mendacity.'

NOTE.—In Oldenberg's Dipavāṃsa, p. 40, verse 95, read chāsiti for asiti. In Turnour's Mahāvāṃsa, p. 22, l. 1, read sāṭṭhasaṃ for aṭṭhasaṃ; p. 35, l. 12, for esāsoka ti read candāsoko. Both these readings are given in the Sinhalese edition of the commentary, and compare Canda-pajjoto and Candakauśika as names of kings.

NOTE ON BIGANDET.—As it would seem at first sight unhistorical to a degree to put a modern authority like the Bishop on the same plane with the old Chronicles

¹ Cf. Skt. शारात्तिविवासम्, 'till night's passing.'
composed in Pāli, I transcribe the note on the work made by Professor Rhys Davids in his "Buddhism" (S.P.C.K.), pp. 12–13, in his enumeration of the authorities: "IV. A translation into English of a translation into Burmese of a Pāli work called by Bigandet 'Mallalankara Wouttoo.' Neither date nor author is known of the Pāli work. The Burmese translation was made in 1773 A.D. . . . . This life agrees not only throughout in its main features, but even word for word in many passages with the Jātaka commentary, to be mentioned below, written in Ceylon in the fifth century. It follows that its original author usually adhered very closely to the orthodox books and traditions of early Indian Buddhism, which were introduced into Burma from Ceylon in the fifth century." The same authority, on p. 87 of his "American Lectures," also says: "The only work so far known to us, that can be called a biography in our Western sense, is a quite modern book called the Mālālankāra Watthu, of unknown date, but almost certainly quite two thousand years later than the Buddha himself." That is to say, the Burmese translation, as noted by Professor Rhys Davids, is quite two thousand years later, but the age of the Pāli original may be quite venerable. What we want is that some Burmese scholar, who is skilled both in Burmese and in Pāli literature, should give us an historical account of this life of the Buddha, showing its sources, if possible, and giving a summary of the systems of chronology to be found in Burmese authorities. I do not think that to use Bigandet as I have done could be called any more uncritical than the procedure of some modern Assyriologist or Egyptologist who should use the records of Berosus and Manetho to check and supplement the accounts of the cuneiform or hieroglyphic inscriptions.

The Edicts, like the Councils, have not been discussed in detail, as opening up so wide a field. But the author is
convinced that, in spite of the labours of many eminent Orientalists, there is still much room for fresh theory and new adjustment. Until unanimity of interpretation has been arrived at in regard to the edicts, we cannot afford to look slightingly upon the ancient Chronicles. If Mr. Vincent Smith's book be taken as the latest pronouncement on the subject of Asoka which speaks with authority, a little examination will show that his confidence is not justified by the data at his command.
II.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMPLETE EDITION OF THE JAMI’UT-TAWARIKH OF RASHIDU’D-DIN FADLU’LLAH.

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A.

The Jami’ut-Tawarikh is unquestionably one of the most important historical works in the Persian language, not only by reason of the singularly full and authentic account of the history and antiquities of the Mongols for which it is chiefly celebrated, but also by virtue of the general history, especially the history of the independent or semi-independent post-Muhammadan dynasties which held sway in Persia immediately before the rise of the Mongol dominion (i.e. between the ninth or tenth and the thirteenth centuries of the Christian era), wherewith the author, Rashidu’D-Din Fadlu’llah, or ‘Rashid the physician’ (رشيذ طبيب), as he sometimes calls himself, supplemented his original work. Unhappily the book is not only extremely bulky and very rare, but the arrangement which the author has seen fit to adopt is confusing, while the foreign proper names with which its pages abound are in most manuscripts sadly corrupted. The publication of a complete text, should the available materials ultimately prove adequate, would be an achievement in the field of Persian literature comparable to the publication of the Arabian Annals of Tabari, and now that M. Bloch, under the auspices of the Gibb Memorial Trust, has made a beginning with the Mongol portion of this great history, it is earnestly to be hoped that the Trustees will steadily keep in view the extreme importance.
and desirability of carrying out this project in its entirety, as opportunity may arise, and as scholars willing and able to deal with the different portions may offer themselves for the accomplishment of this task.

In the present article I propose to enumerate the available manuscripts of this work, and to give a brief analysis of its contents, which may serve as a guide to future editors, and may suggest the best method of parcelling out the numerous volumes which a complete text would necessarily comprise. In doing this I have not been able toavail myself continuously or directly of the best MS. of the entire work with which I am acquainted, namely, the British Museum MS. Add. 7628, since my other duties rarely permit me to be in London for any length of time, and, as all Orientalists know to their cost, no manuscript is under any circumstances permitted to leave the too hospitable walls of that great and otherwise admirable institution. On the other hand, the noble liberality of the India Office Library has enabled me to use in my own house their MS., No. 3524 (=No. 2828 of Ethé's Catalogue), which, though neither so old, nor so good, nor so complete as the Museum Codex, is nevertheless sufficiently full to render some sort of analysis of the whole work possible. In what follows, then, I refer, unless otherwise stated, to this manuscript, a large volume containing ff. 599 of 36:8 × 23:7 c. and 25 lines, each line containing, as a rule, at least twenty words. In spite of the lacunae which exist in the volume, it cannot contain much less than 600,000 words, notwithstanding the fact that several important sections (such as the history of the Isma'ili sect, which in the British Museum Codex occupies ff. 272b–307a, and contains about 46,550 words) are entirely omitted.

Broadly speaking, the work originally comprised (or was intended to comprise, for it is not certain that vol. iii was ever written) three separate parts or volumes,
of which the first dealt with the history and antiquities of the various tribes of Turks and Mongols, and the history of the ancestors and successors of Chingiz Khán down to the author's own time (A.H. 706 = A.D. 1306–7); the second contained the history of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Caliphs, and Kings from the time of Adam down to A.H. 700 (= A.D. 1300–1), as well as a general history of all the peoples and nations inhabiting the world, compiled from their own traditions; while the third dealt exclusively with Geography. This last, however (if it was ever written), is, apparently, no longer extant, so that, so far as we are concerned, the work may be regarded as consisting of but two parts—(1) a special history of the Mongols, Turks, and kindred peoples, and (2) a general history of the world, especially the world of Islám. For editorial purposes these two parts may be regarded as quite distinct. The Mongol part (vol. i) is about one-third, and the general history (vol. ii) about two-thirds, of the whole. In the India Office MS., which I now proceed to describe, the two parts are transposed, vol. ii extending from f. 1ʰ to f. 402ᵃ and vol. i from f. 403ᵇ to f. 599ᵃ; and the same transposition has been made in the British Museum MS. In the following description of contents the references are to the India Office MS. (I.O.) unless otherwise specified. References to the British Museum MS. Add. 7628 are in all cases marked 'B.M.'

DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS.

In the preface to the first volume (ff. 403ᵇ–406ᵃ) the author states that his work, undertaken by command of Gházán Khán (A.H. 694–704 = A.D. 1295–1305), was originally intended to be a history of Chingiz Khán and his ancestors and successors. Gházán Khán, however, died before it was completed, on Shawwál 11th, A.H. 704 (= May 17th,
A.D. 1305), and was succeeded by his brother Úljáytú, also called Khudá-banda, who bade the author complete the history of the Mongols, dedicate it, as originally intended, to the deceased monarch Gházán Khán, and supplement it with another volume on general history, which should be dedicated to himself. The homogeneity of this second volume is somewhat marred by the author's strange idea of beginning it with an account of Úljáytú's life down to the time of his writing it (A.H. 706 = A.D. 1306-7), and ending it with the continuation of his biography from this date "to infinity" (إلى مئة نهائية). In the India Office Codex, however, these two heterogeneous sections of vol. i are wanting.

The author then speaks of the concourse of learned men of all nations at the Mongol Court, "of whom each one is a volume of the history, legends, and beliefs of his own people." From these he collected the materials for the new portion of his history, namely, vols. ii and iii, and named the whole Jāmi' (or, as in certain passages of the India Office MS., Jawámí'-ut-Tawárikh).

The contents of the book are summarily stated on ff. 406a-407a, as follows:

Vol. I (dedicated by command of Sul tá Uljáytú Khudá-banda to the memory of his predecessor, Gházán Khán; B.M., f. 404b) contains two chapters, namely:

Chapter I (B.M., f. 414a). On the different Turkish and Mongol races, their tribal divisions and subdivisions, genealogy, pedigrees, legends, etc.

Preface (I.O., ff. 411b-413a). On the tribes of the Turks, and the lands inhabited by them.

Section i (I.O., ff. 413a-417a). The legendary history of Oghúz, supposed to be the descendant of Japhet, son of Noah, and the ancestor of the Turks.

Section ii (I.O., ff. 417a-425a). On that branch of the Turkish race now called Mongol, but of which each subdivision had formerly its own proper name.
Section iii (I.O., ff. 425a–431a). Other tribes of independent Turks who were at enmity with those enumerated above.

Section iv (I.O., ff. 431a–443a). Turkish tribes whose original language was Mongol, in two Qismus, or sub-sections, of which the first (ff. 431a–438a) treats of the Mongols of دِرُكِين, and the second of the Mongols of نِبُورُون (ff. 438a–443a).

Chapter 2. Anecdotes and legends of the kings and rulers of the Mongols and Turks.

Section i (I.O., ff. 443a–456a = B.M., f. 456a). Ancestors of Chingiz Khán, in ten Dásitáns, or ‘stories,’ treating of (1) Dúbún-báyán and Alán-quwá (ff. 443b–444a); (2) Alán-quwá and her three sons (ff. 444a–445a); (3) Búzikhar or Búdanjar, son of Alán-quwá (ff. 445a–445b); (4) Dútúm Manan, son of Búqu, son of Búzikhar (ff. 445a–446b); (5) Qaydú, son of Dútúm Manan (ff. 446b–447b); (6) Bál-sangqúr, son of Qaydú (ff. 447b–448b); (7) Túmná, son of Báy-sangqúr (ff. 448a–449a); (8) Qábúl, son of Báy-sangqúr (ff. 449a–451b); (9) Bartán, son of Qábúl (ff. 451b–452b); (10) Yísúká Bahádúr, son of Bartán (ff. 452b–456a).

Section ii (I.O., ff. 456a–599a = B.M., f. 469a). History of Chingiz Khán and his successors, in twelve Dásitáns, or ‘stories,’ treating of (1) Chingiz Khán, son of Yísúká (I.O., ff. 457a–520b); (B.M., f. 539a); (2) Ogóty, son of Chingis (ff. 521a–532b); (3) Jújí, son of Chingis (ff. 533a–537a); (4) Chaghatáy, son of Chingis (ff. 537a–541b); (5) Túlúy, son of Chingis (ff. 541b–544b); (6) Kúyúk, son of Ogóty (ff. 544a–547b); (7) Mangú, son of Túlúy (ff. 547b–555a); (8) Qúbiláy Khán, son of Túlúy (ff. 555a–574b); (9) Tímúr (Úljáytú), grandson of Qúbiláy.

1 Only eleven Dásitáns are actually given in the text of this codex. The table of contents on ff. 406b–407 gives the titles of twelve, but it omits those on Kúyúk (No. 6) and Ábaqá (No. 11), and adds articles (not found in the text) on Ahmad Takúdár, Ghalzán, and Úljáytú or Khudá-banda.

2 The portion of the text which M. Blochet is now editing for the Gibb Memorial begins with Ogóty, and the printing has at present gone as far as the death of Mangú or Múnggá. It is, I believe, contemplated that this volume should end with the death of Tímúr, and that the second volume should begin with the accession of Húlagú.
(ff. 574b–577b); ((10) Hūlāgū, son of Tūlūy, the first of the Il-Khāns of Persia (ff. 577b–590a)); (11) Abāqā, son of Hūlāgū (ff. 590b–599a); ends with the death of Abāqā or Dhu‘l-Qāda 3, A.H. 680 (= Feb. 13, A.D. 1282). Here should follow, as in Add. 7628, (12) Aḥmad Takūdār, f. 642b; (13) Arghān, f. 648a (Gaykhātū is missing in Add. 7628 also); and (14) Gházān Khān (ff. 655a–728).

Vol. II (dedicated to the reigning monarch, Uljāytū Khudá-bandā) (ff. 1b–402a) contains two chapters, viz.:

Chapter 1. (Omitted in I.O. Codex and in B.M.) History of Sultān Uljāytū Khudá-bandā, from his birth till A.H. 706 (= A.D. 1306–7), the time of writing.

Chapter 2, in two Qismus.

Qism 1, in two Faṣls.

Faṣl 1. Compendium of the history of all the Prophets, Caliphs, Kings, etc., from the time of Adam until the date of writing.

Faṣl 2. Detailed history of all the people inhabiting the world, compiled from their own traditions.

Qism 2. (Omitted in I.O. and B.M., and possibly, as Rieu suggests, never written.) History of the reigning Sultān Uljāytū Khudá-bandā, which may be continued and completed by succeeding court historians when the author shall be no more.

Vol. III. Geography of the world. This volume, as already stated, appears never to have been written, or, if written, to have disappeared.

Hitherto the first volume of the Jāmi‘u’t-Tawārīkh—that dealing with Mongol history—has attracted more attention than the second, and that probably for two reasons; that while Vol. II is only one of the best general histories in Persian, Vol. I is undoubtedly the best and most authoritative history of the Mongols; and secondly, that MSS. of Vol. I are much commoner than those of Vol. II. So far as I know, nothing has been published of Vol. II, while of Vol. I the whole of the section dealing
with Húlágú was published, with a French translation, by Quatremère in 1836 (Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, vol. i), and M. Blochel, taking up his illustrious compatriot’s unfinished task, is now publishing in the Gibb Memorial Series a further instalment, beginning with the section on Ogotáy.¹

Of Vol. II the first Chapter and the second Qism of the second Chapter, both of which are described as dealing with the reign of Úljáytú, are wanting in the India Office MS., and, moreover, really belong to the Mongol portion of the history. We are therefore only concerned here with Chapter 2, Qism 1. The actual divisions of this found in the text do not exactly correspond with those given in the table of contents, for in the text Vol. II is composed as follows:—

(1) A brief doxology and explanation of the plan of this volume (f. 1², lines 1–13).

(2) An Introduction (Mugaddama) on Adam and Noah, and their descendants (ff. 1³–4³).

(3) Qism 1. History of the world from Kayúmarth, the first legendary king of Persia, to the Prophet Muḥammad, in four Ṭabaqas, viz.:—

Ṭabaqa 1. The ancient legendary kings of Persia known as Pishhdádiyán (ff. 4³–16³), including such contemporary history as that of Abraham, Ishmael and his sons, Isaac and his sons, Jacob and his sons, Joseph, Job, Shu‘ayb, Moses and Aaron, Og, Qárún (Korah), Khidr, Joshua the son of Nun, and the Tubba’s of Yaman.

Ṭabaqa 2. The Kayání Kings of Persia, from Kay-Qubád to Alexander of Macedon (ff. 16³–28³), including the contemporary history of Israel (Samuel, David, Solomon, Elisha, Isaiah, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Dhu‘l-Kafíl, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Ezra) and the contemporary history of the Arabs.

¹ See the preceding footnote. At the present date (Nov. 2nd, 1907) 336 pages of M. Blochel’s text are in type. These correspond with ff. 521°–553° of the India Office MS.
Tabaqā 3. The Ashkāniyān (Parthians) or 'Tribal Kings' (Mūlūku'ṭ-Ṭawā'īf) (ff. 28a–35b), including the Ptolemies, the contemporary history of Rome, Arabia, and Israel (Zechariah, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, the 'Seven Sleepers,' or 'People of the Cave,' Jirjīs, etc.).

Tabaqā 4. The Sāsāniyān (ff. 36a–55a), including such contemporary history as that of Constantine and his successors, the Tubba's of Yaman down to the Abyssinian invasion, the story of the Christian Martyrs of Najrān (Aṣḥābūl-ʿUkhdūd), Abraha and the 'People of the Elephant' (Aṣḥābūl-Fīl), Sayf b. Dhū Yazan and the Persian conquest of Yaman, the Battle of Dhū'l-Qār, the Triumph of Islām and the downfall of the Persian Empire.

(4) Qism ii (= B.M., f. 58a). History of the Prophet Muḥammad and of the Caliphate, down to the sack of Baghdad and murder of the last 'Abbāside Caliph al-Mustaṣim by Hūlāgū Khān's Mongols on Ṣafar 10, a.h. 655 (= Feb. 27, A.D. 1257). This section of the work occupies ff. 55a–183a, is described as 'Qism ii of the Zubdatuṭ-Tawāřīkh,' and is divided into four Maqālas, or Discourses, as follows:

Maqāla 1. The Genealogy and Life of the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 55a–99a).


Maqāla 3 (B.M., f. 126b). The Umayyad Caliphs (ff. 118a–140b).

Maqāla 4 (B.M., f. 151a). The 'Abbāsid Caliphs (ff. 140b–183a). On f. 183a is a colophon giving Shawwāl, a.h. 1081 (= Feb.–March, A.D. 1671), as the date when the transcription of this part of the work was finished.

Up to this point the General History, though full and seemingly accurate, follows in the main the usual lines, and probably does not contain much matter which cannot be better derived from the older Arabic historians, such as Tabārī and Ibsnūl-Athīr. We now come, however, after two blank pages (ff. 183b–184a), to that portion of it which
deals with the independent dynasties which arose in Persia as the power of the 'Abbásid Caliphs began to wane, down to the time of the Mongol Invasion in the thirteenth century of our era, from which period onwards until the author's time the continuation must be sought in Vol. I, Chapter 2, Section 2. The portion of the work which we are now considering occupies in the India Office Codex ff. 184b–216b, is not, apparently, included in the elaborate scheme of subdivision elsewhere observed by the author, and falls roughly into three portions, viz.:


(2) History of the Seljūqs down to A.H. 589 (= A.D. 1193), comprising ff. 213b–234a (B.M., f. 237a), followed by an Appendix, ff. 234b–236a (B.M., ff. 260b–261b), ascribed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, giving the conclusion of the reign of Tughril II, the last Seljūq of 'Irāq, ending on the last day of Rabi' 1, A.H. 599 (= December 17, A.D. 1202).

(3) History of the Khwārazmshāhs, ff. 236a–246b (B.M., f. 263b), breaking off abruptly in the middle of the account of Jalālu'd-Dīn Khwārazmshāh's campaign against 'Ala'u'd-Dīn Kay-Qubād I, the Seljūq Sultan of Rūm. In the description of the British Museum MS. Rieu says (p. 75): "This section is imperfect at the end; it comes abruptly to a close in the account of the occupation of Ghūr by Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, after the death of Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (A.H. 602)."

The following sections, lacking in the India Office MS., are found in Add. 7628 of the British Museum:

(4) "History of the Salghuri Atābeks of Fārs, from the beginning to the end of the dynasty (B.M., f. 268a). This section also comes to an abrupt termination; the last lines relate to the
march of a Mongol army against Seljūq Shāh in Shīrāz (A.H. 663)."

(5) History of the Ismaʿīlīs (B.M., f. 273ᵇ). This section has a preface in which the author states that he wrote it after completing his history of the nations of the world, and as a supplement to it. It comprises the following two parts (Qīṣm):—(1) History of the ‘Alawī Khalīfās of the Maghrib and Egypt, with an introduction treating of their tenets (B.M., ff. 273ᵇ–290ᵃ); (2) History of the Nizārī dāʿīs of Qhīstān, with an introduction on the career of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh, called Sayyid-nā; f. 290ᵃ. This latter part contains a very full account of the Ismaʿīlīs of Alamūt, and is brought down to their extermination by Hūlāgū in A.H. 654.

We now come to the account of other nations than the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Mongols, to wit, the ancient Turks, the Chinese, the Israelites, the Franks, and the Indians. This is the second section (Faṣl ii) of Qīṣm 1 of Chapter 2 of the second volume, according to the Table of Contents, though in the text these divisions are ignored. It extends in this MS. from f. 247ᵇ to f. 402ᵃ, and comprises:—

(1) The history of Oghūz, the legendary ancestor of the Turks, and his descendants (ff. 247ᵇ–258ᵃ).
(2) The history of the kings and rulers of China, Manchuria, and Cathay (ff. 259ᵇ–282ᵃ).
(3) The history of the Israelites (ff. 283ᵇ–307ᵃ) in six Sections (Faṣl), viz.: (i) from Adam to Noah (ff. 283ᵇ–286ᵇ); (ii) Noah and his sons (ff. 286ᵇ–288ᵃ); (iii) from Abraham to Moses (ff. 288ᵃ–292ᵇ); (iv) from Moses to David (ff. 292ᵇ–299ᵇ); (v) from the birth of David to the time of Alexander of Macedon (ff. 299ᵇ–306ᵃ); (vi) from Alexander to Ezra, the last of the Hebrew prophets, who died 40 years after the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. This portion ends with a colophon dated A.H. 1082 (= A.D. 1671–2).
(4) The history of the Franks and Caesars (ff. 307ᵇ–368ᵃ), divided into two Qīṣmān, each of which comprises four chapters, as follows:—
Qism 1. Scripture history from Adam to Jesus Christ (ff. 307b-310b).

Qism 2. From the birth of Christ until the date of composition, A.H. 705 (= A.D. 1305-6).

These Sections, of which the subdivision is rather complicated, treat of Scripture history according to the belief of the Christians, the Christian belief concerning Christ, the geography of the lands of Christendom and their kings, the Popes and Christian Emperors, etc.

(5) Account of the kings of India and the Hindoos (ff. 368b-402a), in two Qismas, of which the first, comprising ten sections (ff. 369a-385b), treats of Indian chronology, geography, and history, including the kings of Kashmir and Delhi down to the author's own time; while the second, comprising twenty sections (ff. 385b-396a), and followed by a refutation of the doctrine of Metempsychosis, composed by the author at an earlier period of his life (ff. 396b-402a), gives a very full account of Buddha (Sakyamuni) and the Buddhist religion.

SCHEME OF A COMPLETE EDITION.

Having now stated in outline the contents of this great history, I propose to consider how, in projecting an edition of the whole, it should be divided up into volumes of a convenient size. I do not think that any one volume should contain more matter than my edition of Dawlatsháh's Lives of the Poets, published by Messrs. Brill in 1901. A full page of the text of this contains about 300 words, and the text in one volume (excluding indices and prefatory matter) should not exceed 550 pages, which would be equivalent to 165,000 words. Probably it would be safer to allow only 150,000 words to each volume, and proportionately less if variants or notes are to be placed at
the foot of each page. M. Blochet, for example, in the portion of the text which he is publishing, gives such copious footnotes that one leaf of the India Office MS. extends over about ten pages of his edition, of which, to be more precise, the first 256 pages correspond with 26 leaves (ff. 521*-547) of the India Office MS., or 38 leaves (ff. 539–578) of the British Museum Codex Add. 7628. In the computation which follows it will be convenient to take this British Museum MS. as the basis of calculation, since it is the best and most complete MS. with which I am acquainted. Each leaf of it (i.e. each two pages) contains, so far as I can calculate, 1,100 words, so that we may reckon about 135 ff. (=148,500 words) of the British Museum MS. to the ideal volume; and as the MS. in question comprises 728 ff., it would make between five and six volumes of the size indicated at the lower computation.

Let us first consider Rashidu'd-Din's first volume, containing the special history of the Turks and Mongols. Here the division is more or less fixed by the fact that a portion in the middle is being published by M. Blochet, while another portion a little further on was published in 1836 in the Collection Orientale by Étienne Quatremère. Essentially, as we have seen, this Mongol portion of the Jami'u't-Tawārikh consists of the following parts:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 1. Consisting of a Preface and four Sections on the legendary history, antiquities, and genealogies of the Turks and Mongols.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fols. in I.O.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>411-443</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 2. Section i. Ancestors of Chingiz Khan in ten <em>Dānītan</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fols. in I.O.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>443-456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 2. Section ii. Chingiz Khan and his successors, as follows:—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Chingiz Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Ogotay (= Blochet, pp. 1-86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Jūji (= Blochet, pp. 86-152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Chaghatay (= Blochet, pp. 153-197)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Tūlāy (= Blochet, pp. 198-226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Kuyük (= Blochet, pp. 227-282)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Mangú (= Blochet, pp. 263-336)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Qubilay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Timur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Hūlāgū (= Quatremère, <em>Hist. des Mongols</em>, vol. i, 1836)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Abāqá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) Takūdār Aḥmad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) Arghūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) Gaykhātā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15) Ghāzān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although this volume, as projected and executed by the author, ends with Gházán, it is obviously desirable to add to it what he wrote about Úljáytú (Khudá-banda), and, inappropriately enough, prefixed to the second volume of his work; and it would be desirable to add also the notices of the later years of Úljáytú's reign, and of the reign of his successor Abú Sa'íd compiled by Háfidh Abrú, or some other later writer, by command of Sháhrukh, and found in some MSS. of the Jami'u't-Tawárikh.

VOL. II. GENERAL HISTORY.

| Equivalent Folios in India Office MS. (I.O.) and British Museum MS. (B.M.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| FOLS. IN I.O. | NO. OF FOLS. | FOLS. IN B.M. | NO. OF FOLS. |
| Preface (Muqaddama). On Adam and his progeny. | 1b-4b | 4 | |
| Qism 1. On the history of Ancient Persia, in four Tabaqas— |  |  | |
| (1) Pishdádiyán | 4b-16b | 12 | 5b- |
| (2) Kayáníyán | 16b-28b | 12 | |
| (3) Muláku't-Tawáif | 28b-36b | 8 | |
| (4) Sásáníyán | 36b-55b | 19 | |
| Qism 2. On the history of the Prophet Muhammad and the Caliphate, in four Maqálas— |  |  |  |
| (1) Life of the Prophet | 55b-99b | 44 | 58b-104b | 46 |
| (2) The Four Orthodox Caliphs. | 99b-118b | 19 | 104b- |
| (3) The Umayyad Caliphs | 118b-140b | 22 | 126b- |
| (4) The 'Abbásid Caliphs | 140b-183b | 43 | 151b- |
| History of the House of Ghazna | 184b-212b | 28 | 204 |
### Scheme of a Complete Edition

| Equivalent Folios in India Office MS. (I.O.) and British Museum MS. (B.M.) |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
| FOLS. IN I.O. | NO. OF FOLS. | FOLS. IN B.M. | NO. OF FOLS. |           |
| History of the House of Seljûq | 213b–234b | 237b–261b | 24 |
| History of the Khwârazmshâhs (incomplete) | 230b–246b | 263b |           |
| History of the Salghûris of Fârs (Omitted) | ... | ... | 268b | |
| History of the Isma'îlis— |           |           |           |           |
| (a) Of the Maghrib (Omitted) | ... | ... | 273b–290b | 17 |
| (b) Of Persia (Omitted) | ... | ... | 290b–307b | 17 |
| History of Oghûz and his descendants, the Turks | 247b–258b | 11 |           |           |
| History of China and Manchuria | 259b–282b | 23 |           |           |
| History of the Israelites | 283b–307b | 24 |           |           |
| History of the Franks, and their Emperors and Popes | 307b–368b | 61 |           |           |
| History of the Indians, with very full account of Buddhism and its founder Sakyamuni | 368b–402b | 34 |           |           |

The whole of this great and important history would, I think, be most conveniently published in seven volumes, none of which should exceed in size my edition of Dawlatshâh. Of these, three volumes should contain Rashîdu'd-Din's first volume, i.e. the special history of the Mongols, and four volumes his second volume, on general history. The contents of these seven volumes I should apportion as follows:
PLAN OF EDITION OF JAMI’U’T-TAWARIKH IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

I. Special History of Mongols and Turks.


Vol. II. From the accession of Ogotáy to the end of Timúr (I.O., ff. 521–577 = ff. 56; B.M., ff. 539–610 = ff. 71). This is the portion on which M. Blochet is now engaged, but owing to the copious and learned notes which he has added, it may possibly have to be divided into two parts for publication, which procedure may, of course, prove necessary in the case of other volumes.

Vol. III. From the accession of Húláğú to the death of Gházán (B.M., ff. 610–728 = ff. 118; part only of this is found in I.O., ff. 577–599 = ff. 22). Húláğú’s life, as already noted, was published by Quatemére in 1836, but since this edition is rare, costly, and very bulky, it would be desirable to reprint it with the succeeding portion of the Mongol history, including the later supplement on the reigns of Uljáytú and Abú Sa’íd.

II. General History of other Nations.

Vol. IV. The Introduction to Vol. II, with the history of Persia down to the end of the Sásánian dynasty, followed by the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (I.O., ff. 1b–99a; B.M., ff. 1–104a).

Vol. V. The entire history of the Caliphate, from Abú Bakr to al-Mustaṣim (I.O., ff. 99b–183a = ff. 84; B.M., ff. 104b–204 = ff. 100).

Vol. VI. History of the post-Muhammadan dynasties of Persia, i.e., the Ghaznavids, Seljuqs, Khwárazmsháhs, Salghúris, and Isma’ílis (B.M., ff. 204–307 = ff. 103; part only of this is found in I.O., ff. 184b–246b = ff. 62). I already possess a complete transcript of the history of the Isma’ílis made from the B.M. MS.

THE MSS. OF THE JAMI‘UT-TAWARIKH.

I propose now briefly to enumerate the MSS. of the whole or portions of this work with which I am acquainted, or of which I have found any record.

1. BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) *Add. 7628* (dated A.D. 1433), one of the best and most complete MSS.

(2) *Add. 16,688* (fourteenth century), containing the latter half of Vol. I (= ff. 561–728 of the previous MS.), viz., the reigns of Jújí and his successors to Gházán, followed by a brief account of Uljaytú (Khudá-banda). Rieu describes this text as much more correct than the preceding one.

(3) *Add. 18,878* (A.D. 1828–9), containing part of Vol. II, viz., the history of the Chinese, the Franks, and the Indians. Rieu describes it as incorrect and defective.

(4) *Or. 1634* (A.D. 1850), transcribed from the Lucknow copy. Part of Vol. II (= ff. 206–302 of *Add. 7628*), containing the history of the Ghaznavids, the Seljúqs (with the appendix of Abú Hámíd Muḥammad b. Ibráhím), the Khwárazmsháhs (fuller than in the older MS.), the Salghúris of Fárs (also fuller than usual), and the Isma‘ílís.

(5) *Or. 2007* (A.D. 1851), copied for Elliot from the Calcutta MS., containing the history of India and the refutation of Metempsychosis.

(6) *Or. 1786* (nineteenth century), containing the history of the Chinese, Franks, and Indians.

(7) *Or. 1958* (A.D. 1850) contains only the headings of sections and chapters, copied from the MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(8) *Or. 2062* (Elliot's MS.). ff. 24–59 contain the section on India.

(9) *Or. 2927* (A.H. 994 = A.D. 1586) contains the whole of Vol. I, including the history of Gaykhátú (missing in some MSS.) and Gházán.

(10) *Or. 2985* (A.H. 1030 = A.D. 1621) contains Vol. 1 down to the reign of Gházán, with the supplement on Uljaytú and Abú Sa'íd.

2. **India Office.**

(11) No. 3524 (= Ethé, 2828), a fairly complete copy, the one which I have used in writing this article, and of which the contents have already been fully indicated (A.D. 1671).

(12) No. 1784 (= Ethé, 17), containing Vol. I only.

3. **Bodleian.**

(13) No. 23 (Ethé = Elliot, 377), dated A.H. 944 (= A.D. 1537), containing Vol. I in its entirety, including, apparently, the reign of Uljaytū.

4. **Royal Asiatic Society.**

(14) The MS. described by Morley on pp. 8-11 of his Descriptive Catalogue, containing (in the Arabic version) fragments of the history of the Prophet and his followers; the concluding portion of the history of Khitā, the history of India, with the account of Buddha and the refutation of the doctrine of Metempsychosis; and part of the history of the Jews. The MS. is dated A.H. 714 (= A.D. 1314).

5. **Rylands Library, Manchester.**

In the Hand-list of Lord Crawford's Oriental MSS. (which have now, unhappily for scholars, passed into the less liberal control of Mrs. Rylands), two manuscripts, Nos. 364b and 406, are mentioned on p. 166, opposite the entry Jāmi’u’t-Tawārikh. No particulars are there given, but Mr. H. W. Hogg has kindly supplied me with a copy of the notes on these MSS. made by Mr. Michael Kerney, with some further annotations of his own. From these the following brief notices are compiled:

(15) No. 364b (Persian), ff. 27-65. The account of Buddha (Sakyamuni), re-translated (as appears from inscriptions in Persian and English) from the Arabic version of the Jāmi’u’t-Tawārikh.
(16) No. 406, ff. 190 of 27·5 × 16·2 c. and 17 lines, incomplete at end, modern (about 100 years old). It is described as being, apparently, a compendium of Universal History from the Jami‘ut-Tawārikh, and contains the history of Ancient Persia down to the Arab Invasion and death of Yazdigird, the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs, and the histories of the Jews, of the Greeks, of the Roman Empire down to A.H. 717 (= A.D. 1317), including the Popes, and of the Chinese.


(For further particulars see Blochet’s Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in this Library, vol. i, pp. 201–204, Nos. 254–258.)

(17) No. 254 (= Suppl. Pers., 1113). Vol. i (Mongol History), defective at the beginning, many lacunae, fourteenth century of our era.

(18) No. 255 (= Suppl. Pers., 209). Vol. i, with the Appendix on the reigns of Uljâytû and Abú Sa‘îd, dated A.H. 837 (= A.D. 1433–4). This was one of the MSS. used by Quatremère for his edition.


7. Vienna.

(See Flügel’s Catalogue, vol. ii, pp. 179–181, Nos. 957 and 958.)

(21) No. 957. Part of vol. i (Mongol history), described as containing only about one-third more than the portion published by Quatremère (the life of Hulágû), and thence onwards to the death of Gházán Khân, i.e. the second half of vol. i, ch. ii, section 2 (on Chingiz Khân and his successors).
(22) No. 958. The supplement to the portion described immediately above, viz., from the accession of Uljáytú (Khudá-banda) to A.H. 820 (= A.D. 1417). This supplement does not, of course, form part of the original work, but was composed for Sháhrúkh (A.H. 807–850 = A.D. 1404–1447).

8. MÜNICH.

(See Aumer's Catalogue, pp. 69–72, Nos. 207 and 208.)

(23) No. 207. This contains, apparently, the greater part of vol. i, on the history of the Mongols, including that of Gházán Kháń. It is dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545–6), and is described as being very well written.

(24) No. 208. Various portions of vol. ii (General History).

9. CONSTANTINOPLE.

(25) In the Catalogue of the Mosque Library of St. Sophia, No. 3034, mention is made of a volume of the Jámí‘u’t-Tawáríkh, which appears to contain the history of Chingiz Kháń, i.e. in all probability the whole or the greater part of vol. i of the Jámí‘u’t-Tawáríkh. It is not clear whether the date A.H. 785 (= A.D. 1383–4) mentioned by the catalogue is intended to represent the date of transcription or not.

10. RAVERY MS. (copied from MS. 14 of Bengal As. Soc.).

(26) A quite modern but clearly written copy, containing a large portion of Vol. II (the General History), viz.:

1. History of the Turks (ff. 1–23a).
2. History of the Kháns of Chín u Máčín (ff. 23b–44a).
4. History of the Seljúqs, with the Appendix (ff. 120b–184a).
5. History of the Khwárazmsháhs (ff. 184a–211a).

This manuscript has now been acquired by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund.
The list of MSS. here given is not complete, since other MSS. exist in India, Russia, and probably elsewhere, but it is sufficient to show that, \textit{prima facie}, ample materials exist for the complete edition of this work, which is so much needed, and which, as clearly appears from the minutes of meetings held on July 20th, 1903, and October 16th, 1903, was from the first contemplated by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund.
III.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA LXX (Sp. LXIX), FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TREATED. *

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

To those¹ (Supreme Persons) do I sacrifice; to them² do I come on for friendly aid, who are the Ameša-
spentas, who rule aright, who establish (all things) well; (2) and to³ that Chief would I⁴ take up (or 'celebrate'
my song), to that God and ritual Chief do I sacrifice
who is Aūharmazd,⁵ (3) the Creator, the Rejoicer, the
Producer of every benefit.⁶ (4) And I sacrifice to the
Chief who is Zartušt, the Spitāmān.

The Holy Statutes are proclaimed.

(5) And I would proclaim our institutes, or 'statutes,'
those,—(even) ours,—which are the flawless (ones) (lit.

* Translations into Parsi-Persian and Gujarati, from texts uncollated
and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. The
Pahlavi text of this section has been carefully prepared with all the MSS.
collated, and will appear in due course.

¹ Correctly conjecturing a tān, for the tām of some MSS.
² Here, however, in error, as 'tem' refers anticipatively to Ahurem--
³ Aṣ’ is an error, as aṣa is nom.
⁴ A 1st singular was erroneously seen here, perhaps to carry on the
thoughts of yašāi and of yaṣāi. As gereűte was mistaken, it was probably
thought to mean 'take,' to a 'gir'; so, rather than 'make,' vebdunam-ē;
we had better read vaxdbunam-ē, same characters; the Pers., however,
has avar kwanam.
⁵ Did the translator fail to see that Ahura was one of the Amešaspentas?
The original passage is particularly interesting as to this point.
⁶ The Pers. has nizmat for avādith (or aravādith) = vōhu; arṣa should
properly be read for aṣa throughout.
the purity’), [that is to say, in the matter of their (administration) I would act as blameless (lit. ‘pure’)];—
(6) those do I proclaim and inculcate upon persons
(7) which are the institutes (of) Aûharmazd, and (of) Vah’man, (of) Ašavahišt, (8) and (of) Šatraver, and of Spēnarmat, and (of) Hawrvedat, and (of) Amer’dat,
(9) which are (established for) the Herd’s body, and (for) the Herd’s soul, and (for) Aûharmazd’s Fire,—(10) which are the statutes (of) Sroš, the Holy,¹ and (of) Rašnu’, the most just, and (of) Miðra of the wide pastures, (11) and (of) the Holy Wind, and (of) the good Dēn of the Mazda-
yasnians, (12) and which are also the statutes of the āfrin blessing of the pious and of the good (ones), and of the genuine fidelity (lit. ‘absence of deceit’), of the pious and good (ones), and of the (non-infidel (sic)) non-offensiveness (of ‘the absence of the outlandish unbelief,’ ‘of the non-
Iranianism’)² of the good and pious ones, (13) that we may with invitations³ make known (possibly ‘that we may gain’; see nāšuma) what is sacred (or ‘bounteous’⁴) in (these) communications (lit. ‘in speech’); that is to say, (the writer meant) ‘at will let it so be,’ (that is, ‘let him

¹ Ašim was not mistaken for an acc. of aš = ašim, possibly of another accent. The Pers. also renders ašo; though I do not think this quite decisive. The ç is the Pahlavi sign for ‘y,’ here again occurring in the middle of an Av. word, as having also its inherent vowel ‘a.’ There is no such word as ašim here present; the form is ašyum, an acc. sg. masc. ; see Z.D.M.G., Oct., 1898.

² I can only suggest an an-aunar-uXTī here, the ‘u’ in -aunar being the result of epenthetic anticipation of the following ‘u’ in uXTī, ‘the most non-irreligious’ (sic), ‘a’ priv. before var—‘the one having no irreligious speech’; ‘who does not express himself in an unorthodox manner.’ The Persian reads arûnagā, translating bi-dāzār? + bi-ranizdah (so); while the gloss to Visp. x, 10, would suggest the further idea of a ‘not un-Iranianism’ (?) ; anarımakhī to be read here?

³ The Persian has dazigat kwanem = ‘I make invitation,’ ‘I invite.’

⁴ I cannot always accede to the meaning ‘holy’ for speita = afzûmig, but ‘bounteous’ alone hardly conveys the idea; ‘bestowing with prosperity,’ ‘sacred good fortune,’ seem to be the ideas involved. ‘Holy,’ with the most, has, on the other hand, seemed to me to be too credulous.
so bestow these advantages ("these blessings") as the Prince-benefactors of Thy [Province].

Prayers for Participations in the Cause.

(14) A profitable communication (‘useful voice,’ not seeing a nom. pl. in suṣyamna) let them bear (seeing a ‘bareṇṭu’ for ‘bareṇṭō’)⁴;—promoters of the general prosperity (Saosyants) and may we be (profit-bearers) and successful; and may we be Aūharmazd’s friends, as (His) assisting person(s);⁴ (15) yea, may we be like one who, as a man, has been (active) in the thinking of the good thoughts, in the speaking of the good words, and in the doing of the good deeds of the holy man.⁵

Prayers for Spiritual Approaches.

(16) (Inform us then) how,⁶ as (being) of good thought, he [Vah’man] may approach us,⁷ also how may he approach us as endowed with the mental cheerfulness (‘with a confident estimate’) as regards the two interests, [when I would effectually maintain (literally ‘I would well work,’ ‘when

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¹ Is it ‘of the XXX? provinces’; hardly; see the i-k or r-k recurring; see also the Persian tō. Was this ‘lak,’ however, accidentally occasioned by the foregoing letters -tō, -tū? Lak seems to render the Avesta vi as ‘vi.”

² Recalling Y. XXXIII, 9.

³ Recalling Y. XXX, 9.

⁴ Referring to the vāzīṭō . . . . astī of XXXI, 22.

⁵ Here I suggest as alternative reconstruction of the original: ‘who (read: yōi) with the good thoughts of the holy man thinking, with the good words of the holy man speaking, and with the good deeds of the holy man acting . . . .’ Or, otherwise again, putting mainimna (mainyamna) in the sg.; read -nō, to smooth the sense.

Nothing is more erroneous than to refrain from restoring texts, which is the chief business of reproduction; no texts of any kind exist which are perfect. Our incipient confidence is illusive; approximation only is to be expected.

⁶ So, as the original in yaṣā, cēgon is better rendered in this sense, here avoiding the interrogative.

⁷ Recalling Y. XLIV, 1, and Y. XLIV, 8, so mistaking only the immediate subject.
I would carefully further and adjust') the interests of Heaven and those of the world]. (17) How¹ may my soul approach that which is the good mental joyfulness (or 'the one endowed with it')?

Sacrificial to the Waters, etc.

(18) And I sacrifice to the forth-flow² of all the good waters [and with joyfulness of mind³] and to their counter-flow⁴ [ebb and flow]⁵ and to their taking-up?⁶ (the return, or counter-flow, of the flood-tides (?), or freshets); (or 'to their absorption' (into the atmosphere(?) for further rainfalls)). (19) And to Berejya, the sovereign of ladies⁷ (so,— here, however, with great error for berezantem = 'exalted,' which is properly rendered 'bulanand' as it occurs

¹ Here interrogative; see Y. XLIV, 8c.
² It is interesting to notice that fravâmešn', rather than fravâmešn', is here indicated by the sense of fráistim ; so also the Persian Pahl. text writes fravâmešn, but it has a curious Persian transl. pah mashahr (so), as if the utterance of vocal doctrinal expressions were seen ; mashahr renders ašrinagān, etc., at times.
³ A repetition from 16 and 17.
⁴ The Pers. transl. has pasirah raftan.
⁵ One might suppose that the 'tides' were referred to, but the localities were inland.
⁶ Jaretim is here referred to a jar = 'par,' 'to seize'; so the Pers. translates giršnī ; I still prefer 'their roar,' as in S.B.E. xxxi, 1887; their 'taking-up' in vapour would be too advanced.
⁷ This translation may indeed possibly be correct in essence, as the word may in fact refer to 'ladies,' but the form of its translation was probably, if not evidently, an error owing to the same common mistake, which I have so often endeavoured to rectify. The long 'i' of xástrijm is one of those relics of the original Pahlavi-Avesta signs, which I find to be so frequent in the Avesta-writing; in the original Pahl.-Avesta it equals ž, as well as i, ḍ, g, etc.; and it has here its inherent vowel 'a' (or 'e'), as so often. The word is xástrijam (or 'yem'), of course agreeing with 'akhurn,' acc. sg. masc., though this last word shows an interesting case where 'ahurn' does not refer to 'Ahura Mazda'; xástrijm as acc. sg. masc. is as impossible as an ašim of that force, or as a hatim, etc.; see again Z.D.M.G., Oct., 1898, etc., and the previous article.

xástrijem may, however, exactly mean 'appertaining to the protection of ladies.' I preferred, however, in S.B.E. to avoid this opportunity to follow tradition.
below), and to the brilliant\textsuperscript{1} one Apām Nāpāt, of the
swift horses (the Lightning); (20) and there is,\textsuperscript{2} (meaning
‘let there be’), this hearing\textsuperscript{2,3} for the sacrifice, praise,
propitiation, and afрин-service of (or ‘for’) the (entire)
sacred world. (21) And I sacrifice to Sṛōsā, the Holy (the
‘Ear of God,’ so elsewhere as the ‘Hearing of our
sacrifice’), and to the lofty Chief who is the Aūharmazd
(Himself), (22) who is the (one) eminent above Aša\textsuperscript{4};
[that is to say, of the Yazats whose body is Aša, He is
the great One], who is the most (closely) approaching
above Aša (meaning (?) ‘more closely approaching than
Aša’), [that is to say, the business which it is necessary
to attend to with sagacity is attended to in advance\textsuperscript{5} (or
‘more fully so’) by Him].

(23) And to all the reported words\textsuperscript{6} of\textsuperscript{7} Zarthusṭ do
I sacrifice [to the Avesta and the Zend\textsuperscript{8}], and to all
performance of good deeds,\textsuperscript{9} which have been done up to
the present, and to those also which are (to be) done [from
the present forth].

\textsuperscript{1} The ‘brilliant’ one postulates a meaning ‘to lighten’ in the root of
\textit{xaŋtəm}; this I can hardly accept, though ‘brilliant’ is well enough
adapted to the context here.

\textsuperscript{2} Sraoša understood in this sense; see also 21, not as mere ‘hearing,’
however, but as accepted ‘hearing’; the ‘heeding’ on the part of God
regarded as the object of the sacrifice, while sraoša also elsewhere
undoubtedly means ‘the heeding on the part of man,’ and even ‘toward
man’; see the Gāthas, Y. XLV, 5.

\textsuperscript{3} The \textit{alt = ‘is’} shows a failure to notice the imperative in \textit{astu} ‘let
this heeding be . . . .’ Was \textit{asti} read, as in some MSS., for \textit{astu}?
In one ‘good’ MS., K. 4 (?), I think, all the \textit{a’s} are written as \textit{i’s}.

\textsuperscript{4} So, far better than ‘eminent from His Holiness’; if we can avoid
this last; see also \textit{yag. l mas}, ‘even more closely attentive than Aša’;
‘the most (fully) arrived from Aša’ would invert the relation; \textit{Ahura}
is the subject; God would not so naturally be so referred to.

\textsuperscript{5} The idea of ‘anticipated information’ is elsewhere prominent.

\textsuperscript{6} The traditional sayings.

\textsuperscript{7} So the most MSS. with the original; but B. om. the \textit{i}.

\textsuperscript{8} As if the whole Avesta, together with its commentaries, were from
Zartusšt, whereas we should have correctly ‘O Zartusšt’; see the original.

\textsuperscript{9} Hardly ‘his’ deeds here; see the future referred to.
IV.

MSS. CECIL BENDALL.

EDITED BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, M.R.A.S.

II. FRAGMENTS EN ÉCRITURE GUPTA DU NORD.

C'est à l'ingénieuse patience d'un ami désintéressé que je dois de pouvoir présenter ici une transcription complète de ces fragments; les notes aussi, dans l'ensemble, lui appartiennent.

Le premier morceau (A), quatre feuillets numérotés 26-29, met en scène les Bouddhas de tout le cosmos, avec leurs Bodhisattvas et leurs Śrāvakas. Ces saints personnages vont se rendre dans notre univers (Sahā) où Śākyamuni leur révélera la dhāranī Dharmahṛdayasamucchaśrayavidhvaṃsāni. "Ne craignez pas de ne pas trouver place dans la Sahā," expliquent les Bouddhas à leurs auditeurs, "car Śākyamuni possède le pouvoir de faire tenir sur un grain de poussière tout l'élément 'terre' de tous les univers," etc. Nous ne sommes pas, que je sache, renseignés ailleurs sur ce pouvoir magique de praveśa.

Il n'est pas certain que le deuxième fragment (B), une feuille incomplète, fasse partie du même ouvrage. C'est un spécimen de la littérature d'exorcisme et qui présente avec l'Āṭānātiyasaūta des ressemblances assez étroites.

MS. A.

26 (r°).

[Pl. 1. A. 1a. (= x. b. 2.).]

cāny[o]nyam anum[o]ditā [ye] [p]y [e]v[e]ha daśasu
dikṣu buddhā bhagavantaḥ tiṣṭhanti yāpayantī
dharma[m] ca desayanti ∼ s[arve]

1 On attend une forme du passé : 'ont dit,' correspondant à adhiśṭhita, anumodita. [L. V. P.]
2. te buddhā bhagavantas tāṁ vajradharmasamatā[m] pratitya dharmahṛdayasamucchrayavidhvamṣanāṁ nāma dhāraṇimudrāpadaprabhedapraśeṣāvyākaraṇāṁ bhāṣāṁ.

3. te dhītiṣṭhaṇty anyonyaṁ cānumodante ∼ ye py anāgata dhvani daśasu dikṣv anyonyāsu lokal-dhātusu tathāgatārhaṁ samyaksambuddhā bhaveṣyanti ∼ te pīmāṁ

4. vajradharmasamatāṁ pratitya dharmahṛdayasamucchrayavidhvamṣanāṁ nāma dhāraṇimudrāpadaprabhedapraśeṣāvyākaraṇāṁ bhāṣiṣyante dhīṣṭhaṣṭaṁ anyonyaṁ cā-

5. numōdīṣyante ∥ atha khalu teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ye bodhisatvāṁ te tāṁ prati prati buddhāṇ bhagavataḥ pariprakṣaḥ katamāsaḥ bhagavaṇṇ asmābhīr āṣruta-


26 (v°).

[Pl. 2. A. 1b. (= x. a. 2.).


2. vad upaśamakarīḥ desayatu bhagavāṁs tāṁ vajra-dharmasamatā[m] pratitya dharmahṛdayasamucchrayavidhvamṣanāṁ dhāraṇimudrāpadaprabhedapraśeṣāvyākaranī[m]

3. sarvamārabalapramardonarakarīṁ yāvad anuṣadhiṣeṣe nirvāṇadhātau parinirvāpanīṁ bahujanahitaṁ bahujanasmukhāya lokānukampayai mahato

1 ∼ est un trait indiquant que, sur la ligne, aucun caractère ne précède ou ne suit.
² ² me parait assuré par les traces visible.
³ Lire evam. [Peut-être : yā evam bahu’?—L. V. P.]
4. janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanusyānāṃ atha te buddhā bhagavantaḥ tān bodhisatvān evam āhuh vayam api kulaputrās tāṃ sahasr lo-
5. kadhātum gamisyāmo yatra sa śākyamunis tathāgato viharaty arhan samyaksambuddhaḥ ye pi daśasu dikṣu buddhā bhagavanta etarhi tiṣṭhanti yāpa-
saṃghapuraskṛtāḥ tāṃ sahasr lo-

27 (v°).

[Pl. 1. A. 2a. (= x. b. 3.).]

tenā śākyamuninā tathāgatena sārdham imāṃ vajradharmasamatā[m] pra-
2. titya dharmahṛdayasamucchrayavidhvamsani[m] nāma dhāraṇimudrāpadaprabhedapraseśavyākara-
ṇīṃ bhāṣisyante dhiṣṭhāsyanti ~ anyonyaṃ cānumodisyante sa-
3. rvasatvahitāya duṣcaritakarmanivāraṇāya bhadracaryāpapūraṇāya anuttarajñānapāripūryai sarve te buddhā bhagavanto dyā tāṃ sahasr lokadhātum
saṃni-
4. patya bodhisatvaganaparivṛtāḥ śrāvakasamgha-
puraskṛtā imāṃ vajradharmasamataṃ pratitya 2 dharmahṛdayasamucchrayavidhvamsani[m] dhāra-
ṇimudrā-
5. padaprabhedapraseśavyākaranīṃ bhāṣisyante ~ tad yo yusmākam icchati tāṃ vajradharmasamatāṃ pratitya dharmahṛdayasamucchrayavidhvamsani[m] nā-

1 I.e. anyo°.
2 Écrit rya.
raṇīṃ śrot[u]ṃ tāṃ āḥ cāprame 1yāsaṃkhyeyān (−−)

27 (v°).

[Pl. 2. A. 2b. (= x. a. 3.).

1. 2kabuddhaks[e]tr[e] buddhān bhagava 3 
tah tiṣṭhataḥ pūjayitum tāṃ ca dharmāṃ śrotuṃ 
tāṃ ca sarva-buddha-

2. bodhisatvadvavāvāsvavāsvayabuddhakṣetrālaṃkā- 
ravyūhān draṣṭum āsrutāpurvaṃ ca bahubuddha-

3. cchatu tāṃ sahāṃ lokadhātuṃ yatra sa sākyamunis 
tathāgato viharaty arhan sāmyaksambuddho tha 
te bodhisatvā mahāsatvās tān buddhān bhagavata 
evām āhu-

4. r evaṃ bhadanta bhagavan gacchāmo vayaṃ tathā-

gatena sārdham sahāṃ lokadhātuṃ yatra sa 
sākyamunis tathāgato viharaty arhan sāmyak-

5. sambuddhas tāṃ asruta-

6. pūrvāṃ vajradharmasamatā[m] pratitya dharmahr-
dayasamcehravavidhvamśanin dhāraṇīmudrāpada-

prabhedapraśavayākaranīṃ śravānāya tatra va-

6. yam ekakālaikasamayaikab[u]d[da]ḥ[k][s][etre tān 

apra[m]eyāsaṃkhyeyān buddhān bhagavata- (−−)

28 (v°)

[Pl. 1. A. 3a. (= x. b. 4.).

1. s[t[i]ṣṭhant[o] yāpayantah pūjay[i]syāmas teśaṃ 
cantikād dharma[m] śrasyāma tatra ca vayaṃ 
caturbhīr rddhivisayavyūhais tāṃ sahāṃ loka-

dhātuṃ samanu-

1 Ici un trait d'union, la courbure du bord supprimant la place 
d'écrite.
2 Le. ekā°.
3 Ici un trait d'union, même raison que supra.
4 MS. semble porter draṣṭunanta ou draṣṭanta.
2. kṛtāν draksyāmāh tāṁś ca mahāsannipātavyūhāṁ
draksyāmāh saced vayaṁ tatra buddhakṣetre
tasyāṁ dhāranyāṁ bhāsyamānuśaṁ sthānaṁ
lapsyāmahe tāṁś ca bu-
3. ddhān bhagavato vandītum śaksyāmāḥ paryupāsitum
pūjayitum dharmāṁ ca śrotum tāṁś ca yathā-
sannipatītān bodhisatvān mahāsatvān ity atha te
buddhā bhaga-
4. vantaḥ prati prati buddhakṣetre tān svān svān bodhi-
satvān mahāsatvāṁs tāṁś ca mahāśrāvakān evam
āhūḥ mā yūyaṁ kulaputrā evam kāṁksata maivaṁ
ci-
5. kitsadhvaṁ tatra lokadhātau praveśasthānāvakāśaṁ
pratiḥ ¹ tat kasya hetoḥ ananto buddhānāṁ bhaga-
vatā[m] buddhavisayāvatārāsamatājñānakausā-
6. [ya]ṣat[kar]mavipākah vistirṇāvakāśaḥ sakalapu[ny-
aḥ sa]

28 (v°).

(P. 2. A. 3b. (=x. a. 4.).
1. śākyamunis tathāgato mahopāyakausalyasamanvā-
gataḥ ye kecit kulaputrāḥ satvāḥ satvadhātusa[m]-
grahasann[j]h[i]tāḥ dhātvāyatanasa-
2. niiśrītaṁ teśāṁ satvāṁ saced ekaikasya sumeru-
pramāṇaḥ atmbhāvo bhavet parikalpam upādāyaḥ
² šaktāḥ sa śākyamunis tathāgatas tān sa-
3. rvasatvān evamrūpātmabhāvān ekasmiṁ sarśapaphale
praveśayitum ekaikas ca satvo vistirṇāviṣayāvakāśaḥ
syān na ca parasparam te caksuṣa
4. ābhāsam āgaccheran na ca tasyā³ aikasya sarśa-
pahalasya sarvasatvamahātmabhāvapraveṣenoton-
atvaṁ vā pūrnatvaṁ vā prajñāyeta ā evamrūpēna ku-

¹ Erreur de scribe, comme plusieurs autres.
² Même erreur que ci-dessus à pratiḥ.
³ Écrit st.
5. laputrā upāyakausalyena samanvāgataḥ sa śākyamunis tathāgata iti ~ || punar aparāṃ kuleputrāḥ yāvat karkaśatvam tat sarvam prthividhā.

6. (~) tuḥ saktah sa śākyamunis tathāgatas taṃ sarvam prthividhāt[u].

29 (v°).

[Pl. 1. A. 4a. (= x. b. 1.).

1. [m e]karajāgr[e] praveśayitu[m] na ca tasy[ai]karajāgrasya sarvaprthividhātupraveśenonatvaṃ vā pūrṇatvam vā prajñāyeta ~ anenaivaṃprūpenopāyakau.

2. sālyena samanvāgata sa śākyamunis tathāgataḥ punar aparāṃ kulaputrā yat kim ci dravatvaṃ prajñāyate tat sarvam abdhātuḥ saktah sa śākyamun.

3. nis tathāgatas taṃ sarvam abdhātum ekābalagre praveśayitum na ca tasyaikasya bālavṛgya sarvāb. dhātupraveśenonatvaṃ vā pūrṇatvam vā prajñāye.

4. ta ~ || punar aparāṃ kulaputrāḥ yah kaścid vāyu. dhātuḥ prajñāyate ~ saktah sa śākyamunis tathāgatas taṃ sarvam vāyuḥdātum ekasmin romakūpe pra-

5. kṣeptum tatra ca sarvo vāyuḥdātus tasmiṃn ekaromakūpe vistirṇāvakāsāḥ svavāsya vah saṃcāret || punar aparāṃ kulaputrā yāvad uṣṇa-

29 (v°).

[Pl. 2. A. 4b. (= x. a. 1.).


1 Ci-dessous 29 v°, 2. savasayavat.
2 Ou “ta.”
2. tasmin paramāṇau vistirṇāvakāśaḥ svaviṣayavat
    saṃcareṇaḥ punar aparāṇa kulaputraḥ yāni kāni cī
dāsaṃ dīkṣu buddhakṣetraṇī tāni sarvāṇi sārdha[m]
3. taiḥ sarvasatvaiḥ tais ca caturbhīr mahābhūtaiḥ sa
    sākyamunis tathāgataḥ ekarajāgre pravesāyitum
    śaktas tasmīṃ ca paramāṇurajasi te sarva-
4. satvāḥ saha tair mahābhūtaiḥ svaviṣayakarmānta-
cāriṇo vistirṇāvakāśaḥ vicareyuh na ca paraspara-
    vihethā bhave na ca tasyaikarajāgrasyona-
5. t[v]aṃ vā pūrnatvaṃ vā prajñāyeta evaṃrūpeṇopā-
yajñānakausalyena samanvāgataḥ sa sākyamunis
    tathāgataḥ || punar aparāṃ kulaputraḥ

MS. B.

(r°)

[Pl. 1. B. la. (= x. a. 5.).

1. . . . ḫ.
eva[m] ca vāca[m] bhāṣant[ī] nāsti bhūtārhajivitaṃ ~
yatra śakro devendro¹ mantra[m] bhāṣati đāruṇaṃ ~
yatredaṃ vasati sūtraṃ grāme vā nagare pi vā
    na ta-

2. [tra] . . .² asmākaṃ praveśaṃ na labhāmatha³ ~
evaṃ đāruṇa sūtraṃ daśitaṃ sāmabhandhanam ~
yatra bhūta praveksyanti tatra[ . . ] jvalamti ca⁴ ~
sarve nairayikā duṅkhā bhū-

¹ Peut-être, pour rétablir le mètre, pourrait-on supposer que le texte primitif portait un génitif en āna (admis en sanskrit bouddhique) dont la dernière voyelle formait sandhi avec la première de indro ; ainsi devānendro.
² Supplée vāsō ?
³ Ou labhāma tha³. En tout cas la curieuse forme d’une 1re personne du pluriel en matha paraît exister. Je serais porté, pour ma part, à admettre qu’elle doit son origine à un sandhi, à la façon du pāli-
    prākrit, entre -ma et atha.
⁴ Deux akṣaras manquent. Leur omission et la lacune qui suit se compliquent pour me rendre trop hasardeuse une restitution.
3. [tā] . . . ~ vedanā ~
   devarājana vacanaṁ yaś ca bhūto atikramet ~
   kāyasya bhedā narakeṣu avicasny upapadyatu ~
   yaś cápy atikramet sūtram yathā bu-

4. dhruvaṁ virāgītā buddhā yaś ca sūtram atikramet
   bhāṣitāmsūtrubuddhebhi ~ sambuddhenaprakāṣitam ~
   karunārucasya arthāya rakṣāyā

5. sarvagrahā pramuacyatu ~ ye ca loke vihimsakāh
   trasamtu uttrasante ca ~ na ~

6. . . . ~ kā 3 satam || (~) ||

(v`).

1. aham vakṣye
   sarvabhūtāś ca yaksāś ca mā ca hiṃsantu mānuśān
   tatra vaisravano rājā sarvair yaksaiḥ puraskṛtah
   upasamkramitvā sambuddhām vandi-

2. [tum] . . . ~ me 4 ~
   vanditvā śīrasā pādau kṛtvāna ca pradaksinam ~
   ekatamante sthiḥtvāna imā gāthām abhāṣīsu ~
   prabhāṃkaraṃ namasyāmi ~ bhavanirmuktanāya-

3. [kam]
   . . . . vam 5 ājñāya desesi dharmacakṣumān
   tatvāṃ vira namasyāmi ~ lokaṇāthau narottamaṃ ~
   dharmena tvam mahāvīra samaṃ prekṣasi gautamaḥ 6
   subhā-

1 Supplée "dēhebhi bhāṣitām?"
2 M. E. J. Rapson a proposé la distribution des pādas qui avait paru
   mal assurée. [L. V. P.]
3 Le k n’est pas sûr. L’m dans satam est irrégulièrement formé, mais
   est entièrement probable.
4 samprucaukrame, semble-t-il.
5 Une partie du caractère manque, mais va me semble certain, contre
   l’hypothèse d’un ca ou d’un ta. On peut conjecturer qu’il y avait là
   un composé terminé en bhava ou bhāra.
6 Cf. Grimblot, Sept Suttas Palis, p. 324: kusalena samikkhasi :
   amanaśā pī tām vedanti. [L. V. P.]
4. [ṣitam] . . ¹ sūtram dharmarāja prabhāṃkaraḥ
tatrāpi aham pravakṣyāmi sambuddhaḥ samanvāharaḥ ²
yaksapṛetyā mama pretya upādentī vividhā
hastirūpā sīm-

5. [ha] . . ³ [vyā]ghramṛgarūpakāni ca
aśvarūpāḥ gavarūpāḥ kharoṣṭrā ēdakāni ca
sthūlaśīrśāḥ kṛṣagā ⁴ lā (~)

¹ Il me semble à propos de supposer là ~ — comme dans les pādas impairs qui précédent. trayaḥ pourrait aller.
² Si on mesure samānāharaḥ, on obtient un pāda.— [Même remarque que ci-dessus, B ¹, note 2, p. 52.]
³ rūpā au moins très-probable.
⁴ "gā", sic. Lire "gālā."
V.

A COIN OF HUVISHKA.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

The illustration A. at page 58 below shews a coin of Huvishka, the reverse of which has been presented by Thomas in this Journal, 1877. 212, plate, fig. 7; by Gardner in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, plate 28, fig. 7; and by Cunningham in his Coins of the Kushāns, plate 22, fig. 17. For the casts from which I illustrate this coin and two others which have to be noticed along with it, I am indebted to Mr. Allan, of the British Museum.

The reverse of this coin shews a woman, standing, clothed with an himation or short upper cloak over a chiton or long robe reaching down to her feet, holding a bow in her left hand, and drawing an arrow from the quiver with her right hand. There is, perhaps, a small crescent over her head: or that detail may be a part of the head-dress. The name attached to the figure is ἱέπο.

This coin appears to have been first described by Thomas, in this Journal, 1877. 213, No. 7. He read the name as ΖΕΠΟ, and interpreted it as meaning Ceres (Démêtēr) but as denoting Diana. And he considered that the device was imitated from a certain coin of Augustus of B.C. 10. The reverse of that coin, however, illustration B., shews an appreciably different figure of Artemis or Diana; clothed indeed in a long flowing robe, but striding. A resemblance between the two figures is found only in the point that each of them holds a bow in the left hand and is drawing
an arrow from the quiver with the other hand. It cannot be said correctly that the device A. was an imitation of the device B.

Von Sallet (*Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*, 202) rejected the reference to Ceres, and proposed to read the name as μειρο,— taking the μ and ε as combined in “monogram.”

Gardner (op. cit., 144, No. 71) read the legend, somewhat doubtfully, as ΜΕΙΠΟ. He took the figure to be that of Artemis. And, in respect of the point that the name would denote the Sun-god, he said (introd., 61):—“I venture to suggest that the word ΜΕΙΠΟ is intended, for we find in other instances that inappropriate legend sometimes accompanying types which were, as we may conjecture, unintelligible to the die-cutter.”

Stein took up this matter next, in the course of an article entitled “Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins,” which was published first in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1. 155 ff., and then, with some additions, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 17. 89 ff. He followed the belief that Kanishka founded the Śaka era of A.D. 78, and that the coins of the Kanishka group are the latest of the so-called Indo-Scythic series, and present at least some deities of an unmistakably Zoroastrian character. His point of view was that “these representations are, in fact, almost our only contemporary documents for that most obscure period in the history of Zoroastrian worship which intervened between the fall of the Ancient Persian Empire and the Sassanian revival,” and that the names of the non-Indian deities on the coins in question are mostly Middle Persian or Pahlavi. And under those influences he treated this particular name as follows (IA, 17. 93), taking as his clue “the bow and arrow in the hand of the deity.” He took the word tir, meaning in Pahlavi and Persian ‘an arrow,’ which is a later appellation of the star Sirius whose Avestic name is Tishtrya, and is
also the name of the fourth Zoroastrian and Cappadocian month. He inferred that an arrow "in popular conception was evidently an attribute of the star;" and he found a passage in the Tir-Yasht, 8. 37, in which the swift flight of the star Tishtrya is directly compared with that of an arrow. He also found that in two of the best manuscripts the name of the fourth month in question is written Teipei. Accordingly, he analyzed the first letter of the word τειπο into a T followed by the characters ε and ϊ combined. He thus read the name as ΤΕΙΠΟ. And on the point that the figure is undeniably that of a woman, he said: "We "need not attach much importance to the difficulty pre-"sented by the apparently female character of the type. "The latter is evidently a mere reproduction of the Greek "Artemis, which was a type ready at hand for an Indo-"Scythian die-cutter wishing to exhibit in his type the "characteristic emblems of the Deity, bow and arrow."" 2

Finally, Cunningham (Babylonian and Oriental Record, 2. 42), objecting to the association of a female figure with the name of a male god, preferred to read the name as ΖΕΙΠΟ, and to identify the goddess with the Persian Zahra, Venus. He remarked: "In the Arabic version "of the Acts of the Apostles [c. xix, 28] the Greek "Ἀρπεμις is rendered by Zahra. 3 We have also the

1 He also (IA, 17. 90, 92, 94) found Mihr, Mithri, names of one of the other months, in the Miero, Miro, etc., on other coins of the same group; Athra, Ātash, names of the ninth month, in the Athsho, Athosho, of the coins; and Xantheri, Xanthri'orē, etc., names of the sixth month, in the Shaorēoro, Shaureoro, of the coins. He seems, in fact, to have been far too much influenced by that line of thought. But, while we may differ from him in respect of some of his conclusions, we cannot recognize too cordially the great service that he rendered by establishing the sh-value of the character ρ.

2 It may be observed, however, that the arrow has no prominence on the coin: it is not shewn at all: the prominent attributes are the bow and the quiver.

3 The passage is the well-known one: "And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians."
"statement of Hesychius, who says Ζαριτες Ἀρτέμις "Πέρσα. As a final proof I may add that I possess two "gold coins with exactly the same female figure with "Bow and Quiver, both of which bear the legend of "ΝΑΝΟ. That Nanaia was the Eastern Venus we have "the testimony of Plutarch and Klemens of Alexandria. "The former says 'Artemis quam vocavit Anaitida,' and "the latter more directly says Ἀφροδίτης Ταναίδος." Later, in his Coins of the Kushans, adhering to his identification of the goddess with Zahra, he proposed to read the name as "perhaps ΖΗΠΟ" (p. 63, No. 80), or "doubtfully as ΖΕΠΟ or ΖΕΠΟ" (p. 97).

* * *

My reading of this name differs from all the preceding readings. In the first syllable we certainly have a compound character. But we cannot recognize anything like Η, Τ, or Τ, as a part of it. We might recognize an Μ or an Η, in combination with an epsilon, or even an epsilon and an iota; the right limb of the Μ or Η doing duty for also the principal part of the epsilon. But no similar instance of a ligature is found on any coins of this group, or, except in the actual "monograms," on any of the other coins: and, as we have seen (this Journal, 1907. 1044 ff.), the sign Η with the value Η is conspicuously absent from the coins of this group. In any case, however, it is out of the question that we should admit a female figure as an accompaniment to the name of a male god: there is nothing in the coins of the Kanishka group to justify so strange a treatment as that.

I base my reading on what we have been told by Taylor regarding the disappearance of the character Η with the value of the aspirate from the Greek alphabets, and the evolution of the rough breathing in its present form. He has said (The Alphabet, 2, 86):

"The process of formation can be conveniently traced "on the coins of Heraclea, an Ionian colony in Lucania,
A COIN OF HUVISHKA.
which supply an instructive series of chronological
legends, extending from the close of the 5th century B.C.
to the beginning of the 3rd. We have four successive
types—

"(1) ΗΕ prior to 400 B.C.
"(2) ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ 400–350 B.C.
"(3) ΗΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ 350–300 B.C.
"(4) ΗΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ after 300 B.C.

"At first Η is a mere guttural breath, Е representing the
long vowel ɛ. In the next stage Η denotes the aspirated
vowel he (= English hay). The forms are then differen-
tiated and the sounds specialized, giving ǂ = h,¹ and
"Η = е. The character ǂ easily passed through Λ to
which is the form of the rough breathing usual in
"minuscule MSS."

With that guide before us, I find in the first syllable of the
word เ�โป a ligature which, rare as such combinations
were in the more ancient Greek writing, is one which is of
no questionable nature but is of actual occurrence. The
ligature consists of ǂ as a cursive form of the rough
breathing ǂ, prefixed to ɓ as a variety of the cursive
_eta, Η. And the name given to us here is ǂ-πο, = 'Ερο,
or more freely Héro, or (we may say) Héru: for the
_u-value of the o, see this Journal, 1907. 1046, and
1045, note.²

The treatment of this matter would hardly be complete
without an identification of the goddess who is here called
'Ερο, Héro, or Héru. On this point, the following remarks
may be made.

¹ Roberts, in his Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part 1. 273, has
noted a "form ǂ which is apparently a transition form between Η and
the Tarentine ǂ."
² When I wrote that note, I had lost sight of the fact that Dr. Stein
had already identified the name Oësha, Oësha, with the Sanskrit Vrisha,
through, in his opinion, a Prâkrit form *vesha.
The two coins referred to by Cunningham (see page 58 above), as presenting exactly the same female figure but bearing the legend NANO, are now in the British Museum. They, also, are coins of Huvishka.\(^1\) And the illustration C. shews one of them, presented by Cunningham alongside of the coin bearing the name Héro in his Coins of the Kushâns, plate 22, fig. 16.

We have here, on the reverse of C., a figure which is almost identical with that on the Héro coin: but it has a nimbus, and a plainly discernible crescent over the head; and the upper garment is treated differently.\(^2\) The legend NANO, Nano, marks this distinctly as a figure of Nana, Nanaia, the great godess whose image was carried away from Babylon to Shushan (Susa) by the Elamite king Cudur-nankhundi about B.C. 2280.\(^3\) But it does not follow that Héro was necessarily Nana.

Jastrow has told us (The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 81 f.) that Nana, the consort of Nabu, was, in the fully developed cosmology, the planet Venus, and her name became finally displaced by that of Ishtar (Astarte, Ashtoreth). She may thus be certainly treated as a Babylonian counterpart of Artemis; for, Rawlinson has told us (The Five Great Monarchies, 1, 139) that in the inscriptions of one king Ishtar is represented as the goddess

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\(^1\) Attention may be drawn to a detail which is clear enough on the original coins, but is not quite so evident in the illustration which I give. The oo of the name oohoPK is represented, not by two complete circles, but by two semicircles, with the open part downwards. Why this should have been done, is not apparent: the die-sinker was plainly a good artist; and he could, surely, have easily made room enough to form the two vowels fully, by making the nimbus somewhat smaller.

\(^2\) It is treated in this way again on the reverse of a coin of Artemidoros (Gardner, plate 13, fig. 2). But there the goddess stands facing: and, judged by the hand-drawn illustration in Cunningham's Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, plate 14, fig. 4, she seems to be holding the bow in a different manner,—horizontally, or almost so.

\(^3\) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 7, 795.
of the chase: and that would suffice to account for her being represented on this coin with the bow, an attribute of Artemis as the huntress. Again, other reasons for identifying Nana with Artemis, perhaps even more directly, are given by Wagner in his article "Nana" in Roscher's Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie: this writer has reminded us, for instance, that a temple which the author of ii, Maccabees, 1. 13, speaks of as a temple of Nanaia and locates at Elymais a "city" in "Persia," is called by Josephus (Antiquities, 12. 9, 1) a temple of Artemis.

Now, Nana appears to be invariably depicted on the Indian coins with a crescent above her head: and the crescent moon was certainly an attribute of Artemis as the goddess of the moon. But the crescent does not necessarily mean the moon in the case of Nana: as is well known, the planet Venus shews from time to time the crescent shape; and there are occasions when, in the east, she can be seen in that shape with little, if any, optical aid. Further, Nana is depicted on the coins in various styles, and with other surroundings, which are certainly not those of Artemis. It would seem, therefore, that the persons who directed the making of those coins regarded her in several aspects, amongst which that of a connexion with Artemis was only one. Also, it appears difficult to trace any appellation of Nana resembling in any way the name Héro. And further, it would seem that other goddesses also were regarded as counterparts of Artemis: for instance, Herodotus tells us (2. 216) that the Egyptian Bubastis (Pasht) was the same with the Artemis of the Greeks. We must here look, I think, for some other goddess than

1 I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Wroth, in answer to an inquiry about his mention in his Coins of Parthia, introd. 20 f., of the temple of Artemis (Nanaea) in the kingdom of Elymais (Susiana).

2 For instance, holding a horse-headed or deer-headed sceptre (Gardner, plate 26, fig. 3; Cunningham, Coins of the Kusháns, plate 22, fig. 12): riding on a lion (Coins of the Kusháns, plate 22, fig. 20).
Nanā, also capable of being regarded as a counterpart of Artemis, but having a name which does resemble the name Hēro.¹

The required goddess is found— (I am indebted to Dr. Pinches for this)— in the Babylonian Ėru, Ėrua,² who was amalgamated with Zēr-panitum, "the seed-creatress," the consort of Marduk (Merodach). Ėru, Ėrua, was in a special sense the goddess of creation and reproduction, and was, from that point of view, a counterpart of Artemis,— notably, of the famous Artemis of Ephesus, the personification of the fructifying and all-nourishing power of nature: and that would suffice to account for the presentation of her with the bow of Artemis. Further, inscriptions indicate that she was identified with Nanā; which would justify her being represented with so similar a figure and dress. Finally, there are indications that her name was at one time pronounced Hēru, Hērā: and that would exactly account for the form Hēro, pronounceable as Hēru (see page 59 above), which we have here.

¹ The name of Hēra (Juno) of course suggests itself. But no authority can be found for connecting the bow and quiver with her, and none of her real attributes are found here. And, while the die-cutters of Kanishka and Huvishka, or the persons from whom they obtained their designs, may have used the same figure, or closely similar figures, for different deities, there is no good reason for imputing to them mistakes in the matter of attributes.

The Greeks had also the name Hēro: but, in addition to its having omegas instead of omikron, it appears to have been confined to (1) a daughter of Danaus, (2) a daughter of Priam, and (3) the well-known priestess of Aphrodite of the story of Hēro and Leander.

² Regarding this goddess, see also Jastrow, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 122 f.
VI.

THE VYAKTI-VIVEKA OF MAHIMA-BHATTA.

By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

THIS is a unique rhetorical work in Sanskrit literature, quoted by such eminent authors as Mammaṭa-Bhaṭṭa. In point of singular outspokenness, fearless criticism, and utter disregard of contemporary opinion, few rhetoricians can compare with Mahima-Bhaṭṭa. He wrote his well-known work at a time when the critical spirit was at the highest pitch, and his courageous exposure of the prevailing schools of thought and his daring attempt to set up an original school in their stead are commendable. Though often referred to by later authors and quoted piecemeal, the Vyakti-viveka, as a whole, has till now remained a sealed book to the public at large.¹ A paper manuscript of the work that was available to me, as well as the Mysore Oriental Library copy to which I had access through the courtesy of the Curator, supplied the materials for this brief sketch.

From the closing verses² of the work it will be seen that the full name of the author was Rājānaka-Mahimaka.

¹ It is just under publication by Pandit T. Gaṇapatī Śaṅkṛiṇi, Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

² चाणक्यं स्तुत्तिन्त्वर्णणं संभवित्वां न: ।
समु द्रष्टवतन्त्राय भीमस्मातिंतुणुस्तः तनयानां ॥
अधिकं श्लोकभुवा महाके ब्राह्मणश्लोकश्च ।
वांस्तिनविनो बिध्ये राजानकामहिमकेनायम॥
The term Rājānaka is, as we know, a title of respect held in common by several poets and scholars, such as Mammaṭa, Ratnākara, and Ruyyaka. And in the introductory verse 1 the author calls himself Mahimā (nom. sing. of Mahimāṇa); so that Mahimaka or Mahima is the real name of the author. He is more popularly known as Mahima-Bhaṭṭa, or (with reference to the name of his work) the Vyakti-viveka-kāra. We also meet with the form Mahimāchārya in the colophon at the end of the cantos.

From the closing verses quoted already, we learn that he wrote the work for the edification of his own grandsons (नसार!), the sons of Bhīma. Whether Bhīma was Mahima-Bhaṭṭa's son or son-in-law is not clear from the passage, as the term नसार: generally refers to a son's sons or a daughter's sons. 2 More probably Bhīma was his son, for he is spoken of here with no mark of respect and as if the relationship between Bhīma and himself was well known to the public.

The term नसार: may refer also to great-grandsons (sons of a grandson or a granddaughte). 3 If we take this meaning into consideration, Bhīma will have to be regarded as Mahima-Bhaṭṭa's grandson (a son's son or a daughter's son), which is rather improbable, since Bhīma's sons must have been sufficiently grown up to receive instruction at the time of the composition of this work.

Now, whatever may be the exact relationship between Mahima-Bhaṭṭa and Bhīma, it is certain that Bhīma was

1 [Sanskrit text]

2 Cf. पुत्रस्य प्राप्तिः (ब्रमरसुधा, ii, 6, 29).

3 Cf. वामसं विकसितस्य गर्ग्य: पोषकमक्षयम्।

[Introduction to Vishnusahasranāma.]
a younger contemporary of Mahima-Bhaṭṭa; and Bhima’s sons were so dear to him that their welfare was a matter of great concern to him (चेमयोगभावं न:). Well pleased with their gentle qualities (सत्तु प्रविष्टनवागानी) he wanted them to be well educated, and to this end he wrote his work.

Again, we find in the closing verses the names of his father and his teacher. Though his father, Śrī-Dhairya, may not be well known to Sanskrit literature, his teacher, Śyāmala, must have had a high reputation as an author to have merited the title mahā-kavi. Who could this Śyāmala be? We know of one poet, Śyāmala or Śyāmala-kaca, to whom is ascribed, in Vallabhadēva’s Subhāshitāvali, stanza 2,292 (प्रायबिन्तं मुग्यते, etc.). A similar reference is found to a Śyāmala in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhāna.¹

That Mahima-Bhaṭṭa was a native of Kashmir may be inferred from the constant allusion in the work to Kashmirian authors, from the peculiar form of his name, Mahimaka,² and from the title Rājānaka exclusively held by Kashmirian poets. Further, the following quotations, coupled with the fact that most of the illustrations in the work are taken from the story of Pārvatī and Paramēśvara, go to show that our author was probably a Brahmin of the Advaitic persuasion:—

(i) अत्तिविवेकं कुश्ति प्रश्न्य महिमा परं वाचम
(ii) सिद्धित्वाम चिनितं ... गुर्जरजप्रतितितवत

His Age.

Coming now to the author’s age, we find in the Vyakti-viveka abundant quotations from and references to several

¹ For other citations see Aufricht’s Catalogus Catalogorum, s.v.

² Cf. Bhumaika, Vamuka, Śankuka, etc., all ending in ka, just similar to the other names ending in fa, viz.: Kallaṭa, Allaṭa, Bhallaṭa, Mammaṭa, etc.

works and authors. I have been at great pains to trace the several stanzas quoted in the work to their original sources, and I find that the following are the most often cited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Kālidāsa</td>
<td>Śākuntala, Raghuvamśa, Vikramorvaśya, Kumāra-sambhava.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Bhāravi</td>
<td>Kirātārjunīya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Śrīharsha</td>
<td>Nāgānanda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Bhartṛhari</td>
<td>Vākyapadiya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Māgha</td>
<td>Śisupāla-vadha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Rājaśekhara</td>
<td>Bāla-Rāmāyana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Bhavabhūti</td>
<td>Uttara-Rāmācharita, Mālatī-mādhava.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Bhātha-Nārāyaṇa</td>
<td>Vēṇī-saṃhāra.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9) Ratnakara</td>
<td>Haravijaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Ānandavaradhaṇa</td>
<td>Dhvanyālōka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Bhātha-Nāyaka</td>
<td>Hṛidaya-darpaṇa, Commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) Abhinavagupta-</td>
<td>Lōchana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pādāchārya</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Of these we shall consider the last three, as they are the latest in point of time. We know that Ānandavaradhaṇa lived in the latter half of the ninth century, at the time of Avantivarman (855–884 A.D.); Bhātha-Nāyaka was a contemporary of Śaṅkara-varman (884–902 A.D.); and Abhinavagupta-pādāchārya, or Lōchanakāra, flourished about 993–1015 A.D. (see Duff's "Chronology of India," p. 102). Thus we may safely conclude that Mahima-Bhātha cannot be earlier than 1000 A.D.

Among other references found in the work the following verse deserves special mention, as alluding to a rhetorician of the highest order:

'काव्यकाश्चनकयांसमस्मानिना कुनवेन निजकाव्यवलब्धिणि।'

Can this Kuntaka be the Vakrokti-jivita-kāra so often cited by rhetoricians?
Again, the *Vyakti-viveka*, in its turn, has been quoted or criticized by later authors, among whom the following are the earliest:—

(1) *Mammatā*. (See Kāvyaprakāṣa, ch. v, pp. 304–7, Bombay.)

(2) *Ruyyaka*. (See Alaṅkārasarvasva, Bombay ed., pp. 12–13.)

(3) *Hemachandra*. (See Kāvyānusāsana, iii.)

Of these, *Ruyyaka*, we know, was the teacher of *Maṅkha* (a contemporary of Jayasimha, 1129–1150 A.D.); and was the author of *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, and a commentary on Mammatā's *Kāvyaprkāṣa*, called कार्यप्रकाशमभृत. (See *Subhāṣitāvali*, Peterson's Introd., p. 106.) Whereas *Hemachandra* (the author of *Kāvyānusāsana* and other well-known works) was a contemporary of Kumārapāla, and flourished between 1088 and 1172 A.D. He quotes profusely from Mammatā's *Kāvyaprkāṣa*. Thus we see that both *Ruyyaka* and *Hemachandra* are later than Mammatā. Mahima-Bhaṭṭa's age, therefore, hinges on that of Mammatā, as being the earliest of the authors that quote from or criticize the *Vyakti-viveka*.

Let us now consider the various theories regarding the date of *Mammatā*:—

(1) Dr. Peterson, in his introduction to the *Subhāṣitāvali*, maintains (p. 85) that Mammatā cannot be placed later than 1294 A.D. (the date of the commentary *Jayanti* on the *Kāvyaprkāṣa*).

(2) Miss Duff, in her "Chronology of India" (p. 189), refers to a commentary on the *Kāvyaprkāṣa* by *Narahari* (son of Mallinātha), born 1242 A.D.

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1 Pandit T. Ganapati Sāstri of Trivandrum informs me that he has recently discovered a *Commentary on the Vyakti-viveka* by the author (Ruyyaka) of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.

2 [On these questions see the references to Peterson and Bühler supplied in Professor Eggeling’s *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, p. 324.—F. W. T.]
(3) Professor Macdonell ("History of Sanskrit Literature," p. 434) holds that Mammaṭa lived about 1100 A.D.

(4) Bhimasena-Dikshita, in his commentary (Sudhāsāgara) on the Kāvyaprakāśa, following the tradition, states that Mammaṭa and his brothers, Kayyata (author of the Bhāshya-pradīpa (and Uvvaṭa (the commentator on the Vajasaneyi-Saṃhitā), were contemporaneous with King Bhoja (996–1051 A.D.).

(5) Bhāṭṭa Vāmanāchārya, in his learned introduction to the Kāvyaprakāśa, holds (p. 3) that Bhimasena's statement is not reliable, inasmuch as Mammaṭa refers to Bhoja in his Kāvyaprakāśa (canto x)—"भोजनू पति सत्यागर्जनी लावितम्"—and must therefore have been later than Bhoja; and his young brother, Uvvaṭa, could not at all have been a contemporary of Bhoja. He therefore disbelieves Bhimasena's theory, and does not consider Uvvaṭa as the brother of Mammaṭa (the author of the Kāvyaprakāśa). He ascribes Mammaṭa to the end of the eleventh century, placing him between Bhojarāja (996–1051) and Mānîkya-chandra, the commentator on the Kāvyaprakāśa (1160 A.D.).

It will be seen from the foregoing that the date of Mammaṭa is yet a matter of uncertainty, and the question deserves a detailed discussion here.

The arguments of Bhāṭṭa Vāmanāchārya are too weak and untenable. He presumes that Mammaṭa should be later than Bhoja (because of the reference to him in the Kāvyaprakāśa), and bases his arguments on that presumption. But this reference only goes to prove that Mammaṭa cannot be earlier than Bhoja, and I am of opinion that he must have been a contemporary of Bhoja, inasmuch as it would be more natural to interpret the passage 'भोजनूपतिसत्यागर्जनीलावितम' as referring to the

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1 [See Peterson's Report I, p. 26, and Vāmanāchārya's Introduction to his edition of the Kāvyaprakāśa (Bombay, 1889), p. 3.—F. W. T.]
munificence of a ruling king under whose patronage the author and his brothers flourished.

On this supposition there would be nothing inconsistent in the tradition that Kayyaṭa and Uvvaṭa were the younger brothers of Mammaṭa, and that all the three brothers were contemporaries of Bhōja. In fact, Uvvaṭa himself has, in his commentary on the Vājasanēyi-Saṃhitā, clearly stated that he wrote the work while Bhōja was reigning. In the face of such an explicit admission on the part of Uvvaṭa, it is hard to disbelieve the tradition about the brothers and assign them to different periods. Following Bhīmasēna, therefore, I would place Mammaṭa in the first half of the eleventh century.

Coming back to Mahima-bhāṭṭa, we thus see that he must be placed between Abhinava-guptapāda and Mammaṭa. No doubt the date I would assign to him makes him contemporaneous almost with the former; the passage in the Vyakti-vivēka where Abhinava-guptapāda is criticized supports me, as the wording there suggests that Mahima-bhāṭṭa is referring to a living rhetorician of a rival school of thought (वचािरचमािनिः: . . . यदाचः, नासानिमुलम्). For these reasons I am induced to arrange the periods of the literary activity of these rhetoricians thus:

(1) Abhinavagupta — the last decade of the tenth century.
(2) Mahima-bhāṭṭa — early part of the eleventh century.
(3) Mammaṭa — middle of the eleventh century.

Further, if we accept these dates as accurate, we shall be allowing the necessary interval for the several commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa which sprang up in the twelfth century A.D., such as Ruyyaka’s (1129–1150) and Mānikya-chandra’s (about 1160 A.D.).
His Rhetoric.

From the opening verse already quoted (नमानानमहावर्ण सर्वस्विस्त्र धर्म:; etc.) we see the one aim of the author is to establish his position that Dhvani falls under the head of Inference (अनुमान). He was a good logician, and, as such, his object was to criticize the theories of the other schools (grammatical and rhetorical). He refers to these rival schools in the passage—

युक्तो ययमानसवशान प्रति म प्रत्यक्षो नास्तव तत्त्वगति सर्वमनोर म यतः। कर्बच्च्ववानि विकासकथपे निमोल-लघु च द्रमुद्दर्यभार्ति च जगप्रदोषी॥
(i. 2.)

His chief aim is to explain and supplement the Dhvanya-loka of Ánandavardhana in his own way, as may be judged from the following verse:—

हृद समापितिविचारो ज्ञाता वा ज्ञानिकारस्य वचोविचारलं न:।
नियत्व यथा व प्रत्स्थववते य-वाहंतं संस्कार श्व मौर्याय॥
(i. 3.)

The work is divided into three chapters, called vimsarkas. In the first chapter the author discusses critically the definition of Dhvani (अनुमानवचनविचार:). The second chapter deals with the impropriety of words in conveying Dhvani (शब्दानुवभावविचार:). The third and last chapter treats of the various modes of implying Dhvani (the inner essence of expressions), and critically examines passages taken from various authors (अन्नभावोपद्धत:).

The work is extensive, and the author craves the indulgence of his readers in the following verse:—
The author clearly states in the concluding stanza that he is reckless about the nature of the reception that may be accorded to his work by the learned public. He only cares to be remembered by them, whether as an object of ridicule, or as one that has expounded an altogether new theory affording pleasure to scholars:

\[
\text{अष्टिरुक्तिक्षितप्रेमिति}
\text{पुवर्षाणि}
\text{नूनं सुनिर्विश्वति विदुःधामुपियाम्}
\text{हास्यकारणगतिर्विश्वाया नवार्थः}
\text{तत्त्वावस्त्रितरोपसमोहयावा}
\]

He generally adopts throughout the work the prose style, which is common to the later rhetoricians; but at the end of each disquisition he summarises his argument in a few verses which he calls संयहङ्गिका. The prose is dignified and flowing. As a specimen of well-reasoned disquisition and as an exposition of the subtleties of the art and science of critical research, the work stands out prominent in the whole field of Sanskrit literature, and, if I refrain from dilating on its many-sided merits, it is with the hope that I have in this hurried sketch pointed out enough to create an earnest desire in the reader to plunge more deeply into the work and gather the gems that lie scattered in such abundance.
VII.

THE BĀBĀR-NĀMA.

THE MATERIAL NOW AVAILABLE FOR A DEFINITIVE TEXT OF THE BOOK.

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

I. The wording of the Haydarābād and Elphinstone Manuscripts.
II. General notice of the St. Petersburg Foreign Office Codex (copied by Dr. Kehr) and of the pseudo-Bābar ‘Fragment.’
III. Dr. Kehr’s transcript considered as text-material.
IV. Summary of the results in text-material of the examination of the fifteen manuscripts enumerated in this Journal in 1900.

I. THE WORDING OF THE HAYDARĀBĀD AND ELPHINSTONE MANUSCRIPTS.

At the end of an article on the Elphinstone Codex which appeared in this Journal in January, 1907, I expressed the hope of being able later to offer information from which to judge how it compares in wording with the Haydarābād Codex, the ultimate aim of the whole investigation being the establishment of a definitive text of the Bābar-nāma. Since writing that article I have ascertained, by collating the two manuscripts, that in the matter of wording one cannot be ranked higher than the other because, trifling divergence excepted, they are verbally identical.
(a) **Their variation.**

They differ in trifles easy to be dealt with; here and there one has a Turki word, the other a Persian or Arabic equivalent, but one is not more consistently Turki than the other. Here and there they give two forms of the same Turki word, both forms being found in dictionaries. They are not consistent in their use of contingently variable letters. They vary much in their diacritical marking: the Haydarâbâd MS. is fairly well pointed throughout; the Elphinstone is profusely so, but much of its pointing seems of later date than its transcription; some of it is incorrect, and introduces pseudo-variants. Other such variants have been created by expunging original words and substituting others; fortunately, however, in most such cases, there are remnants which can be interpreted by the help of the intact manuscript.

The major omissions of matter from the Elphinstone Codex were enumerated in my article of January, 1906; a good many minor ones in both manuscripts have come to light while collating them, omissions mostly of the common kind which a scribe makes by skipping from a word to the place of its next occurrence in his archetype. I have not, however, when consulting other manuscripts, come across any instance of loss of material from their combined contents; they interdigitate conveniently.

(b) **Their authoritative character.**

It should be remembered that although (trifling variation excepted) the two manuscripts are verbally identical, they are known by their contents to be mutually independent.¹

¹ The Elphinstone MS. cannot be a copy of the Haydarâbâd, because it has many notes, written into its text, where the latter has none. The Haydarâbâd MS. cannot be a copy of the Elphinstone, because it contains material that is not in the latter, and has not been lost but omitted.
They are collaterals and are not in one line of descent from Bābar's draft. The high rank of the Elphinstone MS. is established by the testimony of its seals and notes; the Haydarābād MS. is its equal intrinsically.\(^1\) Accepted, therefore, as they safely can be accepted, for first-rate copies of the Bābar-nāma, it is nevertheless worth while to state a plain argument in their favour which has been made clear by collating them. It is an argument which leads to the opinion that though neither is Bābar's first draft, both are mutually independent replicas of that draft, perhaps first copies of it. If they are this, they provide the best procurable basis for the definitive text. They may, indeed, be as much better than Bābar's original manuscript, more legible and less impaired by clerical error, as a fair copy usually is than a draft.

The argument is this: In the text of fol. 194 and 195\(^2\) of the Elphinstone MS., there is legible the following partially expunged note:

\[
\text{Ta āyatāna dār dīgār rāsālā āyā dār bāqī āz rāsālā āz sosūndū āsāl yāflāte šed}
\]

(Up to this place was in other writings; the rest is taken from the original draft.)

According to this note, then, the Elphinstone MS., from fol. 194 onwards, is a copy of Bābar's draft.\(^3\) The

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\(^1\) It is satisfactory to have ascertained their agreement for another reason than that of their service as text-material, viz., that a real warranty has been obtained for the Haydarābād Codex in confirmation of the mainly circumstantial one on which it has been accepted.

\(^2\) Erroneously given in January, 1907, as fol. 198.

\(^3\) Owing to the inconsistent entry of notes in the Elphinstone Codex, some in the text, some on the margins, my argument might be opposed by the presumption that the quoted note is one copied, not made, where it now is. But if it were copied, the argument would be still valid, since it applies to any replica of Bābar's draft. The Elphinstone Codex is doubly supported in its position as a replica, not only by the Haydarābād Codex, but, as I have quite recently ascertained, by that portion of Dr. Kehr's manuscript which follows the place of the quoted note.
Haydarābād MS. in its corresponding portion\(^1\) has been found, by collating the two, to be a replica of the Elphinstone MS.; it is equally so, therefore, of Bābar' draft.

There is no sign in the Haydarābād MS. of any change in its archetype; its uniform merit allows the supposition that it is a copy of one good manuscript.\(^2\) Its uniformity carries on the argument in favour of both manuscripts, because it dispels the doubt cast on the earlier portion of the Elphinstone MS. by the words "other writings" of the quoted note. As the identical wording of the two manuscripts in their second section (cut off by the quoted note) supports the Haydarābād in this section, so does the same identity of wording support the Elphinstone in their first section, and lift from it the doubt imputed by the words "other writings." In fact, the comrade transcripts are throughout mutually corroborative.

II. GENERAL NOTICE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG FOREIGN OFFICE CODEX (copied by Dr. Kehr) AND OF THE PSEUDO-BĀBAR 'FRAGMENT.'

The account of this codex, which was published in the J.R.A.S. of July, 1900, suffered from being based on indirect information, and contains inaccuracies which can be corrected now that I have examined the volume itself.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) i.e. from its fol. 240 to fol. 312, at which place it is left unsupported through loss of pages from the Elphinstone MS.

\(^2\) Immediately after the quoted note there occur in the Elphinstone MS. an unusual number of slight mistakes and verbal variants, just what might occur if the handwriting, Bābar's that is, of the archetype were less clear than that of the earlier and presumably professional scribe. It soon, however, shows the advantage of familiarity by returning to its former agreement with its comrade.

\(^3\) I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas for being enabled to examine the manuscript in the I.O. Library.
Although Dr. Kehr's Bābar-nāma text is of admittedly doubtful authority, I have had to compare it closely with the true text of the Haydarābād and Elphinstone MSS., because its published form, the Kāsān imprint, does not exactly reproduce it. A reason for scrutinizing it, special to the seekers after text-material, is that with it is the 'Fragment,' a piece of Turki writing as to the authorship of which expert opinion has differed. M. Pavet de Courteille accepted it (down to its account of Bābar's death) for Bābar's composition; Dr. F. Teufel rejected it on a Turki scholar's grounds. Neither critic saw it in Kehr's volume, or had knowledge of its place and purpose there. It is entered in the Kāsān imprint as a supplementary postscript to the recognized Bābar-nāma, and this mode of entry, there can be no doubt, has misled more than one of those who have written about it. I hope to define its place in Dr. Kehr's volume, and by so doing to make its purpose clear, to bring it into line with other parts of his transcript, and also to cast a light upon its genesis that brings real help to decide the issue "Is it Bābar's?"

Several excellent and unexpected results have followed the examination of Dr. Kehr's great volume; one provides an explanation of the enigmatical difference of view between the two Turki scholars. For I find that while the volume bears varied testimony to confirm Dr. Teufel's rejection of the Fragment, it contains also what explains M. de Courteille's acceptance of it (cf. post (d)).

(a) A general characteristic of Kehr's volume.

There can be few books which it is more necessary to examine as a whole in order to understand a part than the huge composite one written down by Dr. Kehr. The need

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of a complete purview of it will become apparent, I hope, as this article proceeds to discriminate between what in its contents is of great value for the definitive Turki text and what is corroborative only or useless altogether.

All its items, which are the Bābar-nāma, the Fragment, the Timurid Biographies, and Dr. Kehr’s Latin notes, have one thing in common: they seem to be parts of a private book and not to be offered for criticism. This is shown by his numerous entries of purely personal character; by the provisional quality of his Latin noting; by his unusual fashion of entering the Turki writing. The personal notes were described in July, 1900; some are quoted by Professor Smirnoff in his Catalogue of the Library to which Kehr’s codex belongs. The Latin notes are not, as they had been erroneously thought, a translation entered upon interleaves, but are rather what may be called a first snatch at the meaning of an unfamiliar tongue; they often give alternative readings, they are frequently incorrect, and they are made to a comparatively small portion of the manuscript. The curious way in which the transcribed writings are scattered over the pages assuredly shows a private end. At first sight the peculiarity seems explicable by the need of more space for Latin than for Turki, but this interpretation does not hold good, because the Latin noting ends before the scattered Turki. The advantage of the disarray in varying the visual field for easy reference leads one to explain it by the fact that it achieves this admirable result.

Dr. Kehr copied the Bābar-nāma in order to translate it into Latin, and he seems to have effected his purpose, because in Dr. B. Dorn’s catalogue of the St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum (1846) there is the following item:

“(62) Kehr. Latina interpretatio Mscit Tataro-Indici Baburnamah, i.e. Indo-Mongolici primarij Monarchae Baburi Historiae authenticae rerum ab ipso gestarum compositae. 2 vol. 4”.
(b) The arrangement of the contents of Kehr's volume.

The word 'arrangement' in connection with the items of Kehr's book is a misnomer, since they are in disarray. Of the four already enumerated, two only are included in the Kāsān imprint, viz. the Bābar-nāma and the Fragment; the said Fragment consisting of a summary of certain events described in full by Bābar himself, of certain passages taken from Gul-badan Begam's Humāyūn-nāma and from the Tārikh-i-rashīdī, and of an account of Bābār's death, character, and court. The other two are named in the imprint preface, but not so to show how they, or any of the four, appear in the manuscript volume. Dr. Ilminsky has extracted from that volume a continuous Bābar-nāma and to this has added the Fragment as a postscript. Entered as Dr. Ilminsky has entered it, the Fragment stands out distinctly as matter extra to the recognized Bābar-nāma, and also, in the absence of information to contradict the inference, it cannot but be presumed to stand in the manuscript volume where it stands—postscript to the Bābar-nāma—in the imprint. Entered as it is in the imprint, it requires explanation; in Kehr's volume, however, it explains itself by its position.

The manuscript volume is far from being as orderly as the imprint; in it the Bābar-nāma is intermixed with the Fragment and the Biographies in a confusion not merely of pages and easy to remedy by the help of catchwords, but of matter also. This confusion notwithstanding, its total Turkī writings, are divided into two distinct works by a definite wrong plan. Their entanglement has needed the clue of the Persian and English texts to unravel into Ilminsky's orderly Bābar-nāma with postscript Fragment.

(c) The two sections of Kehr's volume.

The Turkī writings in Dr. Kehr's manuscript volume are divided into two sections, separated from one another by
blank leaves (pp. 1016 to 1020). The first section ends on p. 1015, and is followed by a note which, in Russian, states that here the writings of "Shah Babour" end. This note is appended to the Fragment account of Bābar's death, and by whomever made, testifies to opinion that where it stands the Bābar-nāma has come to an end. What is transcribed before it, begins with the Bābar-nāma narrative, but is not the true text, goes on with disordered portions of the true text, and is brought to an end by the Fragment on the page where the Russian note is entered.

What is transcribed after the blank pages begins (on p. 1021) with the Timūrid biographies; these end abruptly on p. 1084, with signs of a tattered archetype, and have for sequel the balance of the Bābar-nāma wanting in the first section. This balance is out of order, but it eventually ends in the normal way of the Bābar-nāma, with the Guāliār passage of 936 H.

(d) *The purpose of the Fragment in Kehr's volume.*

Kehr's first section splits into three portions, and if these are considered the purpose of the Fragment will be made clear. The first portion, which ends under 908 H., is Bābar-nāma's narrative, but it differs so curiously from the true text in its wording that for some time I was greatly puzzled to understand how such divergence could have been effected. Little by little, instances of Persification led me to form the hypothesis that this portion is not the Bābar-nāma text at all, but a re-translation into Turki of 'Abdu-r-rahim Mirzā's Persian one. As being this, I now definitely take it, and shall later give an example in support of my opinion. The second portion of the section, which begins in 908 H. and ends abruptly under 935 H., is

1 A singular coincidence about the point of junction of these first and second portions will be found mentioned under (f).
true Bābar-nāma text, disordered, and, in parts, verbally inaccurate but still the text. The third portion is the Fragment, which, a few introductory lines excepted, is no part of the recognized Bābar-nāma, but is, there can be little doubt, a translation from the Akbar-nāma. The purpose served by the first and third verbally foreign adjuncts to the centre of true text is unmistakable; they are used to complete a defective portion of Bābar-nāma text. They are in line, apart from the text in style, Persified and corrupt.

The Fragment as it appears in the manuscript volume, needs no explanation other than the one given by its position there—a position to which it has been brought from the Akbar-nāma for the purpose of completing the defective Bābar-nāma of Kehr's first section. The fact that this is its manifest purpose is not changed by the presence in Kehr's second section of the true end of the Bābar-nāma; that presence shows merely that the person who made up the first section had no grasp of his text-resources.

In the similar and corrupt wording of the two verbally foreign adjuncts of Kehr's first section, I find an explanation of M. de Courteille's acceptance of the Fragment as written by Bābar. He worked at the disadvantage all workers on the Bābar-nāma shared till the Haydarābād MS. brought in the help of a second Turki MS.; he would first know the Bābar-nāma by the portion of Kehr's text which I take to be a translation from the Persian one, and this is one in defect with the Fragment. If he had doubts as to the wording of the Fragment, as he can hardly have failed to have, his linguistic warrant for smothering them lay in that first portion.

Dr. Teufel could not accept the Fragment, because he judged it absolutely as a Turki composition, and also, as his critique shows, by the standard of the true text. It is literally true that each scholar could find in Kehr's
volume (N.B. they found it in the Kāsān imprint only) reliable ground for accepting or rejecting the disputed matter according to whether they referred for guidance to the corrupt text of its first portion or to its latter part, which is in verbal agreement with the Haydarābād and Elphinstone MSS.

(e) A few details about the Fragment.

Where the Fragment stands in Kehr's volume, it is a formal misfit in date and topic. Of this Kehr knew, since before it begins, he has made this note—"Custos hic non convenit cum initio sequenti paginæ." What is wrong here is that an incomplete account of performers at a feast on December 19th, 1528, which precedes his note, is followed after the note by an account of reinforcing an amir on February 17th, 1527.

Where the Fragment changes from being a repetition from the Bābar-nāma to be a translation from the Akbar-nāma, there are real misfits which it will be easy to define if reference be made to the reproduction of the Fragment in the Kāsān imprint. The Bābar-nāma passage there ends in the twelfth line with the words girdnī bīrkūt tūk, and this ending is marked in the manuscript volume by a v placed, probably by Dr. Ilinsky, over the word girdnī. The last topic of the passage is the linking of gun-carriages on February 17th, 1527. The first words of the Akbar-nāma translation (wa rānā sangā) belong to the account of the battle of Kānwāhā, and are of date March 16th, 1527. It may be mentioned, moreover, that these are followed by

1 The missing page is in his second section.
3 A discrepancy in the MSS. about bīrkūt it would be tedious to draw attention to.
the ineptitude of reducing Abūl-fażl’s statement of the basis of the feudal levy in Hindūstān to one of mere mode of reckoning.

(f) *Light on the genesis of the Fragment.*

It is strange that a narrative which reproduces one work in the way that the Fragment, down to the 𝑣, reproduces the Bābar-nāma, should there diverge to translate another, the Akbar-nāma. Why at the 𝑣? why in the middle of a sentence, and with misfit of time and topic?

A chance light which goes far towards ascertaining the genesis of the Fragment, has disclosed an answer to these questions. For I find that where, at the 𝑣, the Bābar-nāma passage ends, the Calcutta A.S.B. and L.O. MSS. also end. Moreover, they have variants from the true text which are in that passage, the most distinct of which is the substitution of daryā har dā for the yānimiz dā of the true text.

The Calcutta MSS. are too modern to have influenced the Fragment; the inference I draw from the coincidence is that they and its Bābar-nāma passage have for common source a manuscript which breaks off, or (if it be as confused as Kehr’s) seems to break off at the 𝑣, and that this the Akbar-nāma passage was translated to complete.

Many considerations tend to locate that common source in Bukhārā, the city from which the three St. Petersburg manuscripts seem to have issued. The coincidence which brings the two Calcutta MSS. into relation with Kehr’s, recalls the fact that when, in India and in 1809, Elphinstone mislaid his own, he intended to write to Bukhārā for a copy of the Bābar-nāma manuscript known then to be in that city.

The extraordinary confusion in Kehr’s volume is presumably reproduced from his archetype. This presumption makes fruitless all speculation about the earlier condition
of his Bābar-nāma text, and this the more that the text varies so much in accuracy that it may be composite and parts of more than one manuscript.

Kehr's volume contains a second instance of coincidence which it is appropriate to mention here, and which, in quiet literary way, is startling.

I have expressed the opinion that his text down to within 908 H.\(^1\) is a translation from the Persian one of 'Abdu-r-rahim Mirzā. This supposedly translated portion leads up to a broken passage of true text, and it is at their point of junction that the coincidence occurs. For the translation breaks off (where Bābar, in extremity, is quoting a Persian verse) at one of the definite lacunae of the archetype of the Elphinstone Codex, of that codex, and of their descendants, the Persian and English texts.\(^2\) This is, however, the less important part of the coincidence; the more important one is that after the supposed translation, Kehr's manuscript goes on with what is missing from those MSS. and texts of the narrative of 908 H., in the true Turki text, precisely as if the translation had been made to lead up to the passage lost from the archetype of the Elphinstone MS. It is an extraordinary coincidence, and is the more so that Kehr's true text contains (s.a. 925 H.) a note which is parallel to those preserved in the part of the Elphinstone Codex which was "copied from the draft" (see Section I (b)) [there are none in the part taken from "other writings"], and which is in the portion of Kehr's true text where the Elphinstone MS. and its archetype have a lacuna. One cannot but wish the more strongly for this coincidence to examine the Bukhārā Bābar-nāma which appears to be Kehr's source, direct or indirect.

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1 Ilminsky, p. 144, line 5; Memoirs, p. 122.
2 The missing narrative is contained in the Haydarābād Codex.
III. DR. KEHr'S VOLUME CONSIDERED AS A SOURCE OF
TEXT-MATERIAL.

Classed by their wording, the differing portions of Kehr's volume fall into two opposed divisions. One is of true Turki text, although not uniformly accurate; the other is of translations from the Persian, and is composed of three items, viz., the Bābar-nāma narrative down to the point of coincidence just described, the Akbar-nāma portion of the Fragment, and the Timūrid biographies.

(a) Its true text.

The contribution made by Kehr's transcript to the definitive text is of high and surprising value. Beginning at the point of coincidence in 908 h., his copy contains at first many verbal inaccuracies, but as it proceeds, it comes into closer agreement, until it becomes identical with the Haydarābād MS.

Their agreement is a surprising fact. For when he began his transcript Dr. Kehr was inexperienced in Turki; his work must have been copied by Dr. Ilminsky for the Kāsān imprint; the transcripts and the imprint were effected without the help of a second Turki MS. That the Kāsān imprint for a considerable portion of its great length should be found in agreement with the true text of an early manuscript, reveals in its three copyists work too faithful for praise.

What the fidelity of the Oriental and German scribes and of the Russian scribe and editor has provided for the definitive text possesses extraneous value, for where their work has issued best into the Kāsān imprint, is precisely where pages are missing from the Elphinstone MS., and where, as a consequence, it cannot support the Haydarābād MS.
This is not all, however; the overlappings of accurate text begin before the lacuna of the Elphinstone Codex begins, and thus, as far as they extend, provide a triple basis for the definitive text. Moreover, this is an understatement of advantage, because the earlier and less accurate parts of Kehr's text also are highly serviceable.

For convenience of reference, I have written thus far of Kehr's text as it appears in the orderly imprint, but it is well to add that reliable as the best part of the imprint is proved to be by its agreement with the Haydarâbâd MS., Kehr's MS. must not be neglected in establishing the definitive text, and this especially in the less accurate parts which are often verbally changed in the imprint.

(b) *Its translations.*

It is in connection with the three items which in Kehr's volume depart, in fact or wording, from Bâbar's known compositions, that the need of studying it as a whole becomes apparent. The item in the imprint to understand which complete purview is needed, is the Fragment only; that purview brings to light in the manuscript volume two other items which are in line with the Fragment in purpose and by appearing to be translations from the same hand. These three items stand or fall together; that all fall below the rank of text-material there is certainly warrant to believe.

Complete purview of the volume defines what appears to be its compiler's purpose. He meant his first section to be the Bâbar-nâma, and he led up to and finished off his modicum of true text by translating from the Mirzâ's and from the Akbar-nâma. From the facts of position assigned, it is clear that he thought he had wound up the Bâbar-nâma when he supplemented it by an account of its author's death. The compiler's second section I surmise that he meant for a Humâyûn-nâma, because the Timûrid
biographies which introduce its modicum of true text have Humâyûn for their objective. They lead up to that sovereign, and to his Accession (?) Feast through "Bâbar Mirzâ, who was the father of Humâyûn Pâdshâh." I have not had time to try to trace their starting-point; they are strange and highly Persified productions.¹

(c) An illustration of the (supposed) translations from the Persian.

Since the Haydarâbâd Reproduction and the Kâsân imprint are accessible in many libraries, it is not necessary to encroach on the space of the Journal with much extract in support of the opinion that Kehr's volume contains three translated items. One illustration will suffice, which will be quoted in all known versions and will serve: (1) to illustrate the hypothesis of translation that explains the aberrations of a part of Kehr's text; (2) to illustrate, in support of that hypothesis, the opinion Mr. Erskine formed of the Mirzâ's text; ² (3) to show (as at a convenient place) a specimen of Pâyanda Husain's text; (4) to show a sequel of error which, through text

¹ The following significant words appear in a few lines of the "Bâbar Mirzâ" biography: sipâh-sâlâr, Qâsim Qâchînî, amûr-malik, tawâdji-beglâr, paqâina-beglâr, avaghâr to describe Turks, tûzûk-rosh, ba daulat wa zafar.

² "The translation which he executed (the Mirzâ) of the Memoirs of Bâbar is extremely close and accurate, and has been much praised for its elegance. But, though simple and concise, a close adherence to the idioms and forms of expression of the Turki original, joined to a want of distinctness in the use of the relatives, often renders the meaning extremely obscure, and makes it difficult to discover the connection of the different members of the sentence. The style is frequently not Persian, and a native of Persia would find it difficult to assign any sense to some of the expressions. Many of the Turki words are not translated, sometimes because they had no corresponding term in Persian, and sometimes perhaps from negligence; or, it may be, because they were then familiar to the Turki nobility of the Court of Agra." (Mems., Preface, p. ix.)
after text, has followed one of the Mirzâ's ambiguous phrases and enforces the need of revising the English text; (5) to show the newly enhanced worth of the Haydarábad MS. as being the complete revisor of all other texts.

(d) The illustrative passage.

My illustration is taken from the Bâbar-nâma narrative of 907 h., at which date Bâbar, still under 19 years of age, was a wanderer in the hills to the south-west of Farghâna, after expulsion from Samarqand by Shaibâni Khân.

A.—The Haydarábad MS., fol. 97, l. 2 from foot, and the Elphinstone MS., fol. 71, l. 2.

This passage I construe literally, and as follows:—

While in Dekhkat

the hills belonging to the environs of Dekhkat
constantly going out on foot
I used to wander over
often I used to go barefoot.
Through much going barefoot
the feet became so
that hill and stone made no difference.

One day in the time of this wandering
between the Other Prayer and Vespers
on a narrow, ill-defined road
a cow was going down.

I said (i.e. to his companions, or soliloquizing)
To which side may this road be about to go?

Fix your eyes on the cow (i.e. said to his companions),
do not lose the cow
(or, possibly, do not press the cow forward—Zenker, 142a)
till of the road the direction of the outlet shall be known.

Khwāja Asadu’llāh made his joke
Should the cow be lost, what do we do?

How far Kehr’s text is removed from this can be seen next.

B.—Kehr’s Text, 264; Ilminsky’s imprint, fol. 119, l. 1.
اینگ بلندگی بیورکاده‌ای، اینگ قسمت اندانگ بولوب ایدی کیم تاغ و تاش تاثیر تیاماس ایدی اوهشال وقت ته بیروکون نماز دیگر بیل نمایش (Kāz. ox) آمیزه اراضی بی‌هینچک بیل بیله بیرزیشی بیز اوکوز شام باره دورو ایدی مس سوردوم که بیژن توای آلاتی قابور ایزی بیز ام اوکوز کا قوازی دیرو تویانگن تا فیدی بازگاه بیز سوزنی ایشتهب خواجه اسد الله زرافت قیلیدی دیدی کیم اگر اوکوز بیت سانه پیمانه [قلیور Ilm.]

My next extract is from 'Abdu'r-rahīm Mirzā's Persian text.


در آن ایام که در حکمت بیمار در کوهلی گرد و نویان دخالت همیشه پیاده سیرمی کردم، اکثر پای ابرهیم میگنتمی از جهت پای برهنه گشت بسیار پاپایاه انجمان شده بود که کوه و سنگ تفاوت نمیکرد در اثنای همان سیریک روزی میانی نماز شام و نماز دیگر دریک راه باریک با شخصی کاوش میرفت می گفتم که ایس راه کوا میرفت که باشندگفت بقا نظر اندائید ویم مکنید تا بکدیم طرف برآمبد راه معلوم شود خواجه اسد الله ظرافتی کرد و گفت که گاوگمن شود چه کار کنیم

The three versions quoted so far show several clear instances of the dependence of Kehr’s text upon the Mirzā’s Persian translation. They contain, moreover, several instances of divergence from Bābar’s mode of expression. These points it is essential to consider in detail in order to judge the textual quality of Kehr’s first portion.
(1) Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.

Line 1. **Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.**

Line 2; B, l. 1. **Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.**

Line 4. **Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.**

Line 5; C, l. 4. **Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.**

Line 6; B and C, l. 5. **Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.**

**Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.**

Bābar wrote "a narrow ill-defined road," یار یاریچکه نا مشخص یول. Kehr’s text writes "a narrow road, a person," thus reading [in its Persian source, as I take it] شخص for شخص. In doing this it follows what is in many manuscripts of the Persian text, but what there is no reason to suppose the Mirzā wrote. Pāyanda Ḥusain reproduces Bābar's term "ill-defined" مشخص; there may be MSS. of the Mirzā's text equally faithful to their original. [I have not found one, but time has failed me to look into those of the Bodleian Library, which are, I think, amongst our best. Those I have seen agree in error here and vary mutually in other words of the passage under discussion.] Scribes unfamiliar with Turki, and unaware of the peculiarities of the Mirzā's text, might be misled by his two adjectives without conjunction. Doubtless they found in copying many difficulties where Mr. Erskine found them in translating.

Through this phrase, "a narrow ill-defined road" یار یاریچکه نا مشخص یول, a clear instance comes to light of the translation of Kehr’s text from the Persian one; Kehr’s text writes کشی (person); this is the word Bābar would have used if he spoke of a person; it is the word natural to use if translating into Turki the Persian شخص (person); it is not
in Bābar’s text; if the supposed translator of Kehr’s had before him a Persian manuscript in which had taken the place of he naturally would translate it by گیشی.

To this verbal testimony in support of the hypothesis that Kehr’s text is (in part) a translation from the Mirzā’s, it is hardly necessary to add the following item of what is circumstantial. If the cow of the story had been going “with a person,” as the incorrect Persian manuscripts oddly put it, or if, as Kehr’s text embroiders it, “a person was taking a cow,” the small point of the Khwāja’s story would become smaller, for why, if there were a human guide, fix eyes on the cow?

Kehr’s text takes the story still further from Bābar’s. Its “person” was taking an “ox” (اولوکز, taureau, bœuf, Kāz. ox, say dictionaries). strikes one as a strange representative of the indeterminative or گاو, and destroys the image called up by the hour specified by Bābar (surely with intention), of the cow homing at milking-time.

A trifling discrepancy from Bābar’s precision can be fitly mentioned here where it occurs, though of the third class of these instances. To agree with his habit, there should be the accusative sign (نی) after گیش (see line 7).

Line 6 (B). The Persian گیشremains for the Turkī گیش.

(2) Instances other than verbal of what shows a Persian original for Kehr’s text.

Line 8. Here is the speech of Khwāja Asadu’llāh already mentioned. In Bābar’s text it is entered in Persian; it is also in Persian in the Mirzā’s text. If the supposed translator of Kehr’s text saw it in the Mirzā’s, he would naturally put it into Turkī with its context. If, however, he had seen it entered in Persian in the Turkī text, he would, or at least might, have kept it as he found it. The words which Kehr’s text substitutes for the Khwāja’s speech require illumination to show point.
Points in which Kehr's text departs from Bābar's customary wording.

Line 1. The possessive pronoun in بیکانیم is not according to Bābar's style, he being as a rule distinctly impersonal in his wording. This same divergence occurs in line 3, ایتیم لیکن.

Line 2 (B). The word کوبچی is not in Bābar's text, and certainly is not one usual with him. In de Courteille's dictionary it is given with this passage to illustrate its use by Bābar, but it is in Kehr's text only. Dr. Teufel (l.c., p. 148) also refers to this passage, and his reference fails as does M. de Courteille's because not made to Bābar's text at all. The word is in the Fragment also.

Line 3; B, l. 2. يالانگل for يالانگ, Bābar's usual form of the word. So too غ for خ (as in the Fragment).

Line 3; B, l. 2. کوب is out of place, as it easily might be if an inexpert person worked from the میزہ's phrase in which it occurs.

Line 4. A new word تاکنیم تفاوت, the one used in Bābar's and the میزہ's.

Line 6. Here is a development of the mistake which started from the reading of the Persian manuscripts, "with a person" in place of "ill-defined." If there were a person taking the cow as Kehr's text has it, there might be conversation; therefore the translator (supposed) has carried the دیدی of the تاکنیم جوینم of the طرک and Persian texts on to سوردوم (asked).

Line 7; B, l. 6. Naturally, after سوردوم (asked) there follows a direct question. "Where does the road lead?" Thus, the subjective sense of Bābar's ایکیم ایتیم and of the میزہ's باشند is lost. In the طرک text there is nothing to cause the change of mood made in Kehr's; in the Persian text there is the interpolated کشت; I say "interpolated" of the کشت because the میزہ's verb remains in his text unaltered by it and subjective. Kehr's text translates that (which is not in the طرک text) by ایتیم.
Line 7 (B). دیو نور مانگک is a remarkable phrase. It may account for the intrusion of the *diabolus* in the Latin notes (*vide infra*).

Line 8; B, l. 7. قايدا بارغای. Cf. this with Бабар’s idiomatic phrase. The word قايدا is not one of those he habitually uses.

Line 7. بوسزني ايشتسيب. This embroidering is against Бабар’s economy in words.

Line 7. قرارْنگک. This word seems special to Kehr’s text. M. de Courteille’s dictionary gives it as Бабар’s with a reference to this passage. Zenker does not give it in this form with the meaning ‘to observe,’ ‘look at.’ As it is written here, it accounts for Dr. Kehr’s *niger*. (Zenker (678a) translates it *devenir noir*.)

I quote next from the older Persian translation of Пййанда Husain Ghaznavi and Muammad Ишар Yughбl.

D.—Wаqi‘at-i-bбbари, I.O., No. 215, p. 79b, l. 2 from foot. Пййанда Husain Ghaznavi’s text:

> جند کي که بوديم کوه‌های اطراف دكست را هميشه بيايدة سير ميكدردم اكتری یا برهنه از بس که يا برهنه مي گشيده بنا بنویج شده بود که کوه وسنگ چندانی تنفاوت نمیکرده در اندان آنها سیر بوخت تمام دیگر به یک راه نامشخص افتاديم بخشاحرفسد كه به بينيم اين راه بدكهام جانب ميرون حقيقتم معلوم شود اما منزل را ملخطه فرمانديد مبادا كم كنيم چرا خواجه اسد الله ظرافتى كردنى كه كاو اگرگم شود چکنیم

In this singularly differing version of Бабар’s anecdote, two points concern the hypothesis that a part of Kehr’s text is a translation from the Мирза’s, viz. Бабар’s phrase in it, *ناشنفس*, ‘ill-defined,’ and the expression in it,
definitely and in varied words, of the fact conveyed by the subjective wording in Bābar's text, that he had a 'thought' or 'wondered' about the road, and did not ask 'a person' a direct question about it.

This extract from the older translation certainly indicates a ground for Akbar's asking to have a second one produced by 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mīrzā.

E.—I quote now from the English text (Memoirs, p. 100), giving it, as the older, priority over the French:—

"While I remained in Dehkat, I was accustomed to walk on foot all about the hills in the neighbourhood. I generally went out barefoot, and, from this habit of walking barefoot, I soon found that our feet became so hardened that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In one of these walks, between afternoon and evening prayers, we met a man who was going with a cow in a narrow road. I asked him the way. He answered: 'Keep your eye fixed on the cow, and do not lose sight of her till you come to the issue of the road, when you will know your ground.' Khwāja Asadullāh, who was with me, enjoyed the joke, observing: 'What would become of us wise men were the cow to lose her way?'"

I would draw attention in this, certainly free, rendering of even the Persian text, to the loss of precision which follows from reading 'with a person' for 'ill-defined.' A merely 'narrow' road might have been the better to follow as being the more trodden by cattle; Bābar gives point by saying 'ill-defined.'

F.—The French version of the illustrative passage is at vol. i, p. 210 of the Mémoires de Bāber:—

"Durant ce séjour que je fis à Dekhket, j'avais pris l'habitude de me promener à pied. Le plus souvent je marchais pieds nus, et la répétition fréquente de cet exercice les avaient tellement endurcis qu'ils ne craignaient ni les aspérités des montagnes, ni les pierres. Un jour,
entre la prière de l'après-midi et celle du soir, je rencontrai un homme qui conduisait un bœuf dans un sentier étroit. 'Où mène ce chemin?' lui demandai-je? 'Ne perdez pas de vue le bœuf,' me répondit-il, 'et ne vous arrêtez pas tant qu'il marchera.' En entendant ces paroles, Khodja Açad-Allah dit en plaisantant, 'Si le bœuf s'égare, que deviendrons nous?''

G.—There remain to be quoted Dr. Kehr's Latin notes (p. 265) on the illustrative passage in proof of the opinion I have expressed that they are private and provisional only.

'Illo tempore, die quodam inter preces pomeridianas solemus vespertinas post occasum Solis, fiere solitas (peragendas). Per tenuem viam quandam oculo nostri virum videbamus qui bovem capiebat (tenebat) ambulantem. Ego interrogabam, Quorsum haec via abit (sc. ducit)? Dicebat (Oghus versum) bovem de nigra (nigrum fac) diabolus erit (sc. potius, Bovem cornu tene eoque mactato hilaris esto). Vid. in Meninski ور et almaq. Ego ad montem abeo (accedo, ascendo). Hoe sermone audito Chadsha Asadus (bovem illum sumsit ) societatem (ceterorum decem hominum circiter) congregavit ad conviviam dixitque. Antequam bos comestus fuerit anni spatium conficitur.'

To these notes Dr. Kehr has appended another:

"En ambiguitatem notionis vocum duplici sensu praeditarum. Duplex hic interpretatio datur; alterutra tamen juxta connexionem textus tantum toleranda quam hic vides. Sed hinc judicare quivis poterit quantum difficilior Orientalium linguarum interpretatio sit expositione linguarum Occidentalium et quam longe harum linguarum interpres interpreti Orientalium linguarum in dignitate postponendus est ob altiorem eruditionis gradum ad Orientales linguas."
IV. **Summary of the Results of Examination of the Bābar-nāma MSS.**

In 1900 I enumerated in this Journal fifteen manuscripts which I had found mentioned in various places, as being copies of the Bābar-nāma. The fifteen can now be classified according to their value as material for a definitive text of the book. The MSS. are numbered as they were in 1900:

I. Bābar's autograph MS. This has not been found; an additional item of information about it has been given to me by Mr. Beveridge, namely, that the Pādshāh-nāma (ii, 703) mentions under date 1057 H. (1647) the existence of a copy of Bābar's book (the word used is "Wāqi'āt-i-bābāri," according to Indian habit) in Shāh-jahān's special library, written with Bābar's own hand or by Ashraf (a known scribe) (*ba khatt ashraf*).

II. Khwāja Kilān's MS. Of this nothing further has been learned.

III. (Humāyūn's transcript.) The supposed existence of this has been disproved by examination of the textual basis on which it was presumed.

IV. Elphinstone MS. This has been ascertained to provide excellent text-material.

V. British Museum MS. The fragments of which this volume consists are serviceable for the text.

VI. India Office MS.

VII. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.

VIII. Mysore MS.

The Mysore appears to be now the ASB. MS. It must be said that Nos. VI and VII are worthless for the text.

IX. Bib. Lindesiana (Rylands Library) MS. This has not been seen since 1900. It is a mere fragment.
X. Haydarābād MS. This is the one complete and intact manuscript yet found, and is the reliable basis for the text.

XIV. The Bukhārā MS. This has not been seen, but as it appears (inferentially) to be the original source of Dr. Kehr's, amongst others named below, it cannot but be of great value.

XV. Nazar Bāy Turkistānī's MS. This has not been seen; it is the archetype of the Senkovski and belonged to a Bukhariot.

XIII. St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS. (Senkovski). A partial copy only, which resembles Kehr's.

XI. The St. Petersburg University Library MS. This has been seen again, and still appears to be a copy of Kehr's.

XII. St. Petersburg Foreign Office Library (Dr. Kehr's). This has been examined and is described in the earlier part of this article.

The net result of the above summary is that there is available now as text-material, the complete Haydarābād MS., which is good throughout; the Elphinstone MS., which is identical with it, but has lost many pages; the British Museum MS., which is a collection of short fragments; and Dr. Kehr's, which is of the important help detailed in the preceding article.

It appears desirable to wait somewhat longer before undertaking the definitive text, in the hope of examining the Bukhārā MS. Meantime the revision of the English text can be effected, and this would provide a useful circumstantial guide to the final text.
VIII.

THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTION No. 1. A.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

The inscriptions from the Buddhist Stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprōlu in the Kistna District, Madras, were discovered by Mr. Rea, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, whose account, with excellent illustrations, of the relic-chambers, the relics found in them, and other interesting details, may be read in his volume entitled South Indian Buddhist Antiquities which was published in 1894,—ASSI, 6, 1–16, plates 1 to 10. The records were first brought to notice by Professor Bühler, in a letter published in the Academy, 28th May, 1892, which was reprinted in this Journal, 1892, 602 ff. Some of them were edited by him, with a discussion of the palaeographic peculiarities, in the Vienna Oriental Journal, 6, 1892, 148 ff. And all of them were edited by him, with facsimile reproductions and a table of the alphabet, in the Epigraphia Indica, 2, 323 ff. The records, usually counted as ten but really eleven in number, were somewhat difficult to decipher, in consequence of their presenting a new southern variety of the Brāhmi alphabet: and Professor Bühler did not claim to have produced final versions of them. That we are able to make here an advance on his treatment of one of them, is due to something which will be mentioned farther on.¹

¹ It may be observed that it is often much easier to improve upon a previous treatment of an epigraphic record than it is to produce an original treatment. The inscriptions are not accompanied by commentaries, as the literary works are: and there are frequently many more subsidiary points to be considered than are apparent at first sight.
From Mr. Rea’s account it appears (op. cit., 11) that, in the excavations made by him, there was first found a large receptacle, measuring on the top about 2’ 11” by 2’ 6”,—

a dhātugarbha or “relic-chamber” (see this Journal, 1907, 346, note 2),—formed of two black stone slabs with smoothed inner faces (plate 3, “casket” No. 1). In the smoothed inner faces there are rectangular cuttings, answering to each other; the lower stone having a projecting rim, round the cutting, which fits into a projecting rim on the upper stone. In the rectangular cutting in the lower stone there is a cavity or chamber, 5 inches deep, with sides sloping to a circular bottom. In this cavity or chamber there were found various articles (plate 1, the top compartment), including an inscribed hexagonal crystal (ibid., and plate 4) and a globular black stone “casket” 4½ inches in diameter and height (plate 1, bottom, left; plate 4, fig. 7). In this stone “casket” there were found some flowers in gold leaf and copper, some gold beads, an amethyst bead, some small pierced pearls, a svastika, or Greek cross with the extremities of the four arms projected to the right, made of twenty-one small silver coins, and a crystal “phial” (plate 4, figs. 11, 12). And inside the “phial” there was found a flat piece of bone half an inch broad (ibid., fig. 12). These details help to explain the records.

The smoothed inner surface of the lower of the two stones forming this dhātugarbha bears three incised
inscriptions, lying round the mouth of the cavity or chamber (see the plate at EI, 2. 324), and numbered by Professor Bühler as 1 A, 1 B, and 2.

No. 1, B, runs:—Banava-putasha Kurasha shapitukasa majusa; "the receptacle of Kura, son of Banava, together with his parents." 1

No. 2 runs:—Utaro Pigaha-puto kāṇīṭho; "Utara, the youngest son of Pigaha." 2 It seems to name the stone-cutter who made the receptacle, or else the person who engraved the inscriptions.

No. 1, A, in which we are particularly interested, runs as follows:—

Text.

Kura-pituno cha Kura-matu cha Kurasha chapiva kācha-
majusaṁ panati phāliga-shamugam cha Budha-sarirānām
nikhetu.

After the word Kurasha Professor Bühler read cha Siva[sha] cha; 3 remarking that the second word "looks like Sivaka as the lower curve of the sha has not been formed properly." He took nikhetu as = nikkhetum = nikshēptum, the infinitive of ni + kship, and sarirānam = śarirānām as the partitive genitive. And he translated the record thus (EI, 2. 327):—

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (him-
"self) and Siva (Śiva), (has been ordered) the preparation

1 The inscription 1, A, shews that pitu = pīṭṛi stands here as an ākāśa of mātāpīṭu, ‘mother and father.’

2 I follow Professor Bühler’s translation of this record. But kāṇīṭha seems a somewhat peculiar form for kanishṭha; and we possibly have here a term denoting some office or avocation: “Utaro, son of Pigaha, (is) the Kāṇīṭha (in this matter).”

3 The text in EI, 2. 326, accidentally omits the cha both before and after Siva[sha]. The words are duly shewn in VOJ, 6, 1892. 155.
"of a casket and (has been given) a box of crystal in order
to deposit some relics of Budha (Buddha)."

Along with the other Bhattiprolu inscriptions, this record
presents the following peculiarities in spelling:

1. There are no double consonants: *kurasha* stands for
   *kurashsha*, and *budha* for *buddha*, and so on.

2. The long ā is treated somewhat capriciously: it is
   shewn in *kācha*, *phālīga*, and *sarirānam*; but it is absent
   from *matu* and the first syllable of *chapiva*.

3. There are no long forms of i and u: i stands for
   i in *chapiva* and *sarirānam*, and u for ā in *majusam*.

In respect of particular words, we have to make the
following observations:

4. There is no question about the correctness of my
   reading, *chapiva kācha-* , where Professor Bühler read *cha
   Siva[sha] cha* : the *pi* instead of *si*, and the *kā* instead of
   *sha*, are quite clear in the facsimile. The combination
   *chapiva* stands for *chāpiva*, and represents a Sanskrit
   *ch-zāpy-ēva*, 'and also indeed.'

5. In *kācha-majusam*, the second component, *majusam*,
represents the Sanskrit *mājūshā*, more usually *mañjūshā*
(the form *mañjusā* also is given by the Šabdakalpadruma
from the Šabdaratnāvali), 'a box, chest, case, basket,
receptacle:' as the original does not present an Anusvāra
in the first syllable, either here, or in the form *majusa*
again in the inscriptions No. 1, B, and No. 6, or in *majūsa*,
with the long ā, in No. 9, whereas the Anusvāra is duly
shewn in the last syllable here, and in *samugam* and
*sarirānam*, we have probably to understand that the

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1 In Pāli, ṁpi + ēva becomes *appēva*; but ēva is liable to become va
after a long vowel: see Childers' Dictionary under api and ēva. The
form which we have here seems to be a kind of compromise between
those two practices: the ē of ēva was elided, and the i of api was
lengthened.
word in view was majjūsāṁ = majjūśāḥ, not maṁjūsāṁ = maṁjūśāḥ. The word kācha is explained as meaning 'glass, crystal, or quartz.' I take the whole term as denoting the dhātugarbha itself: that application seems to be indicated by the inscription 1, B, and by the points that the word majusa, majūsa, occurs again in the two inscriptions, Nos. 6 and 9, which occupy similar positions on the other two dhātugarbhas which were found in the same Stūpa, and that globular stone "caskets" were not found in them.

(6) Professor Bührer took paṇati in composition with maṇjūsaṁ: but, as is shewn by the Anusvāra, that was certainly not intended by the author of the record. It is not clear how he arrived at the meaning 'preparation.' The form paṇati might represent either praṇatik, 'bending, bowing, reverence, obeisance,' or praṇāptiḥ, 'teaching, an appointment, an order, the arrangement (of a seat, etc.).' I find the same form in the Mathurā Jain inscription No. 36, in the words paṇati-dharitaya and paṇati-hara (EI, 2. 209, No. 36, lines 3, 4), which, with paṇati taken as = praṇāpti, have been translated by "obeying the command:" and, not only does that rendering seem quite suitable there, but also it appears to be well supported by the fact that in another (but later) record from the same place we have (ibid., 210, No. 39):—Datilāchāyya-praṇāpitaśe Śāmādhīyaśe; "of Śyāmādhīya, who had received the command from Datilāchārya." But paṇati as = praṇāptiḥ would in full spelling become paśmaṇṭi; and that, as we shall see (page 106 below, and note 1), is not admissible here. I therefore take paṇati as standing here, quite naturally and correctly, for praṇatik; and I take it as meaning

² Possibly, the wrong words were italicized and bracketed in EI, 2. 327, "(has been ordered)" instead of "(the preparation of)." On the other hand, however, in VOJ, 6, 1892. 155, we have "(has been defrayed the expense of) the preparation of a casket."
'an act of') reverence or obeisance,' or, more freely, 'a humble offering.'

(7) In phāligā-shamugam, the first component is a well-established corruption of the Sanskrit sphāṭika, 'crystal, made of crystal.' The second component stands for shamugga = samudga, 'a round box or casket.' The whole term obviously denotes the crystal "phial," which contained the flat piece of bone. The arrangement of the text seems to mark this object as a separate offering by Kura himself, in which his parents did not join.

(8) It does not seem correct to take nikhetu as standing for the infinitive nikkhettum. I take it as standing for nikkhettu = nikhēptuḥ, the genitive singular of the verbal noun nikhēptṛi, 'one who deposits.' The construction sarīrānam nikhetu = sarīrāṇām nikhēptuḥ, 'of a depositor of relics,' is authorized and inculcated by Pāṇini, 2. 2, 15, 16, where we are taught that, save in some exceptional instances, the separate objective genitive, and not a base in composition, is to be used with a verbal noun formed with tri or aka. Instances given by the Kāśikā under sūtra 16 are apām srashtā, "the creator of the waters," purām bhettā, "the destroyer of the cities," and vajrasya bhartā, "the wielder of the thunderbolt." As another epigraphic instance, we may cite from one of the Vākāṭaka records (Gupta Inscriptions, 247, line 41):—Gavām śata-sahasrasya hantur-harati dushkṛitam; "he takes over, incurs, the guilt of a slayer of a hundred thousand cows." As an easily accessible literary instance we may cite from the Raghuvamśa, 2. 50:—Tad raksha kalyāṇa-paramārambhōktāram-ūrjasvalam-ātma-dēham; "therefore preserve thy strong body, the enjoyer of successions of lucky things."

1 In Pallava records, we have the same verse with the various reading pibati instead of harati (IA, 5. 52, line 32), and also with the further various reading kilaśham instead of dushkṛitam (ibid., 156, line 35). It comes, no doubt, from some law-book.
With the above introduction, I give my rendering of the record as follows:

Translation.

Of the father of Kura, and of the mother of Kura, and indeed of Kura himself, *this* quartz receptacle (*is*) the humble offering: and the crystal casket (*is the separate humble offering*) of him making a deposit of relics of Buddha.

It may be added that the principal record on this *dhātugarbha* is, not this one, but the short inscription No. 1, B, which says:—"The receptacle of Kura, son of Banava, together with his parents." That that record was engraved first, is shewn by the manner in which the last two syllables of No. 1, A, slant upwards, out of the direct line of the writing, so as to avoid the first syllable of No. 1, B.

* * * * *

A special feature of interest in this record is found in the point that, like the inscriptions on the Piprahwa and Peshāwar vases, it is in metre: it furnishes another instance of the occurrence of isolated epigraphic verses, the probability of which has been doubted in certain quarters. That this record seemed to be metrical, was observed to me by Mr. Thomas about two years ago: and it was, in fact, his remark that led me to examine the record and detect the correct reading *chapiva kācha- (majusam)*, and to consider other details also.

Completing the text with double consonants and long vowels, we have a verse in the Āryā metre, as follows:—
Text.
1 Kūra-pitū|nō cha Kūra-mātu cha |
2 Kūrāshā|chāpi|va kācha | majjū|sam |
3 paṇāti phāḷiga-shāmuggaṁ cha |
4 Buddhā-sā|rīrā|nām | nikkhē|ttū |

In view of what has been said in this Journal, 1906. 452, 714, there is no need to justify any further the slurring of the Anusvāra so as not to lengthen the preceding a of samuggaṁ and sarīrānam, and the treatment of the o of pitūnao as short.

A feature, however, which does call for remark, is found in the point that the third pāda, paṇāti etc., does not scan in accordance with the rule, which requires here three feet, each of four short-syllable instants. But the pāda does present the prescribed number of such instants, namely twelve. The verse, therefore, must be regarded as an irregular Āryā. But it does not stand alone in this particular peculiarity: it is matched and justified by other similar instances.

Amongst epigraphic records, we have two instances in the Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, 89). The first verse begins—

1 It is this point that fixes the conclusion that paṇāti stands here for pranātiḥ, and not for paṃnattī, = praṇāptiḥ, which would give two short-syllable instants too many. As regards another detail, it may be added that composition of words is not permissible in passing from the second to the third pāda: this is a second reason for which we cannot take majūsam-paṇāti as a compound.

The line might be set right by transferring paṇāti to stand after cha: but that involves taking a liberty with the text; and it would spoil the construction.
1 Jayati-viḥuṣa-caturbhujaḥ
2 catur-aṇmava-vipulā-sālīlā-paryyaṅkāḥ

The second verse begins—

1 Śaṭē paṇchā-shaṣṭyā-ādhīkē
2 varṣaṇāṃ bhū-patau cha| Būdhaguptē|

Here, in each case, the first pāda—the rule for which is the same as for the third pāda—presents the proper number of twelve short-syllable instants, but is arranged rightly for only one foot out of the three.¹

From Pāli literature,² I have noted a similar instance in the Thērīgāthā, verse 407, which begins—

1 Šassuyā sassūrassā chaḥ
2 sāyam| pataḥ| pranāmām| ṣūpaga|mama

¹ In the way of other metrical curiosities, it may be observed that we have a Vasantaratiṣṭha verse which is irregular in the first pāda in the Gaṅgadhār inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, 75, line 19) :— Yātēshu| caturṣu| kritēshu| etc. Also, that in the inscription on the boar at Ėraṇ we have a passage which distinctly begins as an Āryā but passes into prose (ibid., 139, line 1) :— Varshē| prathamē| prithiviṃ| prithu-kiṛttau, etc. Further, that in the Bijayagadā inscription (ibid., 253) the word siddham should not be separated by a mark of punctuation from kritēshu etc.: lines 1 and 2 then form a verse in the Āryā metre, except that in the last pāda we must scan ētasyām as ēta|ṣyām, taking the liberty of shortening the long ā: that this passage is a verse has been suggested by Professor Kielhorn in IA, 26, 1897. 133, and note 38.

² I think that Professor Bühler somewhere pointed out that in the passage beginning with pradāna-bhuja-vikrama in line 30 of the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, 9) we have a verse in the somewhat rare Prithviḥbara metre. But the point may be mentioned here, in case it has not been previously notified.

² Perhaps Mr. Rouse can adduce other instances from this source.
And the same work yields in verse 438 an instance which is analogous, but affects the second pāda instead of the first or third:—

1 Sō̄ mah̄ | tātō cha|vītvā|

2 kālam| karitvā Sindhav-āraṇṇē|

Here we have the proper number of eighteen short-syllable instants, but not in the right order.

* * * * *

A remark may be added regarding the inscription on the Peshāwar vase, mentioned in the course of the preceding remarks, which is another instance of the occurrence of isolated epigraphic verses. This record has been exhibited as a verse from one point of view by Mr. Thomas in this Journal, 1906. 453; from another point of view by me, ibid., 714.

There were available at that time only two reproductions of this record, both hand-drawn; one by Professor Dowson, the other by General Sir Alexander Cunningham. Professor Dowson’s reproduction seemed the more reliable: and, following that, we both took the first word as Gihilēna.

Since that time, there has been published in the Epigraphia Indica, 8. 296, to accompany an article by Professor Lüders, a facsimile reproduction which makes it certain that the word is Sihilēna. The following question is thereby raised. The word simha, ‘lion,’ underlies both the names, Sihila and Siharachhita as written here. In Siharachhitēna, we must scan the i of si as long. How, then, are we to avoid doing the same in Sihilēna, against the metre from either point of view?

Dr. Grierson tells me that, though he cannot just now give the exact reference, he has found the word sīha = simha with the i scanned both as long and as short in
one and the same verse in some Panjabi or Rajasthani composition. Further, that it is a rule for all Tadbhava-
words—(and both the names in question are such)—that long vowels before the penultimate should be shortened.

There is every probability that the rule was the same in the ancient Prakrits, in one of which the record in question was composed. And in these circumstances we need hardly hesitate to scan the opening words as Sihilena Sika², which suits the metre both from Mr. Thomas' point of view and from mine.
IX.

THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE "SECRETUM SECRETORUM,"

A MEDIEVAL TREATISE AScribed TO ARISTOTLE.

Published for the first time from the MSS. of the British Museum, Oxford, and Munich.

With an Introduction and an English Translation.

II.—TRANSLATION.

BY M. GASTER.

O ye men of knowledge and who understand riddles; who search by means thereof for precious objects; lift up your eyes on high and read the book that is called the "Privy of Privies," wherein there is contained the direction in the governance of the kingdom which Aristotle wrote for the great king Alexander.

2. Says the Ishmaelite, the translator: May the Lord keep the King of the Faithful to joy; may He strengthen him to defend the Law and to protect the people and all the interests of the Faithful. Behold, his servant has fulfilled his command, and he has diligently searched for the book of the rule of government, which is called the "Secret of Secrets," which the great and pious philosopher Aristotelos, the son of Nikomachis, wrote for his disciple the great king Alexander, the son of Kilis Flori,¹ who is called the man of the two-horns, and, in

¹ A corruption from Philippus.
Arabic, Dzul Karnain. When he had grown old and too weak to go with him, and King Alexander had made him governor and lord and councillor, because he was a man of true counsel with the spirit of wisdom and of good understanding, combining with it gracious manners and the expert providence and spiritual wisdom, and holding fast to the virtues of discretion, of meekness and lowliness, the love of righteousness and the virtue of justice: wherefore many of the sages hold him as of the number of the prophets, although he has not been sent (with a Message) to the nation and had not been a Lawgiver. And in the Chronicles (of the Greeks) it is found written that the Lord, blessed be He, endowed him with the power of prophecy, and said unto him, "Thou shouldst be called Angel rather than man." And he knew Arts without number, and there are many opinions about his death; one section said that he died in a natural way and that his grave is known, and another section said that he ascended to Heaven in a column of the Divine Glory. And he helped Alexander by his good counsel, and Alexander followed his biddings, as is known. And his greatness, his glory, his sovereignty and rule spread over all the kingdoms, and he went to the extreme ends of the earth and he passed over all the length and breadth of the roads, and all the nations accepted his rule, the Arabs and Barbarians, so that he became king over the whole world. And this came about because of the guidance of Aristotelos and of his deep counsel and the interest he took, and in that Alexander never turned away from his words and never forsook his advice and his commands.

3. And it has been found that he sent him letters concerning the government, by which he drew the hearts to love him, and by the fulfilment of those letters he obtained the most perfect love. Among these letters there is a letter which Alexander sent to him after he had conquered the land of Persia and ruled over their
nobles. Alexander wrote to Aristotle and said unto him: "May the pious teacher and the true and faithful governor know that I have found in the land of Persia men with abundant reason and subtle understanding, and they have lordship over the kingdom, and they rebel against the king; and I fear them on account of my kingdom. And I therefore intend to slay them all, and I ask thy advice in this matter."

And Aristotle replied and said unto him: "Alexander, if thou hast decided to kill them all, and thou hast the power in thine hand this to do for the sake of thy govern- ment, thou, however, wilt not be able to kill their country or to change their air and their water. But thou wilt be able to rule over them much better by doing good unto them and by showing them honour; and thou wilt rule over them through their love for thee. For if thou wilt show kindness unto them thou wilt be much more surely established than if thou oppressest them. Know, moreover, that thou canst not reign over persons and govern the hearts but by means of justice and righteousness. Know also that just as the people can talk against thee they can also act. Endeavour, therefore, not to force them to talk, and thou wilt have peace from their deeds. Peace unto thee."

And this reply reached Alexander, and he acted accordingly; and the Persians became more obedient to his command than all the other nations.

4. Saith the Ishmaelite, the translator, Yahia ben Albatrik: I left no temple among the temples where the philosophers deposited their hidden wisdom unsought, nor have I neglected any of the great Nazarites (or, recluses) who had tried to fathom that wisdom, and of whom I thought that the object of my search could be found with him, that I did not with all industry enquire after him, until I came to the Temple of the worshippers of the sun which the great Hermes had built for himself.
And I found there a priest, a man of great wisdom and deep knowledge, and I made myself known unto him, and I made friends with him, and I used many ruses, until he granted me permission to study the books that were deposited there in the Temple. Among them I found the object of my search, which I had been commanded to search for by the King of the Faithful, and it was written in gold. And I sat me down before his noble presence, and I accomplished my desire, and with great diligence and through the good fortune of the king, I undertook to translate this book from Greek into Rumi (Syriac) and from Rumi into Arabic. And in the very beginning I found therein: The reply of the philosopher Aristotelos to the king Alexander. And thus he wrote:—

5. "I beheld the letter of the honoured, beloved, and subtle son, the righteous king, the master of great righteousness. May the Lord in His mercy lead thee on the road of righteousness and preserve thee from turning after the desire of thy heart, and make thee a companion of the good of the world to come and of this world!

"To begin with, thou mentionest in thy letter thy great regret for thy separation from me, and that I am not with thee where thou dwellest. Thou askest me to prepare for thee a treatise on the measure and balance of thy rule, which shall be unto thee as my substitute, and support thee in all thy deeds, as if I were present, for thou knowest that my absence from thee is not because I hate thee, but in consequence of my great age and the weakness of my body.

"Know that that which thou askest of me, the thoughts of the living could not contain, and still less the skins of the dead. It is, however, my duty to fulfil thy desire, for I am beholden unto thee. But thou shouldst not ask from me to make known this secret more than what I make known in this book, for I have laboured over it, and I am
hoping of the Lord that there will be no obstacle between thee and that book. For the Lord has graciously granted thee understanding, and He has given thee of the glory of wisdom, therefore study carefully the allusions (in this book) as I have taught and advised thee already aforetime. Then wilt thou obtain thy wish and accomplish thy desire. These various and scattered secrets have I merely indicated by tokens, and the sealed things have I clothed in likenesses, lest this our book fall into the hands of those proud men who destroy and of the wicked who covet power. They will then see that permission has been withheld from them to understand it, nor was it our intent that they know of it. And I would be breaking the covenant by revealing the secret which God has revealed to me. And I conjure thee, just as I have been conjured upon this subject (not to reveal it), and whoever knows this secret and reveals its hidden meaning is sure of a swift, bad punishment, from which the Lord keep thee and us and grant us mercy.

6. "And after this I mention to thee, in the first place, that which I have recommended thee as the principal objects of thy desire, viz., that it behoves a king to have at least two supports, but only then when he himself is steadfast in his rule, by which he holds sway and those who are under his reign are in one obeisance, and by such subjection the allegiance is strengthened in favour unto the liege. I will explain the reason of their obeisance to their lord, and that is of two causes, one without and the other is within. I have already explained to thee the one without, and that is thou shouldst treat the people well and help them, and this is connected with spending of money and with dispensing favours, which I will mention later on in its proper place. And the subjects are the second support for to draw their hearts by his work, and that is of the first in importance, and it has also two causes, one without and the other within. The without one, which would cause the people to show
obeisance to him, is, that they see him dealing righteously with them and that he takes pity on them. And the cause within is, the counsel of the wise and pious in whom the Lord, may He be exalted, delights and whom He has endowed with His wisdom. And I will trust in thy keeping this hidden secret, and other things besides, which thou wilt find in the divers sections of this book, full of wisdom and morals, and in them their very intent and purpose. And when thou wilt study their contents and understand their allusions thou wilt obtain thy wishes and the purpose of thy desire. May the Lord grant thee a clear understanding of wisdom and the respect of the possessors thereof."

7. This book contains eight treatises. The first, on the various manners of kings. The second, on the affairs of the king and his rule, and how he must conduct himself in all his affairs and in the governance of the kingdom. The third, of the attribute of righteousness in which the king must be perfect, and by which he must lead the multitude and individuals. The fourth, of his governors, of his scribes, of the clerks of the affairs of the people, of the officers and their manner of deportment. The fifth, on his couriers who journey on his commands, of his messengers, of their preparation, of their conduct in the discharge of their messages and appointments. The sixth, on the conduct of his servants, of the commanders of the troops, and all who are under them, according to the degrees of their stations. The seventh, on the conduct of war, the battle-array, of watchfulness, of the arrangement of the soldiers, of the propitious times for battles, the time of going forward, and all the diverse movements in all directions. The eighth chapter, on special arts, natural secrets and talismans, on the good of the bodies, on the properties of precious stones, of plants, and living beings, and wonderful things of the mysteries of leechcraft, of what expels poisons without requiring the aid of a physician, and many similar useful things, as we shall hereafter mention.
8. *Book I: On the diverse manners of kings.* There are four kinds of kings: the king who is liberal to his people and liberal to himself; the king who is mean to himself and mean to his people; the king who is mean to himself and liberal to his people; and a king who is liberal to himself and mean to his people. And the Romans already have said, it is no shame to a king to be mean to himself and liberal to his people. And the Indians have said: it is profitable to be mean to himself and to his people. And the Persians have said and replied to the Indians: that only the king who is liberal to himself and liberal to his people is the king that is prosperous in his undertakings. And all agreed to it. For liberality to oneself and meanness to the people is shame and loss to the kingdom.

9. And now that we have decided to examine this thing it is meet to explain what we mean by liberality and what is meanness, and wherein consists prodigality, and what evil is caused by avarice. And it is known that things are considered blameworthy when they are in either of two extremes, but to keep the conduct straight between the two extremes is not considered a blame. The principle of liberality is difficult to determine, whilst that of meanness is easy. The limitation of liberality depends upon how much is required in time of need, and furthermore on the condition that he who gives should give only as much as is necessary, and to persons who deserve, and according to his means. For whatever goes beyond this liberality is increase and over-stepping the limit of liberality, and it becomes wastefulness. Therefore anyone who gives more than is required is not praised, and whoever spends not at the proper time is like a man who pours bitter water on to the littoral of the sea. And anyone who, instead of giving to the one who requires it, gives it to the one who does not require it, is exactly as if he helped an enemy against himself. And any king who gives what is necessary at
the time of need, and who gives to the deserving, he is liberal to himself, and liberal to his people, and prosperous in his dealings, and he studies carefully his affairs. And this is the man whom the ancients called liberal and noble; not the one who squanders and makes gifts to people who are unworthy, for the man who thus spends largely wastes the treasures of the kingdom. Meanness in general is a title unworthy of kings and unbecoming to the royal majesty. Therefore, if either be the nature of the king, then he must entrust the dispensing of the gifts into the hands of a faithful and discreet man, in whom he has confidence, and to whom he gives full power.

10. "Alexander, I tell thee, that it is a vice for any king to give more than he possesses. And anyone who imposes upon his kingdom more than it can bear, loses himself and causes loss to others, as I shall show further on. And this I have told thee constantly, that liberality and the firm establishment of the kingdom rest on refraining from (taking) the property of other people and forbearing (to take) their goods. And I have seen in some of the maxims of the great Hermes that the most perfect virtue, excellence of intelligence, peace of the realm, and the firm establishment of law, are all in a king who forbear from touching the money of people.

11. "Alexander, know that there was no other cause for the destruction of the kings of Nigig but the too great prodigality of their gifts, far beyond their income, for in the last they laid hands on the money of the people, who rose against them and destroyed their dominion. And this is a natural consequence, in that money is the means for the maintenance of life. It forms a part of it, and life cannot permanently be maintained if this portion is destroyed. Liberality means also to give up a desired object, not to pry on secrets, and to keep silence, not to mention gifts given; just as perfect piety consists in forgiving rebukes, in paying respect to the worthy, in
receiving everybody with a friendly countenance, and in returning peaceful greetings, and in not paying attention to the aberrations of the fool.

12. "Alexander, I have so often explained to thee that it ought now to be deeply fixed in thy mind, and that if thou dost it I am certain thou wilt succeed. But now I am repeating to thee again the whole wisdom in brief. And if I should not have taught thee anything aught but this, it should suffice to teach thee in all thy works touching this world and the world to come. Know that the intellect is the head of governance, the happiness of the soul, the revealer of secrets. It causes thee to flee from the ungainly and to love the lovable. It is the root of all things praiseworthy and the essence of the desirable. The first teaching of understanding is coveting of a good name. Whoever covets it truly, he shall have glory, but whoever covets it faintly is confounded by hatred and shame. Good fame ought to be coveted for itself. Kingdom ought not to be coveted for its own sake, but only for the purpose of obtaining fame, and therefore the aim of will and intellect is to obtain a good name. And the love of fame is obtained through good government.

13. "If lordship is coveted for other causes it produces envy, and envy produces lying, and lying is the very root and essence of vileness, and the offspring of lying is slander. And slander produces hatred, and hatred produces wrongdoing, and wrongdoing produces violence, and violence produces ire, and ire produces controversy, and controversy produces enmity, and enmity produces war, and war destroys order and devastates the lands and turns everything to chaos, and chaos produces the end of the world. But if intellect conquers the coveting of lordship, then it produces faithfulness, and faithfulness produces meekness, and faithfulness is the very root of all things lovable. It is the contrary to lying, and it engenders fear and justice, and justice engenders trust, and trust engenders honour, and
honour produces fellowship, and fellowship produces friendship, and friendship produces the willingness of sacrifice for others, and by this means law and order are established and this is in accordance with nature. And therefore it is thus made clear that the desire to govern for good name is praiseworthy and lasting.

14. "Alexander, eschew fleshly delights, for they cause destruction. Fleshly appetite induces the animal soul to covet the accomplishments of its will, without discretion, and though the body that wastes away rejoices the intellect that ought to be preserved is destroyed."

15. Book II: Of the ordinance of the king, of his purveyance, continence, and discretion. It is needful to a king to obtain renown through some famed science. He will become known by it to others, and he must speak of it, and thereby he shall rule and reign over others. In such wise his wisdom (science) will be known, and that he desire that they should turn their attention towards it, and then they will come to him.

16. "Alexander, any king that puts his kingdom under the Faith, he reigns and holds lord's estate. But any king that puts his Faith (the Law) in servitude to his kingdom, abases his Faith, and whoever abases his Faith, his Faith shall kill him. And I tell thee, as the renowned philosophers have said, whose followers we are, that the very first thing befitting a king is to respect all the statutes of the Law, not trespassing any of its details, or neglecting any of its prohibitions, and he must show to the people his obedience to the Law. He must in truth be a faithful believer. For when he will dissemble his faith and feign obedience, he will not obtain praise for his subtle dealings. For his secret will not remain hidden from the eyes of the people, and he will not in any wise be pleasing unto them, though he spend ever so much money on them. But only (by true faith) will he be
pleasing to God, blessed be He, and make himself beloved of His servants.

17. "And it is needful to a king to reverence the leaders of the nation, the wise men of the Law, and the judges. He should honour them, and not show pride. He should be broad-minded and skilled in thorough examination. He must foresee the future, and be merciful and kind. When he is angry he must not allow the anger to master him until he lose his reason, nor must he allow vice to seize hold of him, for if he submits to it vice will overpower his intellect and will conquer his virtue. And when he reaches the right path he must follow it without hindrance. He must not be arrogant nor put people to shame. He must dress in rich and precious clothing, and put on fair apparel, and the people will be impressed thereby and he will easily be singled out from among the rest. It is becoming that he should speak sweetly and use fair language, and his voice must be clear. A strong (clear) voice is best for times of rebuke; he must therefore not speak with a strong voice except when it is absolutely necessary, and then from afar. He also must not make his voice too often heard, for only in such wise shall his subjects respect him.

18. "He must not seek too much the company of men; his familiarity with them, and still more that with the common people, will bring him into contempt. And how excellent is the custom of the Indians in the ordinance of their king, who say that if the king shows himself to the people his royal majesty gets lowered in their eyes, and they despise him! And it is therefore beseeming that he should not show himself to them but at a distance, and then in royal apparel, and in parade and military display, and on one of the great festival days, and only once a year. And then he is to show himself to the whole nation, and one of his officers must stand beside him who is eloquent, and who will speak to them and thank God, and praise
Him in that they are obedient to the king's command, and that they know of the king's gracious will towards them, and that he thinks of their welfare, and he (the speaker) will ask them to walk in the ways of the Lord, and he will warn them not to turn away from his words, and that the king will pardon trespassers, and he will grant their requests and petitions; and he is to let them know that the king will fulfill the request of the greater number and pardon the guilty. But this must happen only once a year, and he must lessen the heavy burden they are wont to bear, and that will please them and will increase their joy, and his love will enter their hearts, and they will speak accordingly to their household and with their children. And the youths will grow up with the habit of listening to his voice and of loving him, and the women will rejoice in the joy of their husbands, and his name will be good in the eyes of all, in secret and in public. And he thereby will be safe from being treated with disrespect and from losing his sovereignty, and it will not enter into the mind of any man to change any of his laws.

19. "It is also needful that he lighten all the taxes and dispense with their tributes. And in a higher degree must he do it for the merchants who bring merchandise to his realm. For if he forbear to take away the money of his people, they, being pleased with him, will stop longer in his country, and the commerce will grow, and the rent of his realm will increase by the diverse kinds of merchandise and beautiful things (they bring) and by the greater number of people. For this will be one of the causes for his country to be peopled, and also for his income to grow, and for his affairs to improve, and his praise and the glory of his kingdom will be great. If thou givest up the small, thou wilt obtain the great.

20. "Do not covet riches that are corruptible, which thou must soon forsake, but get thee stable riches—a kingdom that does not pass away, and a life that is
everlasting. Seek to obtain a good name and pleasant company. Yield not to the animal instincts, and to the manner of the wolves to spoil whatever thou findest, and to search for what thou hast not lost. Be not cruel to those thou hast conquered, and keep aloof from everything that further the intent of going after the desire of eating, drinking, sleeping, and lechery. Do not give too much way to it, for this is the nature of the swine, which may be a praise in animals, but not in thee. It destroys the soul and harms the body, and shortens the days, and reduces the sight, and makes women rule over thee.

21. "Do not withhold thyself from thy best friends and the best among thy courtiers. Do not refuse to eat with them or to delight with them in play or mirth, but do it sparingly, only twice a year. And in addition to it, honour those who have deserved to be honoured [O. adds: and place everyone in his state, befriend them and praise them openly, and honour them], and return greetings to everyone of them. Give changes of raiment to as many as possible. And if it is one of the king's own garments which he takes off and which the other expects, then such gift will be far more acceptable and his love for thee much more excellent. And the king is not to stop distributing until everyone has obtained something.

22. "It is furthermore fitting for the king to demean himself sedately, and not to laugh overmuch; for too much laughing removes fear and hastens disrespect, whilst all those who sit before him will be more impressed by his sedateness, and will appear before him with dread. And if he sees one of them behaving disrespectfully, he must punish him. If he is one of those who are nearest to him (a relative), then his punishment is to be removal from the Court for some time, until he ceases to behave in such like manner. And if it is proved that he acts deliberately, so as to show disrespect and contempt,
then he must be punished more severely, and exiled to a distant place. But if he is one of the knights or courtiers, then he must be punished with death. And in the book of the Indians it is written: The difference between a king who rules by himself and the king whom the people have appointed to rule over them, is strength or weakness. And Asklabias has a chapter concerning the king. He says: The best among the kings is the one who, like an eagle, is surrounded by carrion, and not the one who is like a carcase surrounded by eagles.

23. "Alexander, the obeisance to a king comes through four things: religiosity, love, want, and reverence. Therefore, put away the wrong from the people and remove violence from them, and do not give them matter to speak, for what the people say they may do, therefore guard against giving them reason to speak (against thee) and thou wilt eschew their doing. And know [O. and M.: that the people are the honour of the king. And in the book of the Indians it is written] that fear induces respect for royalty, and it is more necessary that thy fear should be put upon the people than to place thy army in the valleys. For the king is compared to the rain by which the Lord waters the earth. It is the blessing of Heaven and the life of the lands; but it also causes destruction. For it sometimes injures the travellers and shakes the buildings, and the fiery flames come down and the floods overflow, and men and animals perish, and the sea rises in storm, and many evil consequences result therefrom for man. And yet people, unceasingly looking up to the work of the Lord, recognise His mercies, whereby He gives life to the vegetation, and prepares food for them, and the great loving-kindness with which He graciously favours them, and they extol the work of the Lord and praise Him, and pay no heed to any of the evils which befall them at the same time.

24. "Alexander, enquire after the needy of thy place
and feed them from the Treasury in the time of want, for in the feeding of the people in time of need there is observance of the faith, gladness of the subjects, and also the fulfilment of the will of God.

25. "Alexander, increase the store of corn against the years of famine, and when the time of famine comes bring that corn out which thou hast stored up, and give food to thy country and sell it unto thy people. For by so doing destruction is averted, and king and nation are preserved.

26. "Alexander, be careful in thy dealings and perfect in thy actions, and the best plan for thy conduct is to reassure the meek against the fear of oppression. For then also evildoers and wicked men will entrust themselves to thy forbearance, and they will believe in their hearts that thou keepest thine eyes upon their deeds.

27. "Alexander, above everything I beseech thee, and I repeat it again unto thee, listen to the voice of morals, for then thy government will be perfect and thy sovereignty firmly established, to wit: eschew to shed blood, for this is a punishment reserved unto the Lord the Creator, who alone knows the secrets, but thou judgest only according to the sight of thine eyes, and thou dost not know the hidden things. Therefore take heed and beware with all thy might. And Hermes the great has already said, that when a creature slays another creature like himself, the angels above are moved and cry aloud before their Creator, and say unto Him, 'Thy servant So-and-so calls unto Thee.' And if he has been slain because he had shed the blood of another, then the One, blessed be He, replies unto them, 'He has transgressed and slain, suffer that he be slain.' But if the murder is caused through the coveting of things of this world, or for any other wrong purpose, then He replies unto them: 'I swear by My throne and by the glory of My kingdom that I will not forsake the blood of My servant.' And the angels
never cease crying before Him at every time of prayer and supplication, until the blood is avenged. And if he (the murderer) dies suddenly, know that it is because the Lord is wroth with him. Understand, therefore, that vengeance is being taken of him.

28. "Alexander, suffice it for thee (to know) that the worst punishment is long imprisonment, severe chastisements, and tortures. Before deciding and punishing look into the books of thy divine ancestors, and there thou wilt find the proper teaching how to act.

29. "Alexander, treat the smallest of thy enemies as if he were of the highest potentiality. Do not consider a low man to be small in thine eyes, for it often happens that a poor and despised man becomes great, and if thou refusest his cure the illness (venom) increases.

30. "Alexander, beware lest thou makest void thine oath or breakest thy covenant, for this is an important part of thy Faith of which I have spoken to thee before, and which I have warned thee not to treat lightly.

31. "Alexander, thou knowest already that on thy right hand and on thy left hand spiritual beings are put to watch over thee, and everything that thou performest and doest, be it small or great, is made known by them to thy Creator. Therefore, conduct thyself worthily, so that he who beholds it may rejoice and make it known to thy Creator.

32. "Alexander, if anyone should compel thee to take an oath, beware from swearing; do it only then for great need. Even if a good cause should constrain thee thou shalt not make void thine oath, for, as the Lord liveth, the kingdoms of 'Atag' and 'Skir' and 'Ihas' (Ism) and 'Imim' have not been destroyed for any other reason but because they feigned in their time that they had taken an oath by mistake.

33. "Alexander, fear not the things which are passed, for that is the way of women who are weak in intellect.
Show loyalty and cheerfulness, and thy affairs will prosper, and thy enemies will be confounded.

34. "Alexander, do not say yea when thou hast said nay, and do not say nay when thou didst say yea, unless compelled by an extraordinary cause. Keep faith firmly and take counsel from the person in whom thou hast confidence, and thou wilt become perfect thereby, and no blemish will be found either in thy deeds or in thy words or in thy actions.

35. "Alexander, do not entrust to women the care of thy body, but, if need be, only to the one whom thou hast tried and found devoted to thee and to thy happiness. For thou art like a trust in their hands. Beware of deadly poison, for kings have been killed by them aforetime. And do not confide unto one man the healing of thy body, for one man can easily be seduced; and when it is possible for thee to have ten physicians do so; do not follow any prescription, unless they have all come together and are of one accord. And let no medicines be prepared for thee except in the presence of them all, and joined with them one of thy trusted faithful servants, who knows the properties of drugs, their combination and proportions. Remember what happened when the King of India sent thee rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it, because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she surely would have killed thee.

36. "Alexander, take care of thy noble and angelic superior soul, which is given to thee in trust, so that thou be not of the believing (fools). If it may be, neither rise nor sit, drink nor eat, nor do anything nor perform any work without first consulting the stars. For God has not created anything in vain; and through this study Plato,
the pious one, learned to know the parties joined together of diverse colours (or qualities) when he pictured them (formed the Idea) in accordance with their complex properties, until he discovered the art of the coloured silk garments, called in Arabic dilag, and all the Ideas. Do not listen to the words of the fools who believe that the knowledge of the stars is a secret knowledge which no one can obtain. They furthermore say that this science deceives those who trust in it. I tell thee that a foreknowledge of the future gained by this science is very profitable. For although a man cannot save himself from what has been ordained, still he can take greater care of himself, and eschew some of the evils that may befall him, according to his capabilities; just as a man can escape the cold by gathering wood to protect himself, or by preparing wool, cotton, and other things so as not to be harmed by the cold. In like manner (he can protect himself) from the heat of the Summer, by all kinds of things that produce cold; and likewise in time of famine, by storing up corn; and in time of war, by guarding against it. And then there is another consideration still, that if a man know what is going to happen before it comes to pass he may be able to remove the decree of the Lord, through praying to the Lord before it comes to pass, and through turning back in repentance and causing others to do so, and to pray unto Him to remove from them the evils which they dread.

37. "Alexander, honour thy vezier (councillor) more than thyself, and seek his advice in small or in great matters, and keep him near to thy palace, for he is thy honour before all the people, and his society is thy comfort. And pardon his sin and mistake. Consider that war-play which is called Shatrang in Arabic, where the king is called Shah, and the queen Prs (דָּרָם) (how he fares), when they are joined, and how, when they are separated. And this ought to be a clear example that no king can
be firmly established without a councillor, and this is true beyond doubt."

38. Book III: Of righteousness. "Alexander, know that righteousness is one of the glorious attributes of God, blessed be He, and sovereignty is granted to that one of His servants to whom He has given it, and made him rule over their affairs and their riches and their blood, and all their possessions, and he is unto them like a god, and, therefore, it behoves him to resemble him, and follow his example in all his works. And the Lord is wise and merciful, and His attributes of love and His names are far beyond the power of man to recount them.

39. "Alexander, the reverse of right is wrong and the reverse of wrong is right, and through righteousness heaven and earth have been established, and in righteousness the Lord sent His pure prophets, and righteousness is the shape of the intellect which God has given to His beloved, and through righteousness the world has been established, kingdoms have arisen, and subjects have been made obeisant, and it is the comfort to those who doubt and wonder, and draws the distant near, and saves the soul from harm, and kings have been able to overcome destruction until the Lord has removed it (i.e. righteousness) from them. Therefore do the people of India say: The righteousness of the king is more beneficial to the people than the goodness of the climate. And they said furthermore: A righteous king is more precious even than a fruitful rain after drought. And on some stones it was found engraved in Greek that the king and righteousness are brothers, and the one is impossible without the other. And individuals and the multitude are differing parties, and righteousness changes with them accordingly; but the real purpose of righteousness is, rectitude, amending of wrong, adjustment of weight, and the correction of measure; and it is a name collective for all praiseworthy deeds and
for the virtue of liberality. Righteousness can be divided into many sections of many kinds. (One kind of) righteousness impels judges to justice, and another righteousness applies to man who considers his relation to his Creator, and impels to make him right stable in things that are between himself and his fellow-men, to wit, in the nature of action and in the setting of tokens. And I will give thee here

the wisdom of Divine philosophy in the shape of a picture divided into eight sections, and that will tell thee all the objects of the world and all that refers to the governance of the world, and all their degrees and qualities, and how each degree obtains its share of right. And I have divided this circle in such a manner that each section represents one degree, and with whichever section thou
beginning thou wilt find all that is most precious within the circle of the wheel. And because the thoughts stand in this world opposite to one another, one above and the other below, have I arranged it to begin in accordance with the order of the world. And this likeness is the most important portion of this book and the very purport of thy request. And if in reply to thy demand I had not sent thee but this picture, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore, study it very carefully and take heed of it, and thou wilt find therein all that thou desirest, thou wilt obtain all thy wishes. And all that I have taught thee at length is contained here, like in a brief summary.”

40. Book IV: Of counsellors, scribes, officers, the knights, the people, and the manner of their governance. “Alexander, heed carefully this teaching and appreciate its worth, for I swear by my life, and by the love which I bear unto thee, that I have gathered up therein all the principles of the science of philosophy and of the nature of the intellect, and I have joined together and revealed therein Divine secrets, needful to write them down for thee in order that thou knowest the truth about the intellect and how the Lord has placed it on His servants, and how they have reached to the knowledge thereof, and thou requirest to know very much of it. May the Lord prosper thee in His great mercy.

41. “Alexander, know that the very first thing which the Lord, blessed be He, has caused to exist, is a simple spiritual substance, which he has made with extreme perfection and excellence and grace, and shaped all the things according to it, and He called it intellect. And from this substance emanated another substance, inferior to it in its station, and this is called the Universal Soul. And then afterwards in His wisdom and His plan He bound it up with the visible and sensitive body. Thus He made the body to be like a country and the intellect its
king, and the soul the lieutenant, serving that country and studying its parts. And He caused the intellect to dwell in the most honoured and in the highest place, to wit, the head, and He caused the soul to dwell in all the parts of the body, and from without and from within it guards the intellect. If anything should happen to the soul, then body and intellect are destroyed; but if anything happens to the intellect and the soul remains perfect, then the body remains hale, unless from the Lord comes the destruction of the whole at the end of the fixed number of days. Therefore, Alexander, consider this matter carefully, and think of it, and liken thy work in every way to the work of the Lord, blessed be He. Have only one counsellor and take counsel with him in all thy intentions; and listen to his advice even if it be contrary to thy desires, for then that advice would be a true one. And therefore did Hermes say when they asked him why is the advice of him who counsels better than that of him who asks, 'Because the advice of the counsellor is free from any personal desire.' And this is a sooth word. And when his advice shall appear true to thee, do not hasten to fulfil it, but tarry on for a day and a night. But if it is a thing which thou art afraid that thou couldst otherwise not carry through, then do it speedily. And if after proof and examination it will have become clear unto thee concerning thy counsellor, and also of the love which he bears thee, and his desire to advance the welfare of thy kingdom, then take his advice. Pay no regard to age as to whether the advice that comes from a young man could be profitable. And I tell thee that the advice follows the body, for when a body is feeble the advice is feeble. All these things depend also upon the nativity, for some people are born under certain nativities, and these men follow then the nature of the stars which control their birth. And if parents would force the child to do any one kind of work, he will still strive after the other in accordance with the influence from above.
"Thus it came to pass with some astrologers who came into a town and took up their abode in the house of a weaver; in that night a son was born unto him, so they looked up his nativity and calculated the conjunction of his stars, and that (horoscope) told them that this child would grow up to be wise and clever, of good counsel, and he would govern the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would become a counsellor of the king. And they wondered at it, but did not tell the father anything about it. And this child grew up and the father tried to teach him his craft, but his nature refused to adapt itself to it, and the father did smite him and beat him, until, at last, he gave him up in despair, and left him to follow his own will. So he went to men of discipline and learned all the sciences, and he understood all the manners and governments of kingdoms, until he became a counsellor. And the contrary of this marvellous working of the stars and their way of moulding the nature of man, is that which happened at the birth of a son to the King of India. At the time of his birth the stars pointed to his becoming a smith, and the astrologers hid it from the king. When the child grew up to be a young man the king tried to teach him all the arts and the manners of conduct of kings. But he did not incline to it, and his nature did not draw him, but to the craft of a smith. And the king grieved over it, and he gathered all the astrologers together, who lived at the time, and asked them about this thing, and they all found that his nature led thus the child.

Alexander, do not hasten over a thing and do not tarry before thou hast asked the advice of thy counsellor. And the ancients never cease repeating that counsel is the first of discipline. And it is written in the books of conduct of the Persians that one of their kings took counsel with one of his counsellors on a great secret upon which the kingdom depended. And one of them
said: 'It is not meet for the king to take counsel with only one of us in his affairs, but that he should in preference take counsel with each one of us singly.' But he (the king) ought not to heed them. (The one) would keep the secret, and the king could rely on his advice and be better inclined to peace, and pay less attention to their advice, on account of the mutual jealousy of colleagues. For there is greater safety in revealing the secret only to one, and the king is more sure of his peace.

44. "And Bhts (Bhtm, Krts) the Greek, said: 'The strength of the king who is supported by the advice of his counsellors grows as the light of the day, and he will obtain by wit and counsel more than by the might of war.' And one of the kings of Persia who had put his son on his throne in his lifetime said unto him: 'It is necessary that thou shouldst always take counsel, for thou art only one among many, and take counsel only with him who knows the secrets and understands the hidden, and who will not allow a cause of discord to remain between thee and thine enemies, and who will smooth over differences between thee and thine enemies.'

45. "And let not the strength of thine own opinion and thy exalted station prevent thee from joining thy opinion with the advice of others about thee. If thy opinion will agree with theirs, then thine will get stronger by it. If it be different from the advice given by others, then take heed and consider it carefully and ponder over it; if it is more profitable, accept it, and if it be less, then leave it utterly. And it is in this way that thou canst test thy counsellor, if thou showest him that there is a necessity for spending money. If he advises thee to spend all that is in thy treasury, then thou must treat him with scant consideration, he is of no value to thee; put no faith in him, except in time of great need, when there are no other means of help, for he in truth,
in this respect, is undoubtedly thine enemy. And if he advises thee to take the money of the people, then know that he is a man of bad governance; he will cause them to hate thee, and thereby destroy thy kingdom. If he proffers that which he has profited of thee, and what he has got from thee, and gives up his own to fulfil thy wishes, then he is worthy to be praised and to be extolled. And from this thou learnest that he is willing to sacrifice himself for thy service. The most praiseworthy among thy counsellors is that one to whom thy life is dear, and who willingly serves thee and renounces the pleasures of the world only to fulfil thy wishes, and puts his person and his goods to the satisfaction of thy desires. He must have these virtues that I name now.

46. "(1) He must be perfect in all his limbs, trained for the work for which and to which he is chosen. (2) He must be a man of wide knowledge, deep wisdom, and quick imagination, understanding everything that is told him, endowed with a good memory, alert, hears and does not reply, convinced by proof only, and perceives the intention at which others are aiming. (3) He must be of fine countenance and commanding aspect, but he must not be arrogant. (4) He must be reasonable, of fair speech, ready to state his intention and wishes in a few words. (5) He must be well dressed, and versed in all the sciences, especially in that of mathematics, which is the only true science, resting upon evidence, which sharpens the reason and improves the nature. (6) He must be true to his word, loving the truth and driving away the lie, being faithful in his transactions, receiving people with courtesy, a man of good repute. (7) He must not be given much to eating, drinking, and lechery, keeping away from frivolity and sensual delights. (8) He must be courageous, subtle in plans, loving honour, and yet of a meek disposition. (9) That silver and gold, and all the accidents of the world, be despised by him, and that he
put his mind only on those things which would bring honour to the king and make him beloved in the eyes of the people. (10) He must love justice and those who practise it, and hate violence and wrong, and yield the truth to whom it belongs, having pity on those who have suffered violence, removing injuries, and making no difference for the love of any man in the world. (11) He must be a ready writer, a man of fair speech and of discipline, who knows the things of the past, the ways and habits of men, and the affairs of the king, who knows the history of the nations that have been before, and of the generations that have passed away; a man belonging to a good family, whose parents were counsellors, and who had served kings, because then he would be like inheriting a position in which he was brought up, and with which he was familiar. (12) He must know all the issues of the expenses; nothing should be hidden from him of what is necessary and befitting for thee, so that the people should not rise against their subjection and he not know the cause of their complaints, but that he should know how to pacify them, so that the subjects shall know that he understands the needs of the people, and they will no longer murmur against the king. (13) He must be a man of noble descent and of great ancestors, and he should have suffered of the troubles of the world, and the evils of the time should have surrounded him, and when thou then raisest him and exaltest him to a high position, then he will be loyal to thee all his life, and recognise thy kindness, and not suffer any evil to befall thee. For the nobility of his descent and the conduct of his ancestors will prevent him from doing otherwise. (14) He must not be talkative, or jocular in his ways and insulting to people. (15) He must not drink wine nor love too much repose and luxury. He must be ready to receive people day and night, and treat them well. That his court be open to all comers who want him; he must listen
to their pleadings and improve their affairs, and mend their works, and satisfy them in their desires, and share in their troubles. He must also be religious, godfearing, and trusting in the word of the Lord. But do not trust any of those religious men who are not of thine own Law, and who believe not according to thy faith.

47. "Know that man is the most exalted being of all those that God has created. There is none of the qualities which God has given to other living creatures which He has also not given to man, and made him, to wit: courageous as the lion and faint as the hare, liberal as the cock and miserly as the hound, lecherous as the raven and solitary as the leopard, homely as the dove, sly as the fox, simple as the lamb, fleet as the hart, slow as the bear, proud as the elephant, and lowly as the ass, rapacious as the bird called in Arabic akak (wren ?), proud as the peacock, straight (foolish ?) as the bird called katah (ktah) (ostrich ?), straying as the owl, wide awake as the bee, unstable as the goat, anxious as the spider, meek as the ant, revengeful as the camel, grumbling as the mule, mute as the fish, twittering as the swallow, enduring as the swine, sorrowing as the bird called kos, prancing as the horse, quick as the ox, furtive as the mouse. And above all, I command thee and warn thee that thou shalt not make thyself hated by any man created by God in this world. For the first aim of reason, after belief in God, is the love of mankind, be they good or bad.

48. "I furthermore command thee and warn thee that thy counsellor be not red-haired, and if he has blue eyes, in Arabic called azrk, and if he be one of thy relations, do not trust them, do not confide in them any of thy affairs, and beware of them in the same manner as thou bewarest of the Indian snakes which kill with their look, from a distance. And the nearer they are to thee the more harmful they are. For they all envy thee for thy riches,
and thy relations envy thee thy possessions, and they will not rest satisfied until they have killed thee.

49. "And know, Alexander, that this is established in nature and grounded in the formation of man and proved to true men by experience from olden times. Thus it was at the beginning of the creation of the world, when Cain envied his brother Abel and slew him."

50. Book V: Of the royal scribes and seal-bearer. "Thou must select such men to write thy letters and to seal them who will show thy wide intellect, the greatness of thy understanding, and thy true intention to those who read them, so that no blemish be found in any of thy thoughts, meanings, and intentions which are thy virtues, and by reason of which in the eyes of the people thou art worthy to rule. For the intention is the spirit thereof, and the indicting is the body, and the writing is the (clothing and) ornament. Just as a speaker needs be a man of fine appearance and of fair beholding, so must be the selected secretary a man of perfect understanding, of fair words, and a beautiful writing. The scribe must be an ornament to thee. The kings of old became famous through their scribes, and they reached their high station only through their scribes. And right as he interprets thy will and takes heed of thy secrets and spreads thy glory through the whole world, so must thou honour him in his station, after the service which he does to thee and after the manner in which he bears the burden of the affairs of thy kingdom. He must be unto thee as a part of thyself, his prosperity be thy prosperity, and his loss thy loss. And if it is possible to make thy counsellor to be thy secretary, then it is preferable for his benefit and for thine, for he will keep thy privy counsel more secret, and likewise thy intentions."
51. Book VI: Of the administrators and of the tax-gatherers. "Thou knowest already that the people are thy treasury which thou must carefully preserve and replenish, for thereby thy kingdom is established. The people, therefore, must be in thine eyes like an orchard in which there are diverse trees, and they must not be in thine eyes like seed which grows once a year and must be sown anew. Trees are deeply rooted, they do not require to be sown over and over again. And thus for the love of thy people, which establishes thy kingdom and thy might, thou must needs honour them and endeavour to remove from them all their wrongs. Be it never irksome to thee to watch over their interests, or to gather their fruits. And the gatherer must know their needs, be experienced and well informed in all things, rich, faithful, and he must gather only the fruit and not destroy the tree. He must be a man of moral qualities, silent and meek, for if he will be contrary he will drive the people away and will destroy good dispositions.

52. "And thou shalt not appoint many officers nor many stewards to thy expenses, for the greater the number the greater thy loss. Each one will endeavour to outdo the other, and this will be the loss of thy possessions. He will also endeavour to show himself profitable to thee by putting the loss on thy subjects, and everyone is partial to himself and looks after his own interests, and some of them might favour those whose favour they enjoy, and help them."

53. Book VII: Of couriers and messengers and their appointment, and the manner of their deportment in the discharge of their messages. "Know that the messenger shows the wit of him that sends him, in that he is thine eye where thou seest not, thine ear where thou hearest not, and thy tongue where thou art absent. It is therefore necessary that thou choosest the most worthy of those
who are in thy presence, the wisest, tall, comely, faithful, and who eschews the ungainly. And if thou findest such a man, send him, and place in his hands all thy interests, after thou hast made known to him thy will. And do not command him about the future, for it is possible that in the time of need the proper thing will be that which thou didst not wish. And if thou findest not such a man, then let him be at least faithful, that he neither add nor subtract in things that thou sendest him, and that he keep well thy command and understand what he hears and brings back the answer.

54. "And if it is impossible to find such a one, then he must at least be a faithful bearer of thy letter to him that thou sendest him, and brings the answer back. And if thou perceivest that thy messenger is busy to get money in the place that thou sendest him, then do not send him, for the money will not be given to him for thy profit.

55. "Also thou shalt not send a man who drinks wine. For the Persians, when a messenger came to them, offered him wine, and if he drank they knew that the secret of the king who sent him would be revealed unto them. Or they brought great riches, and if they saw him willing to take it they were sure that his king would fall into their hands.

56. "Alexander, beware lest thou send thy counsellor for a messenger. Suffer him not to go far from thee, for that is destruction of thy kingdom. I have now explained to thee the qualities of thy messenger, and that the man upon whom thou shouldst rely should be faithful and without treachery, for otherwise he will betray thee, and such is the man who takes money and gifts and deceives thee in the object of his mission; he will cause destruction to thy affairs and interests, and will frustrate thy plans."
57. *Book VIII*: Of the management of soldiers, leaders, and knights. "Alexander, the knights are the ornament of the king and the pride of the court, and it is meet to lean on the pleasing ornament and the excellent order in the degrees of knights, so that nothing that is nigh or far concerning them should be unknown to thee. Thou shalt not undervalue the importance of the order and degrees of those thou sendest away, and of those upon whom thou reliest, for thou wilt be able to call thee without any difficulty the number which thou requirest; and the smallest number of ordinance is four. And I say four, because there are four sides to everything in the world; before and behind, right and left. And similarly, there are four corners of the world: north and south, east and west. And appoint each (of these four) commanders to rule over a fourth part of thy kingdom.

58. "And if thou wishest to have more, then let them be ten, for ten and four are perfect numbers. In ten, four is contained in the following manner: one, two, three, four; summing them up together they make ten. And this is the perfection of the ten, that it comprises the four in the number. Under each leader (or commander) let there be ten governors, and under each governor ten officers, and under each officer ten subordinates, under each of these ten soldiers, and thus you have 10,000 men. And if thou requirest a thousand men, command one governor, and he will have with him ten officers, each officer ten subordinates, and each of these ten men, thus 1,000. And if thou requirest only 100, thou commandest the officer and he will have his ten subordinates, and so on. And thus it will be easy for thee to govern them, and thou wilt be able to carry out everything that thou desirest. And the burden of the knights will be lightened, and it will not be tiresome to thee, since each of them commands ten inferiors. And also their own work will be made easy for them, and they will carry out anything
thou wishest with one accord, for each of these knights will be under the command of one who is superior to him, one order above the other.

59. "And it is indispensible that the army should have a wise scribe, faithful, one who understands the affairs thoroughly, and who knows the characters of the men and is proved in chivalry, and who will not suffer that they be corrupted by gifts, thereby destroying their allegiance. And if thou perceivest any such thing in him, remove him, and call them together and tell them that as soon as thou hast seen or learned of their corruption thou dost no longer support him, and that it is thy desire to remove him from them. It needs that the king be friendly, and receive them with courtesy and constantly improve their affairs, and prevent any of them from coming to grief.

60. "And it needs that they fear thee, so that they reverence and honour thee. They must not be allowed to approach thee too closely when they come to pay homage to thee. Do not speak with them overmuch either in public or in private, for that may be a cause for them to despise thee, and may also cause destruction, for they may plot against thee as it happened to Tmstis (Atmstis, Tmastius, Tamstius) the king and other kings of olden times.

61. "Accustom them to bring their complaints before thee in writing. They should be forwarded to thee by men who are close to thee and who are worthy of that high station. And read every letter sent to thee in presence of thy counsellor and the commander of the army; and to those that deserve consideration and reply, send it and write it on the back of the same letter which was sent to thee; for thereby thou shouwest honour to the petitioner, and he will glory in it, he and his children; and he will become more strongly attached to thy service, and strengthened in his allegiance to thee. But if there is a letter not worthy of consideration, then leave it and answer him with fair words. And give them a banquet
on certain occasions and on festivals, for it pleases them and they consider it an honour, and their love for thee will increase."

62. Book IX: Of war and of the manner how to dispose the army and the posts, and how to arrange the lines of battle. "Do not put thy life in danger in war, and keep close to the great of thy court, and do not follow the example of the 'Hiablh,' who risked their lives in war.

"And I swear unto thee that king has never tried to meet another in war, that the one had not the intention of conquering the other, and this is due to the nature in which the world has been created. And remember the deed of Cain against Abel his brother; and it is known that envy and the love of this world are the causes of it; it is inherited and proved to be part of the nature of this world of which we must beware. Know that war is like body and soul, in which two extremes meet, the one trying to overthrow the other. The soul consists in the belief which each of the two parties has, that he will win, and that he will conquer the other. The body consists of the armies of the two parties arrayed one against the other, for if no one hopes in victory war ceases by itself; the war lasts only so long as one faces the other, and the end of it is the victory of one over the other. Thou must therefore put all thy aim to strengthen the heart of thine army and to assure them of thy victory, and that thou hast proofs in thine hands; and show them practical arguments for to strengthen their courage, such as thy war implements which are called 'Hisaros,' and the slings (?) which are called 'Akud,' which I will hereafter mention again in this book. Speak to them fair, and promise them gifts and change of raiment and encourage them thereby. Warn them at the same time against trespassing thy command, for thou wilt punish them with public chastisements and tortures before all.
63. "Do not set thy camp in an open field or in a narrow and enclosed place. And if thou settest thy camp and that of thy followers in an open field, then try and protect thyself with all kinds of arms; place keepers and spies and watches at all times, night and day, so that the enemy shall have no chance of victory or of inflicting loss upon thee. And do not set up thy camp but in a high place, such as leaning against a mountain or the like of it. It must be close to water. Provide a large quantity of food and wood, even if thou hast no need of them; also of terrifying instruments which make horrible noises, for thereby thou wilt encourage thy army and strengthen their soul, and thou wilt frighten those with whom thou wagest war, and dread will enter their souls. And thy knights shall be differently clad, one different from the other, some in breastplates, others in coats of mail, and others with halibards (slings?).

64. "And when thou sendest a section of the army to engage in battle send with them walls (castles) and towers of wood in which there are archers and also those who throw fiery missiles, for if fear should seize upon the army their hearts will get strengthened by relying on them. The archers and the fire-shooters shall stand in front of them, facing the enemy. And thou shalt dispose thy army as I have mentioned, and thou must place at the right hand those that strike, and on the left those who know how to throw their spears, and the archers and those who shoot with firebrands and that make loud noises like those water instruments which cause dread and trembling, which I have made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against 'Bllhh' the Indian. When they heard those frightful noises their hearts quaked, the horses ran away, and thy victory was due to the large number of these instruments which I have mentioned. It is needful that thou controllest the army, so that thou knowest their outgoings and their incomings, and what is good for them and what
is bad, for when they perceive it they will be careful and fear thee.

65. "Study carefully the plans of the enemies, and where thou seest them weak, strike. And when thou engagest in battle act with deliberation, for that is of great help. I have never yet seen a man at the head of the army winning the battle unless the (enemy) be overcome by faintness of heart and great fear. Put many ambushes (and arm them) with fire, and with terrible noises, for they are a great safeguard and a great power which help to victory, and also an important element in the issue of the war, for they kill the courage of those with whom thou fightest.

66. "Make thee those terrible instruments called 'Mhavi' and 'Zoba' (Zoha, Zoka) in some countries where thou wast war, and protect thy cavalry from them. Have a large number of the animals of Khorasan (Brasan) which carry war stores, (are swift), and frighten the horses, and they are a safety in time of defeat, and they are as a castle. They, moreover, carry victuals for the journey, and water.

67. "And if thou assailst castles, make thee such weapons as I have invented for thee, that throw stones from afar, and destroy the buildings, and throw down the walls; and make as many of them as thou standest in need of. And also the battering-rams and instruments that shoot poisoned arrows, and place upon them the revolving bow (?), for it terrifies stout hearts and shakes castles. If thou seizest their water, cast into it deadly poison, and guard against it thyself, for it is necessary to be exceeding careful.

68. "Do not associate with him that is beaten nor befriend him. And if it is possible to fulfil thy purpose by cunning, use it, for the very essence of governance is cunning, and let war be the last deed. And because the Indians are very cunning no evil befalls them. Whilst the people that are called Turk are cruel and very foolish,
therefore fight with each of them in the manner that is convenable. And do not allow a small thing to grow, but consider it carefully before it come to pass."

69. Book X: The calculation of names of the warriors (generals). "Know, O Alexander, this is the secret of which I have spoken to thee and upon which I have acted when thou didst go forth against thy enemies to battle, and when thou didst send thy servants. And this is one of the Divine secrets with which the Lord has favoured me; I have tried its truth and I proved its use, and I have profited by it. Thou hast asked after it, and I hid it from thee and gave thee only the benefit of it. Now thou mayest not reveal it to any other man, but act upon it only, thou alone, and thou wilt never fail, in that thou goest not to fight thine enemy until thou hast found by this calculation (of the numerical value of the letters of thy name) that thou art sure to conquer. And if it be not advantageous to thee, then calculate the names of thy servants (commanders) and appoint over the army only the one who according to these calculations is sure to win. And in such manner shalt thou reckon: get the sum of the names of the generals and of thy name, keep the sum of each of them, then from the sum-total of each of these names, subtract as many nines as it contains, and put aside the fraction under nine that may remain, and thus proceed with the second name; whatever remains less than nine of the second put also aside. Then look at the table which I have written for thee, and compare it with the remnant of the sums of the two names; what thou findest therein believe, for it is true, and by the help of the Lord thou shalt never be led astray."

70. (Here follows the Hebrew alphabet, each letter of which has a numerical value; and after Tau, whose numerical value is 400, follow five letters with two strokes
on them, their numerical value being, instead of 5, 500; 6, 600; 7, 700; 8, 800. Then follow: Tau 'raphē' (without a dot), Pe 'raphē,' Tet 'raphē,' 900, the word for 'thousand,' and finally Gimel 'raphē' and Sin.)

"Then calculate (the letters of) several two names according to the numerical value which I have just described, throw away every nine, and for that figure which remains in thy hand less than nine, look in the following table of calculation:—

71. "Figure 1:—1 and 9, the 1 beats 9; 1 and 8, 8 beats 1; 1 and 7, 1 beats 7; 1 and 6, 6 beats 1; 1 and 5, 1 beats 5; 1 and 4, 4 beats 1; 1 and 3, 1 beats 3; 1 and 2, 2 beats 1; the one who challenges beats the one who is challenged.

72. "Figure 2:—2 and 9, 9 beats 2; 2 and 8, 2 beats 8; 2 and 7, 7 beats 2; 2 and 6, 2 beats 6; 2 and 5, 5 beats 2; 2 and 4, 2 beats 4; 2 and 3, 3 beats 2; 2 and 2, the challenger beats the challenged.

73. "Figure 3:—3 and 9, 3 beats 9; 3 and 8, 8 beats 3; 3 and 7, 3 beats 7; 3 and 6, 6 beats 3; 3 and 5, 3 beats 5; 3 and 4, 4 beats 3; 3 and 3, the challenger beats the challenged.

74. "Figure 4:—4 and 9, 9 beats 4; 4 and 8, 4 beats 8; 4 and 7, 7 beats 4; 4 and 6, 4 beats 6; 4 and 5, 5 beats 4; 4 and 4, the challenger beats the challenged.

75. "Figure 5:—5 and 9, 5 beats 9; 5 and 8, 8 beats 5; 5 and 7, 5 beats 7; 5 and 6, 6 beats 5; 5 and 5, the challenger beats the challenged.

76. "Figure 6:—6 and 9, 9 beats 6; 6 and 8, 6 beats 8; 6 and 7, 7 beats 6; 6 and 6, the challenger beats the challenged.

77. "Figure 7:—7 and 9, 7 beats 9; 7 and 8, 8 beats 7; 7 and 7, the challenger beats the challenged.

1 This passage is undoubtedly corrupt.
78. “Figure 8:—8 and 9, 9 beats 8, 8 and 8, the challenger beats the challenged.

79. “Figure 9:—9 and 9, the challenger beats the challenged.”

(Cod. L. adds: End of the war play, may the Lord put to shame my enemies. Amen, Amen, Selah, for evermore.)

80. Book XI: Of physiognomy. “O Alexander, know that the science of physiognomy is one of the subtle and speculative sciences which it is necessary for thee to know and to understand, because of the great need in which thou standest when appointing men to stand before thee. I will therefore put down for thee in this chapter all the tokens of physiognomy which are proved true and known in the days gone by, and which we have tested in sooth from olden times.

81. “Alexander, thou knowest that the womb is for the child what the pot is for the broth. The temperaments differ according to the creature, and the natures differ according to their composition. Know that a clear white complexion with a tinge of blue (purple?) and much sallowness betokens shamelessness, cunning, lust, and unfaithfulness. Behold the people of ‘Ashkenaz,’ who have all these qualities and are foolish, unfaithful, and impudent. Therefore, beware of any man whose complexion is blue (purple) and sallow, and if besides having a large forehead, he is beardless, and has much hair (on his head), beware of him as thou bewarest of the poisonous snakes.

82. “And in the eyes there are also unfailing tokens which betoken mercy, wrath, love, and envy. The worst of complexions is the blue (purple), which is of the colour of the stone called ‘Ahlamah,’ and in Arabic ‘Furuzg.’

83. “He that has large and protruding eyes is envious, impudent, slothful, faithless, and lying; and if they are blue, then he is even worse; he has then undoubted envious eyes.
84. "He that has little and sunk eyes, dark and black, is alert, understanding, faithful, and loyal. He that is squint-eyed, looking along the length of the nose, is deceitful. He that has eyes like the eyes of an animal, that stare and move little, is of hard understanding.

85. "He that has shifting eyes, and has sharp sight and turns quickly, is treacherous, sly, and faithless; and if the eye is red it betokens courage and fearlessness. If the eyes are speckled on all sides, then such a man is worse than all others, and most vicious in disposition and in deed.

86. "Alexander, if thou seest a man who looks often at thee, and if thou lookest at him he blushes, and he looks ashamed, and looks as if he were jesting, do not befriend him. If there are tears in his eye, he fears thee and loves thee, he will be true and faithful, especially if his eyes have all the good tokens which I have already mentioned. And if thou look at a man and he looks at thee shamelessly and fearlessly, it betokens that he is envious of thee, and that he holds thee in contempt and is unfaithful unto thee.

"Alexander, beware of any man that is deformed (imperfect) as much as thou eschewest an enemy.

87. "Of the hair:—Thick hair betokens courage and health of brain; soft hair betokens a soft heart, coldness of brain, and little intelligence; abundance of hair on the shoulders and on the neck is a sign of foolishness and also a sign of fastness; abundance of hair on the chest and belly denotes animal nature, little intelligence, and love of falsehood.

88. "Of the colour of the hair:—Fair hair (light) denotes foolishness and great ire, and flippancy and also tyranny; black hair betokens intelligence and softness (patience) and love of play; and the mean between the two betokens fairness (righteousness).

89. "Of brows:—Much hair on the eyebrows betokens weakness, and boldness of speech; when the eyebrows
extend sideward (to the temple) they betoken vainglory (pride), and he who has the eyebrows wide apart, equal in length and shortness, and black, is alert and wise.

90. "Of nostrils:—He who has tender nostrils will be a man of soft temperament, long nostrils close to the mouth betoken courage; and he who has extended nostrils is a man who will brave danger; he whose nostrils are wide open (strong in blast) is a violent man; he whose nose rises up in the middle and declines again towards the extremity is a vainglorious man and a liar. The best nose is a long nose, but not too long, just even, moderately thick, and declining in its extremity to thinness; it betokens intelligence and understanding.

91. "Of the forehead:—A broad forehead in which the veins cannot be seen signifies quarrel and interference; but a broad and prominent forehead where the veins are visible signifies wisdom, friendship, trust, understanding, secrecy, plan, and acuteness.

92. "Of the mouth:—A large mouth betokens courage (strength of heart), thick lips betoken simplicity, and one who has red lips and of mean thickness is a just man.

93. "Of the teeth:—He whose teeth stand out prominently (var. are serried) is a man of hard speech and treacherous, unfaithful; he who has straight teeth well set with space between them, is intelligent, faithful, and a man of foresight.

94. "Of the face:—He who has a full fleshy face and swollen cheeks is a man of low disposition; he who has a lean sallow face is wicked, treacherous, and deceitful; he who has a long face is impudent; he who has swollen temples and full of veins, is of a violent temper.

95. "Of the ear:—He who has big ears is a simpleton, save in that which he understands; he who has little ears, is a fool and a thief.

96. "Of the voice:—A strong voice betokens courage; but a man who has a mean voice, neither over great nor
over small, neither over quick nor over slow, is intelligent (var. and faithful); he who is hasty in words, and especially if he has a small voice, is impudent, ignorant, and a liar; and if his voice be right great, he is of quick temper and of evil manners; he who has an ugly voice is envious and treacherous; he whose voice is full great (?) is stupid, of little understanding, and pride.

97. "He who makes many movements is vainglorious and deceitful, and whoever is quiet in his demeanour and whose speech is perfect, and moves his hands at certain set portions, is perfect of understanding and thoughtful in mind.

98. "Of the neck:—He who has a very short neck is deceitful and a liar. He who has a long thin neck is lewd, stupid, and faint-hearted. Whosoever has a long neck and a small head is a fool beyond measure; he who has a long thick neck is a fool and a glutton; and whosoever has a neck well-proportioned in length and thickness is ingenious, discreet, and a faithful friend.

99. "Of the belly and chest:—He who has a thick belly is simple and a fool, and faint-hearted. A small belly and a narrow chest betokens good understanding and good counsel.

100. "Of the shoulders and back:—Broad shoulders and back betoken prowess and foolhardiness. A bent back betokens discordant nature, an even back is an excellent sign. Upraised shoulders betoken bad thoughts and evil will.

101. "Of the arms:—When the arms reach so far that the hand touch the knee, it betokens courage, liberality, honour, and goodness of soul; but if they are short, then the person loves discord and is faint-hearted.

102. "Of the hand:—The long (palms of) hand with long fingers betoken cleverness in crafts, excellence in work and in governance of the kingdom.

103. "Of the thigh and the leg:—Feet full of flesh
betoken weakness and slackness; thick thighs and houghs, hardiness, arrogance, and strength.

104. "Of the foot:—A big foot betokens folly and love of falsehood; a small foot betokens courage.

105. "Of the steps:—Whosoever makes wide, deliberate steps, welfare shall follow him in all his work and he shall foresee the future; he who makes quick, short steps, he is hasty in his work, he does not foresee the future, and is of evil disposition.

106. "The tokens of perfect body and best nature are that the flesh be soft and tender, neither over thin nor over thick, neither over short nor over long, of white complexion, middling between red and sallow; soft-looking, long hair, just between the crisp and the plain, middling fair; big eyes, being somewhat deep-set, and between dark and black; the head of even size, the neck straight (and lean), the shoulders a little bent, without much flesh on the back and thighs, the voice clear, tempered between strong and weak; the palm smooth, the fingers long and tending to tapering; sparing in words, little given to frivolity or laughter except when it is absolutely necessary, and in his temperament inclined to melancholy and also to being sanguine, and in whose looks pleasure and joy are mixed without malignity, just as thou art (?), and who does not wish to rule over thee nor over things over which he has no power. This is the most perfect creature which the Lord has created, and this is the man whom I would choose for thee; search, therefore, for a man who answers this description, and thou shalt thereby prosper. Thou knowest already that a ruler is more dependent on the subjects than they are on him.

107. Book XII: On the preservation of the body. "Alexander, since this body fails and in time perishes, therefore take heed of these tokens which I mention unto thee and pay attention to them with thy perfect
knowledge and with thy unblemished understanding, for it will be profitable to thee, with the help of the Lord, through the change of compositions which occur in the body. I have therefore decided to collect here in this chapter some of the most important secrets of leechcraft, which, if thou wilt observe and adhere to them [O.M. adds: For it is not necessary for a king to show all his maladies to the leech, and if thou wilt follow this precious order of life which I give thee] thou shalt have no necessity for a leech save in those rare occurrences which no man may eschew.

108. "It behoves thee, Alexander, when thou risest from sleep, to walk about a little and stretch thy limbs evenly and comb thy head with a comb, for the stretching strengthens the body and the combing of the head lets out the vapours which rise up to it during the night-time of sleeping from the stomach. And then wash in the Summer in cold water, for this strengthens the body and regulates the vital heat, and this causes appetite. Then put on clean clothes and dress in beautiful garments, for the sense of sight is gladdened thereby, and the power of the sight is strengthened by beholding it.

109. "Then cleanse thy teeth with the bark of bitter trees, gall-nuts sharp and hot, for they are of great help, since the cleansing of teeth and mouth softens the white phlegm, loosens the tongue, clarifies the speech, and stirs the desire of eating. Then make a 'Sa'aut' (shampoo ?) according to season, for the 'Sa'aut' is of very great benefit; it opens the closings (pores) of the brain, it stiffens the neck, the throat, and the arm, and it fattens the face, it sharpens the wits, and prevents old age (hair turning soon grey). Anoint thyself according to the season in which thou art; there is no better food for the spiritual soul than the smell of sweet savour, and this is its food, and if thou feedest thy soul and strengthenest it the body gets strong, the heart rejoices, and the blood runs in the veins with the expansion of the soul."
110. "And then take an electuary, four drachms of aloe and rhubarb, for the effect is to draw down the white phlegm from the mouth to the stomach and to remove it together with the food, to kindle the natural heat; it also reduces flatulency and cleanses the mouth.

111. "After which speak with the nobles of thy kingdom and discourse with them pleasantly, and judge everyone according to his due. And when thou desirest to eat at the time at which thou art accustomed to eat, then take some exercise to tire thy limbs, in wrestling, walking, or galloping on horseback and the like, for the exercise helps to drive out winds, to quicken the body and to strengthen it, and to make it supple, to kindle the heat of the stomach [O.M. adds: to strengthen the joints, to make the superfluous humours to melt and the food to sink, so that it should be consumed by the heat of the stomach], and to stir the soul.

112. "And then set before thee many meats, and eat after thy desire what pleases thee, and eat bread evenly raised, perfectly baked. And eat first that which ought to be eaten first, and take for a second course of that which is to be eaten second: take, for example, that on a table there are two dishes, of which thou partakest, now one of these dishes through its softness loosens the stomach, and the other by its astringency binds the stomach. Thou ought then to eat first the soft and then the binding meal; for this will contribute to cause the first food to be passed on freely, immediately after it is digested. But if thou eatest first the binding and then the loosening, they will not be digested, and both shall be wasted. If there is on a table a dish that goes easier down to the bottom of the stomach, and one more difficult to digest, then ought thou to eat first that one that is more easily digested, and then the other that is more difficult to digest, so that the lower part of the stomach should be more quiet and more slow to digest, for the lower part of the stomach is more hot, for
it is more fleshy and close to the liver, which digests things by its heat. It is necessary to restrain thy hand (i.e. leave off) eating when thou hast still appetite, for over-feeding shortens the breath and causes the food to remain undigested in the bottom of the stomach.

113. "It is needful to restrain thyself from drinking water whilst thou art eating, until thou losest this habit; for the water cools the stomach and increases the heat of appetite and spoils the food; and too much water spoils the stomach, and causes great hurt to the body. But if thou standest in great need of water for the heat of the season or for the heat of nature or of the food, take but little, and let the water be very cold.

114. "After dinner walk a little gently to a soft place, and lie thee down and sleep for an hour on the right side, and then turn on to the left and finish thy sleep on it. Sleep before meals makes the body lean and dries up the moisture, but sleep after meals nourishes, satisfies, and strengthens the body.

115. "Eat no meal before thou knowest that the previous meal has been digested completely, and thou shalt know it by thine appetite and by the increase of spittle in the mouth. For he that eats when the body does not require it, will find that the food will hurt him by increasing (extinguishing) the natural heat, whereas if a man eats when he is hungry he will find the natural heat not as burning fire. And when thou feelest appetite, then eat at once, for otherwise the stomach will feed on the superfluities of the body, will produce evil humours, and will trouble the brain with evil vapours, so that if thou eatest afterwards the food is spoilt and it is of no benefit to the body.

116. "Take heed of the four seasons of the year to protect thyself accordingly. The vernal equinox (i.e. the Spring) is warm and moist and temperate, it is like the air, it stirs the blood, and all light food is of benefit, such as young
chickens and the fowl called 'Drag' (Ddag, Diag), new-laid eggs boiled in warm water, lettuce and endive and goat's milk; and this is the best time for blood-letting and cupping, which is called in Arabic 'Mihram' (Mhatm), and conjugal life, and for much exercise and purging, and baths in the water, and hot air baths for perspiration, and drinking of the Theriac for purging. And any trouble arising out of blood-letting or of purging will soon be remedied and restored through the action of the season.

117. "The next season is that of the Summer. This season is hot and dry, and it stirs up the red gall and makes men sanguine. It is necessary to abstain from anything that is hot either in food or in drink or in medicines and spices. Abstain also from over-eating, for it will extinguish the natural heat. Eat only cold food, such as veal in vinegar, and cucumbers, and young chickens, fattened on barley meal, and of fruit, sour apples, and nuts, and sour pomegranates, and do not indulge in fleshly liking, keep aloof from blood-letting and cupping, except when it is absolutely necessary. Do not take much exercise, and also use the bath little.

118. "Then follow the cold Autumn days. This season is cold and dry, and it stirs up the black gall. Abstain from eating or drinking anything cold and dry; eat and drink only what is warm and moist and soft, such as chickens, lambs, and sweet raisins, and light old wine; and keep away from anything that may produce melancholy; have more exercise and fleshly liking than in the Summer, and go more often to the bath, and take purgings if need be.

119. "Then follows the rainy season (Winter), which is cold and moist, it stirs up the whole phlegm, and it is necessary to turn again to warm food and spices, such as pigeons and young lambs, and roast meat and hot spices, and figs and nuts, and clear red wine, but if any of these cannot be obtained, then use hot electuaries, and abstain
from purging and from blood-letting, except when it need be. And change the air and warm it, and also anoint thy body with warm ointments and use temperate baths; and strong exercise, and to know one's wife, or much eating, will not hurt at this season, for the digestion is very strong at this time of the year.

120. "Alexander, take care of this glorious temple and of the natural heat with all thy might. For so long as the heat is temperate and the moisture is proportionate, that heat feeds the man and his health lasts and long (life) is assured. For two causes a man waxes feeble and his body decays. First is the natural weakening from too much exercise, when the dryness overpowers the body and the existence comes to an end; and the second is accidental weakness, plagues, disease, and the loss of mind. That which makes the body fat and moist is peace and rest, eating of the dish called 'Aspidbag,' sweet savouries, and the drinking of warm milk and sweet wine, and sleeping after eating on a soft and comfortable bed in a cool place, and bathing in sweet warm water.

121. "Do not stay too long in the bath, for the bath dries up the sap [O.M.: whilst the body should, on the contrary, be made soft through the bath], and smell at all times sweet aromatics, such as jasmine in the Winter (rainy season) and roses and carnations (camphor?) in the Summer [O.M.: one must vomit at least once a month, especially during the hot season], for vomiting washes the stomach and cleanses it from evil humours and rotten phlegms, and when those evil humours are reduced the natural warmth is strengthened to digest the food and to benefit the body and to nourish it.

122. "Still more profitable with this disposition is to have pleasure, songs, and honour and victory over the enemy, and occupation with pleasant objects, and the sight of beautiful faces, and the reading of books that are a delight to the soul, listening to sweet singers, and playing
with friends, clothes rich in divers colours, and to be anointed with good ointments, according to season.

123. "In the contrary of all this, leanness and wasting of body come from eating and drinking little, from overwork and exercise (standing) in the sun, keeping long time awake, sleeping before meals on a hard bed, and bathing in sulphurated (evil-smelling) waters, in eating salted and pickled foods, which are moreover cold and sharp, and burnt food, and drinking old wine without water, and too much purging, and blood-letting, and too much sexual life, anxiety and dread, and dreary thoughts of things to come; all these produce leanness of body, and dry it up."


"Thou knowest already, from that which I have mentioned hitherto unto thee and of what I have repeated unto thee over and over again, that the essence of all that is in this whole world, above and below, the near and the far, undergo no change in their essence; the change is merely an accident which is divided into form and appearance. And since the substance does not change, the cause of the change lies outside it, and the whole material world which thou seest consists of four substances, and these are the four elements, and out of these are then born the mineral, vegetable, and the animal world, and the moving agent is the sphere (world) that surrounds them all. Each of them is subdivided into smaller sections and are (called) species and kins. If I should attempt to explain or to mention them all, it would take me too long, nor is this the object of my book. For my real object therein is to fulfil my promise and to tell thee some of the riddles of this great secret. Now that I have explained it to thee in what precedes, thou art sure to know and to find that it is true. I will now mention
unto thee the virtues of precious stones, for it is necessary that thou knowest them, for they may prove to be of great benefit unto thee, with the help of God.

125. "The highest science is the knowledge how to make silver and gold, yet the true knowledge is withheld from (men), for it is impossible that any man be likened to God in his fundamental actions. But it is evident that these accidents (changes) can be obtained if no one hinders, for they are subject to the universal law (i.e. of the unity of substance). It suffices, therefore, to deal with the accidents, for anyone who follows them up follows the right path, though their inner nature may remain hidden. Take then of Zarnik (arsenic) one portion, and put it in vinegar until it turns white, and then take an alloy of quicksilver and silver and mix them with the oil of eggs and put them in the furnace, as I have taught thee before. If it turns white as the bird called in Hebrew 'Paras,' in Arabic 'Akab,' then it is good; if not, put it back into the furnace until it turns as thou wishest. Then put one portion of it to seven of Mars and one drachm of the Moon, and it will be perfect. Then take of 'Hadun Ktag' (Hadus Katag, Harus Katag), and feed with it the 'Paras,' which is called in Arabic 'Akab,' until it turns green, and mix with it 'Shsbusag' and wax, and oil of eggs, and take one drachm of it and put on two drachms of the Moon and the Sun, in two portions, and that will be perfect.\(^1\)

126. "And if thou make a ring of silver and gold with a red jacinth set in it, and engrave on it the image of a naked girl, tall and strong, riding on a lion, and six men worshipping her, and it is made in the morning of Sunday at the hour (?) of the sun, at the conjunction of Leo and Sol, and the sun is in it, and the moon is in the 10th degree at the height which is called 'Shrf' in Arabic, and

\(^1\) All these are alchymistical names for metals and other substances.
the net (?) far away from it. Then, whosoever wears such a ring will be reverenced by the people. They will listen to his voice and fulfil all his wishes in this world; and no man will be able to withstand him.

127. "'Bish':—This is one of the greatest poisons, but not recognisable through taste or colour, for when people taste it, it has no bitterness, none of the bitterness of the asp or of the leopard. And the gold-lime (orpiment ?), which is called 'Klas', is also one of those poisons which are indispensable to thee. It is one of the secret instruments of war, by means of which misfortune in war can be averted, as I have already told thee. Rely, however, only on the special lucky star under which thou wast born. Neither subtlety nor endeavour can profit thee. Do not undertake anything in this world as if thou wert going to live for ever, but think of the world to come, and consider thyself as one who may die on the morrow. It is needful that thou busiest thyself in thy governance only with principles all necessary, and eschewest the details. Heed it with discretion, for it is a great token.

128. "Know that 'Kemia' (i.e. Alchemy) is not a true science. Not so ploughing and sowing, which should be the most beloved in thy sight: through them shalt thou prosper, and thy governance shall be exalted, and thy kingdom shall prosper by the help of the Lord.

129. "Since precious stones have special virtues, as I shall mention later on, I shall determine those marvellous virtues, which will prove to thee of great benefit, and which are proved by trials and tested by me.

130. "The stone Baschar (Bezoar). This is a Persian name, and means 'averts misfortune,' others say it means 'tightens the wind' (subdues the demon). It is of a twofold colour, one yellow like a piece of wax, and the other, olive-green with green streaks, looking like a sallow piece of leather (?); this is the best, and it is dug up in the land of Tsin. It is said that it is found also in the poison
of the snakes. It is rolled into small white balls, soft to
the touch; its property is that it protects against all
manner of poisons, of beasts, plants, and minerals, and of
the bite and sting of insects. He who drinks of it twelve
grains weight will be saved from death and the poison will
pass out in the sweat. He who puts it in a ring on his
hand will be reverenced by the people and by all who
behold him. If it be ground to powder and strewn on the
bite of a reptile it will draw the poison out, and even
should the place have started to putrefy it will still be
healed; and if they take of the powder two barley grains
weight, and melt it and throw it into the mouth of vipers
and reptiles, it will suffocate and kill them. And if they
hang some of it round the neck of a child it becomes proof
against epilepsy and any other evil occurrence; it saves it
from bad accidents.

131. "The pearl, which is called 'Iakut' in Arabic:—
There are three kinds: red, yellow, and black. He who
sets in his ring or hangs round his neck any of these
kinds of pearls, and comes into a town where the illness
called 'Tamun' is raging, no illness that happened to the
inhabitants shall touch him. Whosoever puts on his
hands a ring with a red pearl in it will be courageous
and much honoured in the eyes of the people. Whosoever
engraves on it the likeness of a lion and the constellation
Leo with the sun inside and the rays darting out afar, will
be greatly reverenced, he will obtain his object, and
quickly fulfil his desire, and he will not see in his sleep
terrifying dreams.

132. "Zmrd (emerald):—The property of this stone is
that honour is paid to the man who wears it in his ring,
on his hand. If hung round the neck it appeases stomach-
ache, especially when kept close to the stomach. Dissolved
and drunk, it is also good for leprosy. Whosoever wears
it in his ring or round his neck, and it is hung before
illness appears, will be freed from pains in his belly.
133. "The stone 'Ahlamah,' which is 'Firzag' in Arabic:—This is a stone which great kings highly prize and treasure it in their treasury. Its great property is that no man can slay him who wears it. It has never been found with a slain man. If it is ground and dissolved in water and drunk, it saves from the sting of scorpions and from the deadly poison of reptiles and snakes.

134. "The stone Alkahat:—This stone is a soft stone, black (Ethiopian), and is luminous (brilliant). The touch of it is cold, fire has no power over it and cannot burn it. Its property is that it saves from all hot fevers, inasmuch as anyone taking it in his hand feels very cold, and needs keep it and cannot remove his eyes from it. Whosoever wears one of these stones appears great in the eyes of men, who will reverence him. He who goes to war and wears one, no man can fight against him, but (his enemy) is confounded, and stares at him. Therefore get thee a large number of them, and use them and act according to the secret which I have taught thee.

135. "Alexander, suffice this answer to the request which thou didst make of me. Study it, consider it, take heed of it, and thou shalt obtain thereby good understanding. May the Lord, in His mercy, cause thee to prosper."

End of the book called "The Privy of Privies": praise unto Him who knows all the hidden things.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

GÔVINDA, GÔPÊNDRA, UPÊNDRA.

I am afraid that my bad handwriting is responsible for an error in Mr. Kennedy's learned and deeply interesting article on *Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars*, in the last number of the Journal. In a note on p. 979 he quotes me as an authority for the fact that 'Govinda' is really 'Upendra, the little Indra.' My writing has evidently been misread. What I did say was that 'Govinda' was really a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit 'Gôpêndra,' i.e. Lord of Cowherds. When the word was taken back into Sanskrit it was given, in its new form, a new etymology. By the *pandits* it was falsely connected with *vindati*, he finds, and said to mean 'a cattle-finder.' See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. lxi. The word has nothing to do with 'Upendra.'

May I add that the acceptance of everything that Mr. Kennedy says about the introduction of Christian ideas into India by Gûjars, in no way alters the undoubted fact that the modern teaching of *bhakti* came to the Ganges Valley from Southern India, and that that teaching also, as I have shown, included many Christian ideas. The two streams, a Râma-stream from the south and a child-Krishna stream from the north-west, can well have intermingled in the country round Mathurâ.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.

Oct. 28th, 1907.
Veṭhadīpa.

May I offer a further item of proof that *Visṭu may be a corruption of Viṣṇu, as maintained by Dr. Konow on p. 1053 of the last number of the Journal. In Bengali every śn is pronounced št at the present day. Everyone, even a pāṇḍit, pronounces Viṣṇu as Biśṭu, Vaishnava as Boiśṭōm, and Kṛṣṇa as Kiśtō.

Dr. Konow's examples are taken from Southern and Western India, but these come from a tract only two or three hundred miles from Kasiā. Bengali pāṇḍits insist that in these words, as pronounced, the sibilant is ś, not ʂ. My own ear, however, fails to detect any difference in the Bengali pronunciation of ś and ʂ.

G. A. Grierson.

Camberley.
Oct. 29th, 1907.

Sultānu-n-Nisā Begam.

With reference to the July number of the Journal, p. 608, I find that this lady's tomb at Allahabad is certainly a cenotaph, for she was, at her own desire, buried in Sikandra beside the tomb of her grandfather, "on the right side as you enter the cemetery." She died at Agra of dropsy on the 4th Sh'ābān, 1056 (5th September, 1646). Her aunt Shakaru-n-Nisā also expressed a desire to be buried in Akbar's tomb, and the left side was assigned to her in or before 1646. (See Pādshāhnāma, ii, 603–4.) But Shakaru-n-Nisā survived her niece, and did not die till the 26th year of Shāh Jahān, 1652. (See Wāris's continuation of the Pādshāhnāma, B.M. MS. Add. 6,556, p. 463a.) She must have been a very old woman, for she was of a marriageable age in 1594. The longevity of many of the ladies of the Timurid family is in marked contrast to the short lives of their husbands and brothers, and seems to point to their superior temperance.

H. Beveridge.
THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DABISTĀN.

Dr. Rieu states in his Catalogue of Persian MSS., i, 142, that in a MS. dated 1209 A.H. (1794–5) the author of the Dabistān is said to be Mīr Zū-l-Faqār ‘Ali-ul-Ḥusainī, surnamed Mūbad Shāh.

This is corroborated by a statement made half a century earlier by Shāh Niwāz Khān, the author of the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā. In the account of Akbar’s Divine Faith, which is appended to his biography of Sūltān Khwājah Naqşbandi, he states (vol. ii, 392) that the author of the Dabistān was Zū-l-Faqār Ardistānī, with the pen-name of Mūbad, A variant, which is supported by the usually correct MS. B.M. Add. 6565, p. 322, line 9, gives Zū-l-Faqār’s designation as Āzār Sasānī.

There is, however, a statement in the Dabistān, p. 389 of the Calcutta edition of 1809, and vol. iii, 46, of the translation, which seems to militate against the identity of the author with Zū-l-faqqār Khān. It is stated there that the author received some information about the Raushānīs from Perī = Sultan Zū-l-qadr, Zū-l-qadr nizhād, who now has the title of Zū-l-faqqār Khān. But I think Zū-l-faqqār here must be a mistake for Zū-l-qadr.1 It is not likely that a man whose title was Zū-l-qadr would have it changed to Zū-l-faqqār, and moreover Perī Sultan is evidently the same man as the Pirī (or Perī) Āqā of the Pādshāhnāma, ii, 28, who is described there as having the title of Zūl-qadr Khān. He was sent on a secret mission by Shāh Jahān to ‘Alī Mardān Khān to induce him to surrender the fortress of Qandahar. He was employed in Afghanistan, and was long governor of Ghazni, and was just the man likely to be employed by Sā’id Khān in interviewing the Raushānī leader, as

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1 Since writing this I have found that it is Zūl Qadr in the two MSS. of the Dabistān in the British Museum. See Add. 16,670, p. 327 and Add. 25,849, p. 128.
described in the passage of the Dabistân already referred to. The words "a person from nature possessed of vigour and worth" in Shea & Troyer's translation are Troyer's rendering of Zū-l qadr Zūl-qadr nizhād, but the expression really means that his name was Zū-l-qadr, and that he belonged to the Zū-l-qadr tribe. As stated by Blochmann, Āin, translation, p. 619, Zū-l-qadr is the name of a Turkaman tribe. Both Zū-l-faqār and Zū-l-qadr Khāns are frequently mentioned in the second volume of the Pādshāhnmāma, and are quite different persons. I do not know when Zū-l-faqār Khān died, but it is stated in the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā, ii, 462, that Zū-l-qadr Khān died in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān (1647). But even if Zū-l-faqār Khān be the right reading in the Dabistân, there is no reason to suppose that Zū-l-faqār Khān and the plain Zū-l-faqār or Mir Zū-l-faqār, who is said to have written the Dabistân, are one and the same person. We are apt to forget the wide difference made by the appellation 'Khān.' Khān was, in the old Moghul times, a title of great honour, and the author of the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā is always careful to record when the subject of any of his notices is made a Khān. There is no reason to suppose that the author of the Dabistân ever was an official or that he had the title of Khān. He was a wandering scholar, born apparently in Patna in Bihar, who visited Kashmir, Kabul, Mashhad, Surat, etc., and eventually settled at Chicacole in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. As he himself says, Fate tore him away from his Parsee friends and landed him among Hindus. Possibly inquiries at Chicacole (Sūkākulum) might lead to some further information about him. As Chicacole is in the Deccan, and the author of the Dabistân visited Ḥaidarābad, the author of the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā, who was a Deccani official, had good opportunities of knowing who the author of the Dabistân was.

H. Beveridge.
A NEW ORIENTAL QUARTERLY.

In July the Rivista degli Studi Orientali began its career under the auspices of the Scuola Orientale attached to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Rome.

The founders of the new review, professors of the Faculty, believe, as they say in an introductory preface, that the aims of the Oriental School will be best served by a publication of the kind proposed. Besides, Italian scholarship needs fuller representation in the field of Oriental studies. This the Rivista promises to afford, with original memoirs, publication of inedited texts, and notices of the work done elsewhere.

The first part (numbering 167 pages) of vol. i begins appropriately with Abyssinian matter, the text and translation of historical legends of Abyssinia published by Professor Ignazio Guidi. Lanman's translation of the Atharva Veda is the subject of an article by Professor De Gubernatis, who, as Director of the Oriental School, presides over the new review. A Jain text, the Vāsupūjyacaritra, of Vardhamāṇasūri is analysed by Signor A. Ballini. Chinese studies are represented by Professors C. Puini and L. Nocentini, the former publishing a translation of the Chinese version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra, and the latter a translation of a Chinese collection of maxims, known as the "Precious Mirror of the Pure Heart." There are useful biographical notes, and an obituary notice of Aufrecht. A feature of the number is an interesting Bullettino dealing with the latest publications on the languages and literatures of Africa. Similar bulletins are promised for Semitic, Indo-Iranian, and Central Asian subjects.

The Rivista is also charged with the duty of publishing the proceedings of the Italian Committee of the International Association for the Scientific Exploration of
Central Asia and the Far East, which Committee, by the way, has begun practical work by procuring the funds to send an Italian Sinologue, Dr. Vacea, on a mission to China.

The subscription to the Rivista degli Studi Orientali is 20 lire per annum outside Italy. Foreign subscribers are supplied by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig.

MADHURA-VĀṆI, THE SANSKRIT POETESS OF TANJORE.

Sanskrit scholars of the present day have to be congratulated on the discovery of an excellent and extensive poem, popularly known as the Madhuravāṇī-Kāvyā, after the surname Madhura-vāṇi earned by the famous poetess of Tanjore, who calls it by the name Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Sāra, and classes it as a Mahā-kāvyā. It treats of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, and consists, as in the only palm-leaf manuscript available to us at present, of fourteen sargas to the end of the contents of the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa; and this comes to about 1,500 slokas of various metres. There are, however, some additional verses at the end showing that the work had been completed by the poetess. The style is very simple and chaste, and the poem has throughout a melodious flow. The authoress was a court poetess of Raghunātha Bhūpa, who, it is said, ruled over Tanjore, and was himself the author of an Āndhra Rāmāyaṇa. This Raghunātha Bhūpa was the third Nāyak Prince of Tanjore, who ascended the throne in 1614 A.D., and the Madhuravāṇī-Kāvyā may therefore be ascribed to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Prince's Court had reached its zenith.

The work richly deserves publication, as it is perhaps the first Mahā-kāvyā coming to us from the pen of a member of the fair sex.

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.
THE CHILD KRŚṆA.

I had hoped that a perusal of Mr. Kennedy's paper on "The Child Krishṇa, Christianity, and the Gujars" would remove certain difficulties as to the correctness of his main results which I felt bound to express on hearing the paper read; but as I still feel grave doubt on several points in Mr. Kennedy's most exhaustive and able argument, I propose briefly to indicate some considerations directly arising out of that argument which appear to me hardly to have received full weight in Mr. Kennedy's review.

Mr. Kennedy attempts to show inter alia that the identification of Krśṇa and Viṣṇu was late in date, and in certain parts of Hindustān at any rate was not complete by 300 A.D., and that the conception of the child Krśṇa was introduced at Mathurā in the fifth or sixth century A.D. as the result of the meeting at that town of lax Buddhists and eager Hindus with Northern nomads who brought a child-god, a Christian legend, and a Christmas festival.

To prevent misunderstanding it may be as well to say at once that there is no good ground for denying the existence in the legends and cult of Krśṇa of elements derived from the Christian faith. The resemblances between the details of the lives and deeds of Christ and Krśṇa pointed out in Weber's classical treatise on the Krśṇajanmāṣṭami and summarised by Mr. Kennedy, cannot reasonably be ascribed to mere accident. But with regard to them two things must always be borne in mind: in

2 Similarly, I have never doubted that the modern doctrine of Bhakti contains Christian elements. What I regard as not proved, nor likely to be proved, is that the doctrine derived its origin from Christianity. The cumulative evidence of similarities in the later texts (cf. J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 493 sq.) is, of course, of no value in matters of origin.
3 p. 978.
the first place, many of the most striking similarities consist of details found only in apocryphal gospels and writings of uncertain date, and may quite as probably be due to borrowings by Christianity as by Kṛṣṇaism; and in the second place it is at least as easy logically to explain these similarities by the hypothesis that there existed in India an indigenous cult which resembled Christianity in certain respects, and which therefore naturally assimilated whatever Hindu taste found attractive in the new religion which was brought by missionaries and others from the West, as by the theory that the whole cult of the child Kṛṣṇa is borrowed.

To turn now to Mr. Kennedy's first theorem, the late date of the general recognition of Kṛṣṇa as identified with Viṣṇu, we find that the proposition rests on the terms in which, in the third book of the Mahābhārata, his contest with the Daitya king, Śālva, is described. Mr. Kennedy argues¹ that the poet ascribes to Kṛṣṇa, not the discus of Viṣṇu or the bow of horn, but the thunderbolt of Indra, and that he cannot therefore have regarded Kṛṣṇa as identical with Viṣṇu. He then proceeds to find an exact date for the passage by comparing the description of the siege of Dvāraraka with Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the siege of Amida in 359 A.D., and concludes that the passage must date from a time—not earlier than the fourth century A.D.—after the Sassanians had learned from the Romans the art of besieging and defending fortified cities by mines, etc. The latter part of the argument seems to me to ignore unduly the possibilities of poetic invention in describing the conflicts of gods and demons, and if we must press history out of the passage, can it be said to be necessary to go as late as the fourth century A.D.? Or is there anything in the text which could not have been written in the first century A.D. by an Indian with some

¹ p. 963.
imagination who had heard by report of the modes of warfare employed by the Empire? But what is of more importance than the date of the passage, the evidence against the identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu is surely quite insufficient. Mr. Kennedy's own account of it appears to me to establish the identity of the two divinities in the most striking manner. He lays stress on the fact (p. 962) that the passage thinly veils the solar character of the god, and Kṛṣṇa fits "to his bowstring his favourite weapon of fire, which rises in the air like a second sun." Now I submit that the solar character of Kṛṣṇa is precisely the characteristic which marks him as identical with Viṣṇu. It seems to me as certain as anything in Vedic mythology can be that Viṣṇu was a sun-god, and that it was to that characteristic that he owes his gradual development to be a supreme deity.1 It hardly seems possible to ascribe to Kṛṣṇa an original solar character. His name tells seriously against it: the 'dark sun' requires more explanation than it seems likely to receive, and the characteristics enumerated by Mr. Kennedy (p. 962) point with much greater likeliness to Kṛṣṇa having once been a vegetation spirit. If, then, we find Kṛṣṇa appearing distinctly as a solar divinity, we are fairly justified in saying that he was, in the poet's mind, not far different from Viṣṇu.

As evidence for the early date of the identification of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, it is useless to quote the Epic as long as doubts of a serious character exist as to its date.2 But we have the evidence of Patañjali, which, though not conclusive, deserves fuller consideration than it has received from Mr. Kennedy. In discussing Pāṇini, iv, 2, 98,

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1 For the real importance of sun-worship in India, cf. Manucci's emphatic testimony (Storia do Mogor, trans. by Irvine, iii, p. 3).

2 But Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, and Viṣṇu appear as identified in Taittiriya Aranyaka, x, 1, 6 (see Weber, Ind. Stud., i, p. 78; xiii, p. 333), and the date of that passage can hardly be later than the third century B.C. It is probably much earlier, and any account of Viṣṇu must take note of it.
Patañjali distinctly says that Vāsudeva is a samjña of the Bhagavant, and Weber himself admits that, on the analogy of Śivabhāgavata, while the passage does not prove that Kṛṣṇa is identical with Viṣṇu, it does show that he was already far more than a Kṣatriya and was a higher divine creature. But, later on, Weber, with his usual candour, makes another admission. In discussing the evidence afforded by the Mahābhāṣya for the early existence of the drama he notices the fact that the two legends mentioned as the subjects of representation are the Balibandha and the Kaṃsavadha, and he points out that, as the first of these subjects is undoubtedly taken from the legend of Viṣṇu, it is probably necessary to assume that already Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa stood in a close relationship. There seems, indeed, no ground whatever to deny that they were already identified, and that this was the case is indicated by the fact that the Mahābhāṣya tells us that in the Kaṃsavadha the Granthikas divided themselves into two parties, the one followers of Kaṃsa, the other followers of Kṛṣṇa, and that the former were kālakukkhāḥ and the latter raktamukkhāḥ. Weber was naturally puzzled to find that Kṛṣṇa’s friends were red in colour, but the whole thing explains itself when we regard the contest as one of the many old nature rituals where two parties join in mimic strife, the one striving to rescue, the other to capture the sun. Such a ritual, in all probability, was the source of the drama in Greece, and traces of it are to be found in England. The supporters of Kṛṣṇa as

1 Ind. Stud., xiii, p. 352.
3 See Weber, op. cit., p. 489, n. 3.
4 Op. cit., p. 353. Lévi (op. cit., p. 315) inverts the attributions of colour, but this is quite illegitimate.
identified with the sun, Viṣṇu, naturally wear the red colour of the luminary as an act of sympathetic magic.

Nor does the evidence in favour of the second of Mr. Kennedy’s theses seem more satisfactory. It is, of course, easy to prove anything by disregarding the references in the Mahābhārata and by assigning the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Harivamśa to the sixth century A.D., but it is hardly legitimate, and in the case of the Harivamśa at least the date assigned is almost certainly wrong. Indeed, Mr. Kennedy’s own evidence seems inconsistent with his results, for the reference to Krṣṇa and Devaki which he (p. 976) quotes from the Bhītārī Inscription of Skandagupta seems conclusively to show that long before the date of that record, which was composed soon after 455–456 A.D., Krṣṇa stood to Devaki in the same close relation which marks the legend of the child Krṣṇa. But surely the existence of the standing enmity between Krṣṇa and Kamsa, his uncle, of which the Mahābhāṣya presents the most conclusive proof, essentially presupposes the existence of a legend of the youthful Krṣṇa? The relationship would normally be accompanied by friendship and protection: when the reverse is found, and the nephew slays the uncle, the similar legends found elsewhere justify us in thinking that tradition must have told some tale of the efforts of the uncle to remove from his path the unwelcome nephew. It can hardly be supposed that it was left for Christianity, as Mr. Kennedy seems (p. 980) to suggest, to find a justification for the killing of Kamsa in the massacre of the Innocents.

If, then, Krṣṇa was recognised as a divine child long before the contact of Christianity with the Hindus, it

2 On Pāṇini, iii, 2, 111: jagāhānā Kāṃsaṃ kila Vāśudevāḥ; on ii, 3, 36: avādhur mātule Krṣṇaḥ; and the Kāṃsavādha, on iii, 1, 26. See Weber, op. cit., pp. 353 sq. The connection of Krṣṇa and Devaki must be very old if, as seems most probable, the Krṣṇa Devakiputra of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, iii, 17, 6, is a cuhemerism.
remains to consider what character was attributed to the youthful god. The answer appears to be given by the epithet of Govinda which belongs to him in the Mahābhārata and probably in the Mahābhāṣya. Mr. Kennedy himself considers the epithet early (p. 964), but seems uncertain what sense to ascribe to it. He renders it (i.e.) 'the herdsman of the fertilising rain-clouds,' but later (p. 979, n. 2) he seems to think it possible that the epithet has really nothing to do with cattle, but is equivalent to Upendra, 'the little Indra.' I confess that neither of these renderings seems to me satisfactory. There is no justification for transforming the cows into rain-clouds, and the word must surely be either go-vinda, an irregular but not impossible formation from the root vid, 'find,' or a Prākritism of gopendra, 'chief of cow-herds,' as Wackernagel and Dr. Grierson take it. In either case the ordinary cow seems to have been associated from the first with Kṛṣṇa, and this well suits his character as a vegetation spirit, as early thought readily sees in the ox or cow the embodiment of that spirit. It is not, I think, practicable to distinguish between the elder Kṛṣṇa as an agricultural god and the younger as a pastoral god; and it must not

3 Altdoische Grammatik, i, p. lii. The form might even be for gopīndra (Pischel, Prākrit Grammar, p. 72), and record the connection of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis!

4 J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 933. This assumes that Kṛṣṇa was originally a vegetation spirit, and then by a natural transition (which has parallels in Greek religion, as in the case of Dionysos) the god who is sometimes incarnate in an animal becomes the deity which acts as guardian of the herds. Kṛṣṇa's birth in a stable may be derived from this side of his character, which, to some extent, justifies Barth's view that this point in his history is independent of Christianity (cf. Hopkins, India, Old and New, p. 165). Hopkins (op. cit., p. 147) lays stress on the heroic element in the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, but though it is certainly possible that Kṛṣṇa is merely a hero who has grown into a great deity, it must be remembered that vegetation spirits often appear as heroes, as probably in the case of Erechtheus at Athens, Hyakinthos in Sparta, etc.
be overlooked that the cow is an essential adjunct of the life of an agricultural people. No doubt it would be a mistake to suppose that this agricultural or pastoral side represented the whole character of Kṛṣṇa. If the cowherds who worshipped him told of his sports with the Gopis and his love of the flute and the dance, his worship among the Ksatriyas transformed his character into that of a warrior of great skill and cunning, traits which remind us of the Greek Apollo.

It seems, therefore, impossible to admit that the conception of Kṛṣṇa as a child or as a pastoral deity was due to a Gujar horde. It is a different question and one which must await further discussion how far the idea of the divinity of childhood is due to Christianity, for the belief in a child-god and the divinity of childhood are very different things.

As much of the above argument rests on the date of the Mahābhāṣya, it should be said that I adopt the middle of the second century B.C. as the probable date of that work. As against Mr. Kennedy this view is well grounded, since he accepts (p. 962) this date. But even if we reject the ordinary view, which has the weighty support of S. Lévi among other scholars, it is impossible, I think, to assign a later date than the first century A.D., a date by which it is practically impossible to suppose that Christian influences had affected the legend of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa.

A. Berriedale Keith.


2 See Kielhorn, Gött. Nachr., 1885, pp. 185 sq.; Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften, p. 72. The only substantial argument yet adduced against the generally accepted date of Patañjali is the possibility that the examples whence the argument for his date is derived may be mūrdhā-bhāṣikta (cf. Weber, op. cit., p. 319). The lower limit of date, 60 A.D., given by Weber (op. cit., p. 319), cannot, however, be supported by the date of Abhimanyu, as the date of that king (if he ever existed) is quite uncertain. See also my Aśṭāraṇya Aranyakā, pp. 21-25.
DR. HERTEL'S "DAS SÜDLCHE PĀNCATANTRA."

While calling attention (supra, July Number, 1907, p. 735) to a corrupted sloka in the prose text of the above work, I regret to have overlooked the fact that Dr. Hertel had already noted the verse as well as its equivalent in Haberlandt's edition.

November, 1907.

F. W. THOMAS.

NESTORIAN TABLET FROM SIANFU.

Mr. Frits V. Holm, who for some months has been engaged on a scientific expedition into the interior of China, has succeeded, after five months labour, under great difficulties, in having made an exact replica in stone of the ancient famous Nestorian tablet situated west of Sianfu, formerly the Imperial capital. The stone replica weighs 3,000 lbs., and Mr. Holm is arranging to have it brought to the coast with the intention of bringing it to Europe.

INDIAN MEDICINE.

The Publishers of Dr. Hoernle's book "Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India" offer to members of the Royal Asiatic Society, if a sufficient number subscribe, a special edition in paper wrappers at 6s. 6d. a copy, post free, instead of at the ordinary price of 10s. 6d. Any member wishing to subscribe is requested to communicate at once with the Secretary.
THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GREEK UNCIAL AND CURSIVE CHARACTERS INTO INDIA.

We have identified with the Babylonian goddess Ἔρυ, Ἕρυ (Hērō, Hērůa), a goddess whose name is presented on a coin of Huvishka as Ὑρό = Ἑρό = Ἐρό, or more freely Hērō, Hērū (see page 59 above). And we shall, no doubt, be able hereafter to carry back the names of some of the other deities on the coins of the Kanishka group to much more ancient times than those which have hitherto been contemplated. Meanwhile, some other questions suggest themselves in connexion with this matter. We cannot hope to offer final answers to them off-hand. But an attempt may be made towards a solution of them: and the hope may be expressed that other inquirers may be induced to join in the endeavour. It is to be borne in mind that the only logical explanation of the circumstances surrounding the Indian era commencing in B.C. 58 and the sovereignty of Kanishka lies in the view that Kanishka began to reign in that year and thereby founded the era: and, that that was the case, is, I think, now well established (see this Journal, 1907, 1048 ff.). The phenomena of Greek palaeography on the coins of this group, and the other curious features found there, have to be considered in that light.

The coins with which we are concerned may be studied either in Gardner's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, plates 26 to 29, or (and perhaps somewhat better) in Cunningham's Coins of the Kushāns, plates 16 to 24, = Numismatic Chronicle, series 3, vol. 12, plates 6 to 14.1 But, with the treatments

1 These plates mostly illustrate only the reverses of the coins; the reverses presenting the features which have been found so exceptionally interesting. The obverses remain to be fully illustrated: they deserve it from many points of view; and it is particularly necessary that they should be so treated, because it is amongst coins at present attributed
attached to those plates, there should be read, with a view to having the correct forms of all the names, particularly in connexion with the character $p = sh$, the articles by Stein in the Indian Antiquary, 17. 89 ff., by Cunningham in the Babylonian and Oriental Record, 2. 40 ff., and by E. W. West, ibid., 236 ff.

The questions which suggest themselves here are as follows.

In the first place, the coins of this group, dating onwards from shortly after B.C. 58, present a strange diversity of deities: or, speaking more accurately, the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka do so: the published coins of Vāsudēva shew only three names out of the entire list; and those three names all occur on the coins of his predecessors. From the Indian pantheon, we have Buddha, Śiva (mentioned as Oēsho), Umā, Skanda-Kumāra, Mahāśēna, and Viśākha.

to Kanishka or Huvishka that we may hope to find coins of Vāsashka, Vāsushka, or Vāsishka, regarding whom see this Journal, 1903. 325; 1905. 357. My surmise is that, in some case or cases in which part of the proper name does not lie on the coin, an initial uncial or cursive $\beta$ has been misread as $\kappa$: for $b = v$ on the coins of this group, note the words $BΑΡΩΔΗΩ = Vāsudēva$, and $ΒΙΡΑΓΟ = Viśākha.

I must explain that, from want of the necessary types, it is still not yet practicable to shew the words cited just above, and others, in cursive forms.

1 Adapted, with additions, from the Babylonian and Oriental Record, 1. 155 ff.
2 See Rapson, this Journal, 1897. 324.
3 Kumāra, Skanda-(Kumāra), and Mahāśēna are names of Kārttikēya, the god of war. Viśākha is a name of Skanda; also of a son of Skanda, or of a manifestation of Skanda regarded as his son. Pātañjali mentions Skanda and Viśākha as separate gods, with Śiva, in his comments on Pāñini, 5. 3, 99,— the well-known "Maurya passage," and again, without Śiva, under 8. 1, 15. The Kāśikā mentions them as separate gods under 7. 3, 21, and in the Gaṇa $dāḍhīpayaśi$ under 2. 4, 14.

Some of the coins present a single figure, with the name Mahāśēna: for various references for these, see this Journal, 1907. 1047, and note 2. Others present two figures, with the names Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha: Gardner, plate 28, figs. 22, 23; Cunningham, plate 20/10, fig. 16. Another presents three figures, with the names Skanda-Kumāra,
From Greek sources, we have Hēraklēs, Hēlios, Selēnē (written Salēnē), Hēphaistos, and apparently Pallas (or some counterpart of Pallas) under some such name as Ribu. From Egypt, we have Sarāpis or Serāpis (the name is written Sarapo), and perhaps Hōru, Hōros. From Babylonian or other Western Asiatic sources, we have ᾿Ερυ Mahāśēna, and Viśākha: Gardner, plate 28, fig. 24; Cunningham, plate 29/10, fig. 17. From the last we must apparently assume that there were held in view two, if not three, separate manifestations of Kārttikēya.

It seems rather strange that no coin has as yet been brought to notice mentioning Vardhamāna, Vīra, or Mahāvīra, to whom, as we know from inscriptions, quite as much worship was paid as to Buddha in the time of Kanishka and his successors.

1 For this coin, see Gardner, plate 28, fig. 20; Cunningham, plate 22/12, fig. 11. The name has been read by Thomas as Riaē, or doubtfully Rīē or Ridē (this Journal, 1877. 213, No. 4), with the suggestion (loc. cit., 225) that "Rhea (Pallas Capitolina)" might be intended; by Gardner as Riom or Rōm, with the suggestion that we may have here an impersonation of the city Rome; by Cunningham as Ridē, with a proposal to take it as denoting the Sanskrit Riddhi, good fortune, wealth, abundance, etc., personified as the wife of Kuvera. Stein, accepting doubtfully Riom, considered that the type is Zoroastrian.

The word consists of four letters: and I really do not think that there could in any case be an allusion to Rome. The last letter seems to me a variety of the Ψ form of epsilon which we have on others of these coins (for two instances, see this Journal, 1907. 1045, and note). The preceding letter seems to be a variant of the cursive beta, for which see Thompson's table mentioned in note 1 on page 185 below, col. 2, the last form but one. Apart from other considerations, the female figure precludes any suggestion in the direction of the Sanskrit Ribhu.

2 For this coin, see Gardner, plate 28, fig. 32; Cunningham, plate 23/13, fig. 10. The name has been read by Thomas as Oroē or Öron, with the suggestion that the Indian Varuṇa is intended (loc. cit., preceding note, 213, No. 5, 225); by Gardner as Öron or doubtfully Oroē, with the remark:—"I am disposed to identify this figure with the Greek Uranus, though he may almost as well stand for the Indian Varuṇa;" by Cunningham as Öron or Hōron, with an endorsement of the view that Varuṇa may be intended. Here, again, Stein considered that we have a Zoroastrian type.

There is no question about the first three letters. The fourth might, as a capital, be either ᾿Ετα or μυ: it may be taken as a cursive μ with the left limb unduly extended upwards. With Serāpis actually before us, it seems to me highly probable that Hōru, Hōros, may be intended here.
or Hērō, Nānā or Nanaia (both forms occur on the coins), Mioro (with variants), Mao, Athshe, Ardokhsho, and altogether some twenty different deities. And in every case there is given, not only the figure of the deity, but also the name.

Amongst all these personages, only Hēraklēs and Pallas figure on any of the earlier coins of India and neighbouring territories; and Hēraklēs alone can be recognized as having been worshipped as a god, and as having been well known by name, in any districts from which Kanishka, as a Kusān of the Yuē-chi, can have come, or through which he can have passed in making his way into India. Whence, then, did Kanishka obtain all the other non-Indian deities?

Secondly, the coins of the Kanishka group are the first amongst the coins of India and neighbouring territories to present the names of the deities shewn on them. What was it that started that new fashion?

Thirdly, the Greek uncial or lunar forms Ε, Κ, and Ω, which we have, mixed with the ordinary capitals, in the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ on some of the coins of Kanishka (e.g., Gardner, plate 26, fig. 1; Cunningham, plate 16/6, fig. 1), appear, in or anywhere near India, for the first time on these coins: they are not found on the Bactrian coins: and in the Parthian coinage there is nothing, in the shape of an actual date or the personal name of a king, to carry back any distinctly appreciable use of them there to before A.D. 8, and so to suggest that they were taken into India from Parthia.¹

¹ The character Κ is apparently carried back, by attribution, to the period B.C. 138–128; see Wroth's Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia, p. 17, Nos. 12 to 14: but it may be questioned whether a sigma is intended there; especially in No. 14, where we have both Κ and Σ, in ΣΧΑ."
This appearance of these uncial or lunar forms in India is remarkable enough. Still more so is the appearance of the fine type of Greek cursive, which we have in the words ἀπό and ἡμό and in the legends on many other coins of this group, and then, but less conspicuously and not so well executed, on coins of the Kadphisēs group. The cursive is unique, as far as coins are concerned, in or anywhere near India; being not found on either the Bactrian or the Parthian coins. How, then, did these uncial and cursive characters come to be known and used in India in the time of Kanishka?

In the fourth place, since we have in the word ἀπό = ἡμό on a coin of Huvishka a distinct use of the Greek rough breathing, why was not that sign employed in the treatment in Greek characters, on coins of the same group, of certain other words which I have had occasion to mention in a previous note (this Journal, 1907, 1045 ff.)?: why was it not used as an initial sign in a coin attributed to B.C. 70–57, but in a name which is a countermark and may therefore be of later date: op. cit., p. 50, No. 47.

With omission of cases on pp. 25, 42, 48, which I learn from Mr. Wroth are misprints, and of doubtful cases on pp. 18, 25, the Ε appears on a coin attributed to B.C. 88–77: op. cit., p. 40, No. 23. And it is read on a coin dated in B.C. 38–37: op. cit., p. 99, No. 1. In this case, however, the letter is very small and cramped: and I venture to think that it may equally well be taken as E.

The Ν appears on coins attributed to the period B.C. 57–54: op. cit., p. 63, No. 16; p. 64, Nos. 27, 28.

The three forms, Ε, Κ, and Ν, all together, appear first on the drachms of Vonōnēs I. in the period A.D. 8–12: op. cit., p. 144 f.

They do not seem, however, to have caught the fancy of the Parthian minters even then: for they are found again, all together, only on drachms of Gōtarzēs, in the period A.D. 40–51: op. cit., p. 165, No. 33.

They seem to have been found in or near India, otherwise than on coins, only on the seal of Balia, son of Mitraśama, described and illustrated by Rapson in this Journal, 1905, 809, and fairly referable, as indicated by him, to the time of Huvishka or of Vāsudēva. But, are the characters of that legend really cursive, or are they uncial?: the sigma seems uncial rather than cursive.
HΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ, ΗΑΙΟΣ, ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ, and ΟΟΗΡΚΕ, and as a medial sign in the transliteration of the Indian name Mahasena?¹

I have long held the view that some, at least, of the deities on the coins of this group were regarded as curiosities rather than as objects of actual worship; and that the figures and names of the non-Indian deities,² and, with them, the uncial and cursive Greek characters, were obtained from some illustrated manuscript, or something in the way of a picture-book with names attached to the figures shewn in it, which found its way, probably from Alexandria, to Mathurā, and so into the hands of Kanishka and his mint-masters, via Broach, the great ancient emporium in the northern part of the western coast of India, at an early stage in Kanishka's career, when, being well established in his sovereignty, he was thinking of beginning to issue a coinage. There were possibly two such documents; one written in uncials, the other in cursive. At any rate, some such document seems to be demanded by the point, mentioned above, that Hēraklēs alone, among the non-Indian deities, can have been then well known in India. An Egyptian source for it is suggested by the fact that the list of deities includes at any rate Serāpis, if not also Hōru, Hōros. At the other end, Mathurā, from which place we have so large a proportion of the inscriptions which mention Kanishka and his successors, is suggested, because the

¹ It may be convenient to quote here, as instances of the medial use of the original Greek aspirate Η in its full form, the words ΠΟΗΟΙΔΑΝΙ = Πολύθαι, ΛΥΗΙΠΠΟΝ = Λύπται, and ΗΑΓΗΗΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ = 'Αγήηςτράτος, from inscriptions from Taenaros: see Roberts, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part 1. 266, 267.

An instance of the abbreviated form prefixed to an alpha is found in ΗΑ ΓΟΛΙΣ = ἩΑ Ἰλις in an inscription from Dodona: see ibid., 275. For its occurrence with ετα, see page 59 above.

² With an exception in the case of Hēraklēs: see page 184 below.
absence of Kharoṣṭhī legends from the coins of this group, except possibly in one instance,—(and in this feature, also, these coins differ markedly from all the other early Indian coins),—is a strong indication that the mint was at any rate not in the Panjāb or anywhere in that direction. And I find corroboration of my view in the fact itself that, while we have the rough breathing in the name ῬΩO = ῬΩO = ῬΩ, Hēro, Hēru, on this coin of Huvishkha, it is absent from the other words mentioned above.

The minters of the coins of Kanishka and his successors were not necessarily Greeks, though they cut or framed legends in Greek characters. And it seems at least doubtful that they were such. A Greek—at any rate, an educated Greek—would hardly have framed or approved so ungrammatical a phrase as that quoted on page 180 above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩH ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟY, in which we have the genitive Kanēshkou against the nominative basileus. And a Greek—at any rate, an educated Greek—would hardly have formed such a word

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1 The possible exceptional case of a Kharoṣṭhī legend on the coins of this group is found in a coin exhibited by Cunningham in his Coins of the Kushānas, plate 18, fig. 15, from a sketch made in 1842: unfortunately, the coin itself was subsequently lost. He presented the reading:—Jayatasa . . . . Hashtrashkaśa (op. cit., 44, No. 58), with the observation:—"In 1842 I read the name as Hystaopes, tentatively. But, with a very slight correction, it reads quite clearly Huvishka." And certainly, if we take two liberties, by supplying an u in the first syllable and shifting the position of the stroke across the upright limb of the second character so as to place it across the top stroke, we can obtain the reading Huvishkasa. But we must not lose sight of the possibility that we may have here another in this group of names ending in ṣhku,—Hashtrashka.

2 The intended construction is, of course, open to argument. But it seems likely, on the whole, that the nominative was contemplated, if we may judge by the way in which the names of the gods were treated. This detail, also, seems to call for consideration, and might possibly be instructive. Roberts has told us, in his Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part I. 276, that "the names of deities are rarely found under statues in the nominative case."
as ἩΡΑΚΛΙΑΟ, for ἩΡΑΚΛΗΣ; whereas that is just such a form as a Hindū might easily give to a name the general sound of which, though not the exact spelling, must have been quite familiar in India in connexion with the representation of its owner on the coins of various rulers who preceded Kanishka.

If the minters of Kanishka and his successors were Greeks, and were putting together from their own knowledge the whole series of the names presented on the coins, then, using the rough breathing in the name ῬΟ = ῬΟ, they could hardly have failed to utilize the same sign in other words also. But it seems evident that, except in the case of the Indian deities, the names of the deities were copied, more or less mechanically, by persons who were not Greeks, and who, though able to decipher the Greek alphabets and to use them for general purposes,—including the transliteration of the names of their sovereigns and of the Indian deities, and the framing of the regal title ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ, Shaonano-shao (unless, perchance, that also was obtained by them in the same way with the names of the non-Indian deities),—did not know enough about the details of the Greek writing to understand and apply the sign in question. It seems equally plain that the names were copied from some such document as that which I have suggested, and that it was the general attractiveness of the pictures presented in it that led Kanishka to select some of them for his coins, and to direct his mint-masters to give the names along with the figures, and to treat in the same way such of the Indian deities as seemed to call for recognition. And it seems plain that it was by this means that the uncial and cursive forms were set running in India.

There can be no doubt about the possibility of such a document finding its way to India in the time of Kanishka: political intercourse between India and the
West may have ceased after the time of Aśoka, until it was revived in the days of Augustus; but trading communications must have always existed from an early date. And there is no difficulty about assigning to such a document a date appreciably anterior to B.C. 58. The Greek cursive writing—(perhaps not exactly in all the precise forms which are found on our coins, but in essentially the same type)—is carried back by papyri to as early a date as B.C. 260–250: and the uncial or lunar Є, Κ, and Ω are traced back to at least the same century. As regards a particular point,—there is brought down to after B.C. 300 (see page 59 above) the use, with the capital type, of the rough breathing in the form Ἴ, written full-size on the line, and prefixed to the letter that it qualified: while the Bacchylides MS., which is referred to about the middle of the first century B.C., presents, not only the sign Ἴ already reduced to miniature size and placed above the letter, but also, and more usually, certain curtailed forms, similarly written in miniature and placed above the letter, which were still later stages in the development of the modern form. There must surely have been an intermediate stage, in which the rough breathing—(perhaps used irregularly, sometimes presented, sometimes omitted; and possibly used more irregularly with the capitals than with the other types of letters)—was treated in the more ancient style, in full size and on the line, in the uncial and cursive writings, so as to give us the combination which we have in the name Ξίπος Ω Hippo. And all the conditions of the case are satisfied, if we refer to not later than B.C. 100

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1 See Thompson, Greek and Latin Palaeography, table at p. 148. It may be noted that there is a lacuna between B.C. 110 and the first century A.D.; just the period to which our coins belong.

2 See Taylor, The Alphabet, 2. 105 f., 148, note; Reinach, Traité d'Épigraphe Grecque, 207 f.

3 See Kenyon, Palaeography of Greek Papyri, 30, 75.
the document or documents from which there were taken the details, new to India, which we find on the coins of the Kanishka group.

Alexandria has been suggested above, for a reason given there, as the place whence the document or documents started on the journey to India. But it or they might possibly be traced to an original source elsewhere, if we could only determine the inventors of the character $\pi$, with the value $sh$, — apparently foreign to any known Greek alphabet except in its use on our coins. There is somewhat of a temptation to look upon it as an Indian invention, made by a closed and rather stiff adaptation of the Kharōshṭhi $\pi$, $s$. That, however, would be inconsistent with the view that the non-Indian names in which it is found, $\varepsilon\omicron\varphi\omicron$, $\alpha\rho\delta\omicron\chi\omicron\rho\omicron$, etc., came to India with this sign already in them: moreover, the Kharōshṭhi alphabet had a sign for $sh$ itself, and that sign might have been adopted without introducing any particularly incongruous appearance. It seems probable, therefore, that Stein was right, in finding the prototype of the $\pi$ in the Greek $s\alpha\nu$ or $s\alpha\omicron\pi\iota$; though, to establish a similarity, he had to take an apparently somewhat late minuscule form of the $s\alpha\omicron\pi\iota$. But, who, exactly, can the people have been, who thought it worth while to compile the collection of non-Indian deities,— (doubtless an extensive one, from which we have only a small selection in our coins),— and to devise a new sign to denote an Asiatic sound which was foreign to the Greek phonetic system?

J. F. Fleet.
THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SOHGURA PLATE.

In respect of the place which is mentioned as Tiyavani in the inscription on the Sohgurā plate (see this Journal, 1907. 522), there have been made to me two suggestions which may be put on record without marking either of them as final.

Dr. Barnett has suggested that Tiyavani might be completed into Tiyāvani = Tiyāvani = Tryāpani, "the three-bazaar (town)," from tri + əpana, 'market, shop;' for which, quite as well as for Tryavani, "the three-land," a modern name Tribeni might have been substituted. In support of this, we may note that Bühler has drawn attention to a softening of p into v in early Prākrit, in kassava = kāsyapa, kāravejja = kārāpeyyā, anuvatthāveti = anuprasthāpayati, and vi = api (EI, 1. 3; cited in Pischel's Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 189). Müller has given us, in his Pāli Grammar, p. 37, āvēlā = āpiḍa, thēva = stēpa, pōsāvana = pōsāpana, and vyāvāta = vyāprita. And even in Sanskrit we have the two forms kapata and kavata, 'a door, a leaf or panel of a door.'

Professor Lanman has suggested that, just as by metathesis we have āścharya, achchhariya, *achchhayīra, achchhēra, so, taking avani in the sense of 'stream, river,' from Tryavani, "the three-stream (town)," we might have Tiyavani, Tivayani, and so Tivēni. From the last form, there could easily have been evolved a later Tribēni. And certainly such a process might account for this last name quite as well as does the usual derivation, tri + vēnī, which entails assigning to vēnī, 'a braid of hair;' some such metaphorical meaning as 'stream, current.'

As illustrating well the puzzles which confront us in the records of the class to which this one belongs, I may mention that another correspondent has asked whether it is certain that trika has the meaning of 'a place where
three roads meet,' and has observed that the word Mana-
avasitikē might be completed into Mānavasitikē for "śī", "in the Mānava eighty (group of villages)." But, while such a meaning would be very admissible in a record some thousand years later in date, it is difficult to find authority for recognizing it as practicable in the record with which we are concerned. For the rest, I can only say that the record distinctly speaks of three roads; that a mention of the junction of those three roads, and of its name, would be quite natural and appropriate; and that Hēmachandra says, in his Abhidhānachintāmāni, verse 986:—Chatuspathē tu samsthānaṁ chatushkam tripathē trikam; "a place at four roads is chatushka: (a place) at three roads is trika." This definition is given in a passage (verses 983 to 988) in which Hēmachandra explains the different kinds of roads and their surroundings. He uses the word ślesha, 'embracing, uniting,' for the actual meeting of roads: thus (verse 988):—Śleshaṁ-
trimārgyāḥ āṅgāṭam baḥumārgī tu chatvaram; "a joining of three roads is āṅgāṭa; a chatvāra is where there are many roads." And it may be the case, as seems to be sometimes understood, that verse 986 means to say that "a place at four roads is a square; a place at three roads is a triangle." But the result remains that chatushka and trika both mean what we call 'a junction,' in denoting respectively the area, the place, the locality, where four or three roads come in.

J. F. Fleet.

Note on Mo-lo-so.

The problem as to the identity of the country represented by the Chinese Mo-lo-so (Hiuen Tsang) was practically solved by General Alexander Cunningham. He took Mo-lo-so to be the present Ladakh. I should not have thought it necessary to reopen the question had not
several later scholars, among them Vincent Smith, tried to find *Mo-lo-so* in quite other countries, for instance in Malva. Even if the ancient kings of *Mo-lo-so* bore Indian (Sanskrit) instead of Tibetan names, this fact would present no difficulty, for I have shown, with the help of Ladakhi archaeology, that Indian names were used in Tibet between one and two thousand years ago. I am, however, in a position to strengthen General Cunningham’s theory by several corroborative arguments. In the first place, there is no necessity to write *Mo-lo-po* instead of *Mo-lo-so*. The Chinese *mo-lo-so* does not correspond to the Tibetan word *mar-po*, ‘red,’ but to the Tibetan *mar-sa*, ‘low-land.’ (*Mar* occurs in the compound *yar mar*, ‘up and down.’)

*Mar-sa* is a synonym of *mar yul*, ‘low-land,’ the old as well as the present name of Ladakh. (The name *Mar yul* is found on seals of the last independent king of Ladakh.) In Tibetan names synonyms are often interchanged, as has been noted by several scholars. Thus, in the seventeenth century, the names *Mi pham mgon* and *Mi pham dbang po* are used of the same person.

*San-po-ho* is also a name of Ladakh, as Cunningham correctly observes. It is the Chinese attempt to represent *ytsang-po*, ‘river,’ this being the ordinary name of the Indus in Ladakh.

The Chinese name *Lo-u-lo* refers to Lahoul, as the country is situated between Kulu and Ladakh. But I cannot believe that Lahul is the Indian equivalent of a Tibetan word *Lho yul*, ‘south-land,’ for I have never yet heard a Tibetan speak of Lahul as *Lho yul*. The Tibetan name of Lahul is *Garzha*, *Gazha*, perhaps even *dKar zhva*. And the country was already known by that name in the days of Padmasambhava, as we learn from historical works which refer to that teacher’s times. The name Lahul is used only by the people of Kulu.

A. H. FRANCKE, Moravian Missionary.
Oriental Congress.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists will be held at Copenhagen from the 14th to 20th August, 1908, under the patronage of King Frederick VIII. It will be divided into seven sections, dealing with various subjects connected with the East. The first section is linguistic, and is devoted to Indo-European Languages; the second is for the Languages and Archæology of Aryan countries; the third section is exclusively devoted to the languages and archæology of the Far East; the fourth will be occupied with Egypt and the African languages and dialects; and the fifth will give its attention to Jewish and Assyrian subjects. The sixth and seventh respectively deal with Greece and the Ethnography and Folklore of the East. Politics and religion are outside the scope of the Congress, and the official languages, in addition to Danish, will be English, French, German, Italian, and Latin. The Congress is receiving extensive support in this country; among the scientific and learned bodies which intend to send representatives to Copenhagen being the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British Academy, the India Office, the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Organizing Committee consists of: — President: Dr. Vilh. Thomsen, St. Knuds Vej 36. Vice-President: Dr. Fr. Buhl, Österborgade 56 A. General Secretary: Dr. Chr. Sarauw, Frederiksborg Allée 48. Members: Dr. Dines Andersen, Steen Blichers Vej 4; Dr. J. Östrup, Nørrebrogade 42; Dr. Valdemar Schmidt, Professeur à l'Université, Ny Kongensgade 14. Treasurer: M. I. Glückstadt, Privy Councillor, Landmandsbanken, Holmens Kanal 12.

The Committee will be glad if all members of the Society who have not as yet received copies of the Bulletins will
consider themselves invited to attend the Congress. The subscription to the Congress is £1, and the London Agents are Messrs. Probsthain, 14, Bury Street, W.C.

Congress of Religions.

The Third International Congress for the History of Religions will be held at Oxford from September 15th to 18th, 1908.

In accordance with the arrangements of previous Congresses, the meetings will be of two kinds: (1) General Meetings, for papers or lectures of wider import; (2) Meetings of Sections for papers, followed by discussion. The Sections will be eight in number:—

I. Religions of the Lower Culture (including Mexico and Peru).
II. Religions of the Chinese and Japanese.
III. Religion of the Egyptians.
IV. Religions of the Semites.
V. Religions of India and Iran.
VI. Religions of the Greeks and Romans.
VII. Religions of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs.
VIII. The Christian Religion.

Members' tickets, entitling to admission to all meetings, receptions, etc., and to a copy of the Transactions, £1 each. Ladies' tickets, entitling to admission to all meetings, receptions, etc. (but not to a copy of the Transactions), 10s. each.

English, French, German, and Italian are recognised as the official languages.

Applications for membership and offers of papers may be sent to either of the Hon. Secretaries. It will greatly facilitate the work of the Committee if members desiring
to read papers will inform the Hon. Secretaries by May 31st, 1908. All papers must be sent in not later than August 1st.

All communications concerning the Congress should be addressed to one of the Local Secretaries—J. Estlin Carpenter, 109, Banbury Road, Oxford; L. R. Farnell, 191, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.


Whosoever is engaged in the study of the modern Iranian languages will know, I trust, that nobody else has done more for the knowledge of the Balôchî people and language than Mr. Dames. This part of the Iranian philology depends, indeed, chiefly on the materials collected and published by him in the most accurate manner. I feel therefore pleased to draw the attention of our colleagues to his newly published work, the "Popular Poetry of the Balôches," which comprises the result of the whole work done by him during the course of many years.

The first volume contains, in a good and legible translation, all the texts hitherto collected, chiefly by Mr. Dames himself. They are preceded by a valuable introduction on the character of the Balôchî poetry, on the metrical form of the poems, on the methods of reciting, on the age of the various texts, etc. This volume is of peculiar interest for folklorists, who will feel themselves attracted by that fresh and vivid open-air poetry, which is purely popular in its origin as well as in its content and outer form. All the poems collected by Mr. Dames circulate orally among the Baloch tribes, and they are sung, with the only exception of the so-called Dastânagh, by professional minstrels, who have learned the poems from the author or by oral tradition, and who accompany the recital on
musical instruments of two different kinds. The whole collection fills not less than 204 printed pages. First come the heroic ballads of the earlier period, which "form the oldest and most important part of the traditional lore of the Baloches." They deal chiefly with the war of the two great Balochi tribes, the Rind and the Lashari. This war took place about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it ended with the destruction of most of the Lasharis. The ballads, describing these events, were no doubt composed immediately after them; their language is more archaic than that of the other poems; they are also distinguished from the younger poetry by their blank verses. A second part comprises the later war-ballads and other tribal poems. I mention especially the ballad No. xxxiii, which is a good specimen of a controversy between rival poets of two contending tribes. First sings the poet Sobha of the Khosa tribe, and Gahi of the Kaloi tribe answers; then comes Sobha once more in a third poem, and Gahi's reply makes the conclusion. Romantic ballads as Lela and Majna, Dostan and Shiren, love-songs and lyrics, religious and didactic songs fill the third, fourth, and fifth part, pp. 111–181. The last part consists of short texts, as lullabies, rhymed riddles, etc. Among them the 'Dastanaghs,' short love-songs, are of peculiar interest, as they alone are sung not by professional minstrels, but by the Baloches themselves to the accompaniment of a flute or pipe, called nav. Mr. Dames has collected altogether thirty-four of these little specimens of popular poetry.

The second volume of Mr. Dames' work will excite the interest of the philologist more than that of the folklorist. It contains the original Balochi text of the poems translated in vol. i. From the beginning Mr. Dames has used in his publications the Roman characters in transcribing Balochi texts, and every scholar, I think, will approve this method. Had Mr. Darmesteter adopted it in writing down the popular songs of the Afghan people, instead of using the Arabic
alphabet, his work, "Chants populaires des Afghans" would look less elegant, but it would have become still more valuable from the purely scientific point of view. There is a difference, of course, as the Balōchī never was a written language, whilst for the Pashtō the Arabic alphabet is adapted in India. But, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that it is quite impossible to render even the Pashtō words and sounds in an approximately correct manner by Arabic characters. Mr. Dames' method of spelling gives us a fairly good idea of the true pronunciation in Balōchī. The language of the poems, however, is rather difficult and obscure owing to many obsolete words and forms, and to a strange and unfamiliar syntax. The text may also be sometimes corrupt, and I think the oral tradition through centuries is the cause of such corruptions. It is not always easy to harmonise the translation with the original text, but it would lead us too far would we go into details, and I believe it will hardly be possible to correct Mr. Dames' translations in any but minor points. The author himself gives us some useful hints, ii, p. 180 et seq., which enable us to understand better the poetical language and its difference from the colloquial speech. He has also added a short glossary of rare and obsolete words. We find among them some of linguistic and etymological interest, as e.g. gōbī, 'discussion' (old Pers. root gub, P. گویم); bōdh, 'feeling, perception' (Skt. root buddh, P. بود); -pān, 'protecting,' in dēmpān, 'guardianship'; gōphāṅkh, 'cowherd'; gvarpān, 'shield,' lit. protecting the breast (Skt. root pā, P. ہائے); navāth, 'felt' (Aw. nimata, P. ندم); rakhtaghēn chham, 'red or angry eyes' (Skt. rakta); khīl, 'peg, nail' (Skt. kīla); rōdhi, 'apparent, visible' (Aw. raodha, P. روی).

Finally, we have to thank the Folklore Society and the Royal Asiatic Society for giving Mr. Dames the opportunity of publishing his valuable work, and I may be allowed to
congratulate the author himself, remembering, after fifteen years, the day when in London I had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance.

W. Geiger.

*Erlangen.*

*October, 1907.*

**Early Chinese History.** By **Herbert J. Allen.** (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1906.)

Some people have an irresistible inclination to contradict any generally accepted opinion which is incapable of actual proof. More especially is this the case when the facts on which it is based lie in the dim and distant past. Mr. Allen is one of those so constituted. Being a Chinese scholar he has naturally studied the early literature of China, and, like St. Athanasius, he stands up *contra mundum* and boldly claims that the ancient Chinese historical texts are so many forgeries. In so doing he has attacked one of the strongest links in the chain of Chinese history, and one which has been riveted fast by Chinese scholars of all ages, both native and foreign.

The opportunity of instituting this heresy was given to Mr. Allen by the fact that the ancient classics of China were in the year B.C. 213, "with the exception of those treating of agriculture, medicine, divination, and the records of the Ch'in Dynasty," all burnt by Imperial order, and were not reproduced until the edict was revoked by the second Emperor of the following Han Dynasty in the year B.C. 191. At this later date the throne had passed into the hands of a more enlightened sovereign than he who ordered the holocaust, and a decree was issued calling on everyone who possessed copies of the classics or recollected their texts to produce them. In obedience to this order numberless volumes which had been hidden away in the walls of dwelling-houses and other places of
concealment were produced, a committee of scholars was appointed to re-edit the texts, and the works as we have them at the present day were the result of their labours.

This, briefly stated, is the account which has been accepted by all scholars, with the exception of Mr. Allen. The celebrated historian Sze-ma Ch'ien was the first to give public currency to it, and one of the chief arguments which Mr. Allen produces for his extraordinary theory is that in the pages of his history Sze-ma Ch'ien quotes largely from the texts of these early classics.

It is needless to say that this is no evidence whatever, and furnishes no sort of plea for the accusation which Mr. Allen brings against him of having forged the texts. By no well-established authority has Sze-ma Ch'ien's good faith been impugned, and on the contrary his assertions on the point have been generally accepted by every native scholar of note. And here the matter may be allowed to rest, since no independent authority would accept Mr. Allen's theory in opposition to the consensus of opinion of twenty-two centuries of scholars.

R. K. D.

Le Philosophe Meh-Ti et l'Idée de Solidarité. Par Alexandra David. (1907.)

The period from the fifth to the third century B.C. was a time full of philosophical unrest in China. Confucius in the fifth century had elaborated a moral system for regulating government and the social relationships between man and man. A century later the more materially minded Mencius gave vent to his practical ideas on the same subjects, while in the interval between these two founders of schools appeared a host of lesser luminaries who desired to impress their ideas on the nation. Among these last was Meh-Ti, who came forward as the advocate of universal
love, thus advancing some strides ahead of Confucius and Mencius.

Together with all existing works of philosophy, Meh-Ti's lucubrations, which, like the Confucian literature, were committed to writing not by the master himself but by his disciples, were destroyed at the time of the burning of the books by the orders of the iconoclastic Shih Hwangti (B.C. 221–209). In common with these other works, the text of Meh-Ti's doctrines was recovered from oblivion by the diligent search of his disciples, and we find that at the beginning of the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 – A.D. 25) there were in existence seventy-one books containing the doctrines of the philosopher. Eighteen of these works have since been lost, but enough remain to give us a full idea of his teachings.

Confucius, when he was asked whether one should recompense injury with kindness, replied, "If you recompense injury with kindness, with what will you recompense kindness?" Meh-Ti occupied a higher standing-point, and taught that you should behave to others as you would they should behave to you. Love should be universal. Sovereigns should treat their subjects as they themselves would wish to be treated, parents should love their children as themselves, and all classes of the community should be bound together by an abiding chain of love.

So far it is impossible not to agree with Meh-Ti; but it is when he comes to the motive which should give rise to this universal love that he falls short of the highest level. A man should, he taught, love all others from no higher motive than that he may be loved by them in return. In this connection Meh-Ti's system was purely utilitarian. If different ranks of society, from the Emperor on his throne to the labourer in the fields, love one another, good government would exist, causes for disagreement would disappear, domestic friction would no longer find a place, and universal peace and quiet would be the result.
Against these doctrines Mencius inveighed strenuously, and showed how heretical they were when compared with Confucianism, in which filial piety occupies so large a space. Meh-Ti’s idea that a man should love his friend’s father as much as he did his own was abhorrent to him. And so on through all the ranks of society. Certainly there is much in Meh-Ti’s system to be condemned, and certainly, also, some of the instances he quotes in favour of his ideas are grotesque and absurd. For example, he states that Kow ts‘een, the King of Yueh, was fond of bravery. (We proceed to quote from Dr. Legge’s version, which is practically the same as in the work before us.) “He” (King Kow ts‘een) “spent three years in training his officers to be brave, and then, not knowing fully whether they were so, he set fire to the ship where they were, and urged them forward by a drum into the flames. They advanced, one rank over the bodies of another, till an immense number perished in the water or the flames; and it was not till he ceased to beat the drum that they retired. Those officers of Yueh might be pronounced to be full of reverence. To sacrifice one’s life in the flames is a difficult thing, but they were able to do it because it would please their king.” Or again, “King Ling was fond of small waists. In his time, his officers restricted themselves to a handful of rice till they required a stick to raise themselves, and in walking had to hold themselves up by the wall. Now it is a difficult thing to restrict oneself in food, but they were able to do it because it would please King Ling.”

Such is the general tendency of the doctrines of Meh-Ti, whose views on public and private life, as well as the religious and philosophic opinions of his people, are contained in the present work. These are interesting as representing a phase of doctrine which was current in China in about the fourth century B.C. Though taken up and advocated by a certain school, it was never adopted
by any large section of the people, and is now regarded as a mental vagary rather than constituting a serious school of philosophy. In the work before us Meh-Ti's theories are fully elaborated, and we can recommend the volume as a useful compendium of a bypath of literature which was current in China in the later centuries before Christ.

R. K. D.


Professor Bloomfield's great work forms part of the larger scheme sketched in the P.A.O.S., April, 1902, which contemplated the compilation of a universal word-index to the Vedas, and of an index of subjects and ideas in addition to the Concordance. That the latter work should have occupied much more time than was anticipated will be no surprise to anyone who has occasion to make critical use of the Concordance. It is quite impossible to exaggerate the labour involved in the preparation of an index to every line of every stanza of the published—and some unpublished—Vedic literature and to every liturgical formula (yajus, prāśa, etc.) thereof. The indices to the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and Śūtras, which we have hitherto had, have confined themselves to giving the pratikas of the first line of the metrical stanzas, and only in a few cases, as in Aufrecht's Aituréya Brāhmaṇa, Hillebrandt's Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Śūtra, and Knauer's Mānava Grhyā Śūtra, is note taken of the prose formulae. Moreover, the Concordance registers the variants of mantras not wholly identical, and thus renders invaluable assistance to future editors of Vedic texts, while its references render much easier the use of the ritual texts as clues to the sense
of the mantras. We may not all feel as much confidence as does Professor Bloomfield that the *Concordance* will prove to be a most effective means of advancing our knowledge of the hymns and the ceremonies in their relations to one another, but at any rate to his labours and those of his pupils, whose help he acknowledges (p. xi), we owe it that in future we can easily ascertain what light, if any, the ritual has to throw on the texts.

Next to its completeness perhaps the most remarkable feature of the work is its accuracy, which can only have been secured by a prodigious amount of labour, as anyone with experience of similar work will testify. Many of the texts used are poorly edited (e.g. the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra), but in the vast majority of cases the author has succeeded in recognising the real forms of the mantras and in recording them in their proper place in the *Concordance*.

It is only because the work is quite indispensable and must always remain the standard authority for the Mantra literature that we think it worth while to offer the following criticisms of points of detail. It would be hypercritical and ungrateful to a scholar who visited Vienna for a month in 1902 simply in order to excerpt the material from Kāthaka Saṃhitā, ii–iv, to complain that the Paippalāda text of the Atharvaveda has not been used in the preparation of the *Concordance*. Nevertheless, the omission must be regarded as serious, and while the corrupt state of the text is a partial excuse, yet we may be allowed to express the regret that Professors Bloomfield and Garbe did not add to the photographic reproduction of the birch-bark MS. a transcript made from the original MS. The work must be done sooner or later, and though a beginning has now been made in the *J.A.O.S.*, it might well have been carried out six years ago.

Much more unfortunate is the decision not to print the accents, in view of the fact that the Vedic Mantra literature
is essentially an accented literature, and one in which difference of accent very often is the sole means of deciding the sense. No doubt, to reprint the accents would have added materially to the labour of compilation, and would have increased the cost of production, but these considerations can hardly have been decisive, for the additional labour and cost would have been insignificant in comparison with the labour and cost entailed in the production of the main body of the work. The omission to note the accents renders, of course, the enumeration of differences in parallel texts incomplete, and here and there it precludes the possibility of interesting comparisons. For example, it is noted (p. 227
) that in the line Indro nāma śruto grne (Sāmaveda, i, 438
) the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 7, 9, 5
, and the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, xiv, 2, 13
, read gane, but it is not noted that the Sāmaveda accents grné (but grne at ii, 1118
), an unusual accent, which, taken together with the (later) rare use of grné as a passive, adequately accounts for the easy correction gané.

These exhaust our substantial grounds of complaint against Professor Bloomfield, but we may add a few corrections of oversights. It does not appear to have been noticed that in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 25, 3, we have a couple of ślokas of the same type as many in the Grhya Sūtras, which the Concordance duly notes. The verses, perhaps overlooked because Aufrecht prints them as prose, run:—

ksatrena ksatram jayati balena balam aśnute
yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāstragopah purohitah ||
tasmai viśak samjānate sammukhā ekamanasaḥ ||
yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāstragopah purohitah ||

The same ślokas recur in viii, 27, 2, prefixed by—
tasya rājā mitram bhavati dvīendantam apabādhate |

where the word bhavati must clearly be dissyllabic. More important is the failure to recognise as mantras the
sentences in Aitareya Áranyaka, v, 3, 2, which in
the Jaininiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, edited by Oertel,
i, 9, 10, are also printed as prose, but which are clearly
in mixed tristubh and jagati metre.¹ At p. 207a Indraḥ
karmāksitam amṛtaṃ vyoma is quoted from the Aitareya
alone, but apparently as prose. The Aitareya Áranyaka
has fared rather badly, for the obscure stanza oṣṭhāpidhānā
nakuli, which appears in full at iii, 2, 3, is only (p. 315a)
cited from the Sāma Mantra Brāhmaṇa and the Gobhila
Grhya Śūtra, of which the latter has only the first Pāda,
and the former the first two Pādas, the second in different
shape (dantaparimitāḥ paviḥ, as against dantaḥ parivṛtā
paviḥ). Similarly, the Sānti section, ii, 7, which is also
included in some editions and MSS. of the Upaniṣad,
is overlooked, as it is also by Knauer, in his edition of
the Mānava Grhya Śūtra, i, 4, 4, 8, where his reading
vedasya vāṇīḥ sthā is a mistaken correction of vedasya
vāṇi sthā, which in its turn is almost certainly a case
of the usual Maitrāyaṇiya contraction of va āṇi (Knauer,
Introd., pp. xxxviii sq.), where v is written by error for m,
giving the Aitareya text vedasya ma āṇi sthā.² If vāṇiḥ
were original, the variant of the Aitareya, which is
obviously more ancient, would be impossible of explanation.
The dual is much more appropriate as a description of the
functions of Vāc and Manas, and the chariot comparison
is one of the most favourite in Upaniṣad literature, while
the rare word āṇi would render correction of māṇi
inevitable. At p. 777a, under yasyedam ā rajo yujah,
it is hardly correct to cite Aitareya Áranyaka, v, 2, 1, as
omitting yujah, since that word occurs in the next Pāda
(see p. 431b). At p. 300a the compound ukthabhūtayah
is probably a mistake for uktha bhūtayah, nor is it noted
that the names ānobhadriya and yajñāyajñīya are found

¹ The metrical character, e.g., of stas satyaṃ vijigyanam vividvanam
is beyond doubt.
² The parallel passage in the Sāṅkhāyana Áranyaka, vii, 1, differs.
as early as Āranyaka, v, 3, 2, while the technical expression ukhavīrya is not mentioned.

In Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvii, 17, 1, the Concordance (p. 642b) gives premāṁ vācāṁ vadisyāmi — svargam āisyantīm svargam āisyantīm, and in Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, iv, 2, 10, svargam āisyantīm svargam āisyantīm, but the parallel passage in the Aitareya Āranyaka, v, 1, 5, 4, shows clearly that svar āmisīvantīm, etc., must be read. This is proved beyond doubt by the Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, i, 8 (a text not used by the editor), which has svar hy esā vāg āmisīvantī bhavati. In Śāṅkhāyana, xviii, 3, 2b, the MSS. read tujo tujo vanaṁ saḥ, not balam as given at p. 431b, which is no more than a plausible conjecture of Hillebrandt's; at ix, 6, 6b, the reading is apparently nah in yanti gīva na samyataḥ, not na (p. 761b), and at xviii, 15, 5b, supraṇīti, not supraṇīti (p. 998b).

These are all minor errors, and even these are rare in the extreme. Misprints are apparently very few, and the form and appearance of the work reflect alike the greatest credit on the generosity of the late Mr. Warren and the taste of Professor Lanman. The mode of citation is extremely clear, the use of small superscript numbers for paragraph references in the text being fortunately dispensed with. It is perhaps rather a pity that in the abbreviations the forms accepted by Whitney and others in the case of the Sūtras should have been deviated from without appreciable saving in space, and the symbol MG., denoting the Māṇava Gṛhya Sūtra, edited by Knauer in 1897, has accidentally been omitted from the lists of texts used.

We must not, however, conclude with criticism, and we would offer to Professor Bloomfield and all those whose help he has had the most hearty congratulations on the completion of a work which must always rank among the greatest achievements of Vedic scholarship.

A. Berriedale Keith.
Part i of this work appeared in 1905, and was reviewed in the J.R.A.S. for 1906, p. 249 ff. Parts ii and iii now lie before us, completing the first volume, and with it the first instalment of some 8,000 documents which the Rev. Father Rabbath, of the University of Beyrout, has collected regarding the history of Latin missions in the Mahomedan East. A few papers exceed this limit, and tell us something of India and Abyssinia; but the great mass of the papers published refers to Syria, Egypt, and Persia—more especially, as we might expect, to Syria. The documents are mostly in French; some are in Latin, Italian, or Spanish; a few in Arabic, and to these a translation is attached. Parts ii and iii cover much the same ground, geographically and chronologically, as part i; but they fill up lacunae, add a good deal which is new, and embrace the history of the Carmelite and Capucin missions. The work has evidently been a labour of love to the Reverend Father; every document is preceded by a full and convenient summary; numerous notes give information regarding persons, words, and things; there are occasional introductions, as well as extracts from contemporary travels; and a chronological table and an elaborate index complete the volume. Of Father Rabbath's enthusiasm, and of his knowledge of his subject, at once wide and minute, it is difficult to speak too highly.

The documents contained in the second and third parts of the work fall chronologically into two great groups, if we omit a few stray pieces. The first opens in 1561 with an abortive mission to the Coptic Patriarch at Cairo, and it ends with the martyrdom of Father Abraham Georges,
a Maronite by birth and a Jesuit by profession, who sailed from Goa for Abyssinia, and was put to death by a renegade Turkish governor at Massowah in 1595. Father Georges was the last who sacrificed his life for the Ethiopian mission; after him the way suddenly became open, and a number of Jesuits made their way into Abyssinia until 1663, when they were finally expelled. We hope that Father Rabbath may have some further light to throw on the doings of that admirable missionary Father Paez and his companions.

The second group of papers commences with 1620 and ends about 1730. It contains very full details regarding Syria, and a nearly consecutive history of the Latin missions there. We have a very interesting account of the Capucin missions in India and Persia, as well as in the country of the Grand Turk, from 1626 to 1670; and a full account of the Carmelites (who came somewhat earlier) down to 1656. There is a good deal about Constantinople in the seventeenth century, and there are incidental notices of Smyrna, Cyprus, and some other places.

We pointed out in our former review what a profusion of light these papers throw on the condition of the Mahomedan East, the ways of the Governments, the relations of the Christians to the Mahomedans and to each other, the life of the Franks, and the difficulties and suspicions which the missionaries had to encounter. The volumes now before us deepen these impressions and add many details. Perhaps the most novel points which they suggest are the shiftiness of the Orientals, as illustrated by the two missions to the Coptic Patriarch, the insecurity of the Mediterranean, the condition of the Christian slaves—above all, the political interest which Europe began to take in the Levant. Of the pirates, Mahomedan and Christian, who infested the Mediterranean we have many incidental notices. In 1561 Fathers Rodriguez and Eliano spent a month in the voyage
from Venice to Alexandria. The Captain refused to sail while the Turkish fleet kept the seas, although there was peace between Venice and Constantinople; and Father Eliano gives a graphic account of the alarm on board the ship one moonlight night when two corsairs were sighted, the hot arming in haste, the kannoneers with their port-fires ready, the sailors carrying blocks of stone up to the yardarms to drop on the assailants, the passengers seizing lances, girding on swords, others wailing as if they were already slaves, a tumult of sounds, orders, shouts, prayers, lamentations, and curses, while gleams of moonlight fitfully lit up the dark sea and faintly revealed the dreaded sails on the horizon. Fortunately the corsairs did not give chase. Again, we hear of a Maltese galley which has seized a shipload of dervishes, and the Turks threaten to retaliate by imprisoning the missionaries. Or the Barbary pirates descend upon Alexandretta, the malarious port of Aleppo, which lies in a marsh surrounded by hills; and they make so clean a sweep of it that in the following year an Italian traveller finds only four houses standing.

Human booty was what these pirates chiefly sought; they descended on the shores of Sicily and Italy to supply the harems of Constantinople, and so terrible a devastation reigned on the shores of Greece that according to a French traveller of the seventeenth century there was not a house left inhabited within three miles of the seashore in the neighbourhood of Athens. Slavery was the fate of high and low alike, of the Grand Master of Malta and of that prince of pirates, Dragut; "fortuna di guerra," said the Grand Master when he captured Dragut, after having been himself a slave. Our documents tell us much of the fate of these slaves, at least of the men, for the women disappeared in the harems. The slaves in private houses had the happiest lot, although we come across one or two tragic histories. But in their converse with these domestic slaves the missionaries had need of caution, for, if the slave
escaped, the owner might demand that the missionary, as his nearest friend, should take his place. The public slaves at Constantinople (it is there we meet with them) were chiefly captives of the Hungarian and Polish wars. The nobles were confined in the famous Byzantine prison of the Seven Towers, while the black and horrible barracks, known as the bagnios, served for the common herd. Noble and simple alike wore chains; and the slaves in the bagnios were chained by the neck at night to a bar, so that they could not move, and the place reeked with ordure. Two small chapels in the prison served for their devotions, and they subsisted largely on the alms which the missionaries at Galata collected for them. The fate of the slaves who worked the gold-mines of the Red Sea in the second century B.C., as described by Diodorus Siculus, has always seemed to us the ne plus ultra of human misery, but the lot of these unfortunates in the bagnios of Constantinople was not much better. The Turkish fleets which sailed annually at the commencement of Summer were manned by 6,000 or 7,000 of these wretches (12,000 were freed after the battle of Lepanto), who toiled at the oar, naked to the waist and half-starved, under the tyranny of the lash, and a prey to the plague which never quitted the fleet; their only friend the devoted chaplain who accompanied them. But in all dealings with prisoners and slaves the greatest prudence was necessary, for any attention shown them was sure to excite suspicion or to aggravate the demand for ransom.

With the discovery of the sea-route to India the trade of Alexandria sank into insignificance; Aleppo became the chief commercial entrepôt of the East, and Father J.B. de Saint-Aignan, in his report to Colbert, gives an excellent account of its commerce. But Aleppo was a mean town even for the East, despite its size and its commercial activity. Turks and Greeks, Persians and Armenians, Arabs, Syrians, Chaldaens, Sabaeans, even Hindus were
to be seen in its streets, but the bazars were mean, and the antiquated citadel in its midst chiefly owed its strength to a deep moat crossed by a single bridge. The native Christians lived in a suburb outside the town; and their churches, four in number, were in a retired enclosure, where they escaped observation, and could not wound Mahomedan fanaticism. A fifth church, which belonged to the Jacobite, or 'Syrian,' Patriarch, was the only one which could boast of its size or architecture. The Frank merchants and the missionaries lived at Aleppo, as they did at Isphahan, in the caravanserai; but the serai at Isphahan was large and commodious, much superior apparently to that at Aleppo. It has always been difficult for a foreigner to obtain a house in any of these Eastern towns. After the French the English were the most numerous. All foreigners alike, the Consuls included, were subject to the tyranny and caprice of the local governors and to the outbreaks of popular fanaticism. Occasionally a Turkish governor might take it into his head to do a little trading on his own account; we read of one who made a 'corner' in silk, and compelled the foreign merchants to accept his terms. Usually, however, the governors contented themselves with fleecing the merchants on the import or export of their goods, and extorting money from the native Christians on every pretext of a quarrel, or accusation true or false. These governors retained their position by gifts at Constantinople, and their rapacity was insatiable; everything could be arranged for money; and one writer goes so far as to say that the Turks would sell their Prophet himself if it could profit them. From one exaction, however, the Syrian Christians appear to have been free; we hear nothing in these papers of a supply of Christian children for the Janissary corps. The custom was falling into desuetude in the sixteenth century, and may have ceased altogether so far as Syria was concerned.
In one respect the action of the missionaries was entirely beneficent. The long-continued decay of Christianity in the East was due not only to political and social causes; it was due quite as much to isolation, ignorance, and barbarism. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century the fortunes of the Eastern Christians were at the lowest ebb. In North Africa, Nubia, Socotra, Babylonia, and the regions east of the Tigris, Christianity became extinct. Tamerlane exterminated large Christian communities in Mesopotamia; throughout Syria and Asia Minor the Turks and the Kurds swept the open country, and isolated the communities which remained. It was only in favourable localities, mountainous regions such as the Lebanon, Armenia, and Georgia, that the Christians were able to maintain themselves. With the cessation of the Crusades Western Christendom had ceased to interest itself in the affairs of the East; and the Eastern Christians, isolated, neglected, and depressed, fast became a prey to the profoundest ignorance. The Latin missionaries arrested this decay; they opened schools, instructed clergy and laity alike, and revived the embers of what learning still remained. Nor did they do less for the spread of Oriental learning in Europe. In the middle of the sixteenth century there was no one in Rome who could read Arabic. The adhesion of the Maronites in 1578 led to the foundation of an Oriental College at Rome and the institution of an Arabic printing press. The Oriental seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, established about 1700, was due to the foundation of a rival school at Oxford. On the other hand, there was not a single printing press in the whole of the Turkish Empire until members of the Anglican Church imported Greek type for the use of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. Pocock’s translations into Arabic of the Anglican Catechism and other works were circulated about the same time in Aleppo; and we have already referred to a proposed
Oriental school at Oxford. Some of the English non-jurors were attempting at this very time to form a union between the Anglican and the Greek orthodox Churches, and the papers published by Father Rabbath throw an interesting light on this little known episode of our history.

Although the East is the chosen home of religious speculation, it is a mere truism to say that ever since the days of the Roman Empire religion and politics have been almost synonymous in the lands which lie between the Mediterranean and the Ganges. It was therefore inevitable that these missions should assume a political aspect. In the sixteenth century this side of mission work was not so prominent. The missionaries of that time were for the most part Sicilians and Italians, the Spaniards and Portuguese having abundant occupation in their new possessions, and the French in Tunis. The protection of the missionaries was left to the Venetian consuls as a rule, and although a pious consul might here and there invite the presence of the missionaries, the majority were too prudent or indifferent actively to encourage the missionary propaganda. The native Christians were suspicious of the strangers; they were little enamoured of a religion which was ill recommended by the loose lives and habitual indifference of many of its professors; and they saw with disgust that the Frankish merchants neither prayed nor fasted. If the name of Frank was distasteful to the native Christians, the name of Spaniard was hated by the Mahomedans. A new era commenced with the establishment of the Propaganda at Rome in 1622, or perhaps a little earlier. Henri IV had taken up the cause of the French missions in Tunis; Louis XIII zealously prosecuted those in the East. French missionaries of various orders, Jesuits, Capucins, Carmelites, established themselves in Persia and Turkey; they occupied the old stations and established new ones. The French ambassador at Constantinople and the local
French consuls exerted their influence with the Porte and the provincial governors in favour of the missionaries; and the Most Christian King became in deed, as well as in name, the recognised protector of the Latin churches in the East. The missionaries, as was natural under these circumstances, gained many adherents among the Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians; indeed, many of the so-called Greeks were descendants of Greek islanders or of Italians who had originally belonged to the Latin rite; while since the time of the Crusades one branch of the Armenian Church had been in communion with Rome. So far so good. But the missionaries also adopted a tempting but much more doubtful policy; they strove to place their converts and protégés at the head of the indigenous churches, and invoked for this purpose the aid of the Turkish authorities. Successful at the outset, this policy recoiled on the missionaries, and led to a century of quarrels and divisions, chaos, persecution, and strife. To follow the Latin rite was regarded as equivalent to making oneself a Roman or a Frenchman. In vain the missionaries explained that spiritual communion with the Pope did not imply temporal subjection to a foreign potentate. The Turks had profited pecuniarily by these quarrels at first; but some of them, even at the outset, had regarded the missionaries as emissaries of the Spaniards; they speedily came to look on them with suspicion; and, according to the humour or the pressure of the moment, they sometimes prohibited, sometimes condoned, all intercourse with the native Christians. The French ambassadors who had warmly espoused the cause of the missionaries in the beginning, became weary with these quarrels, and were inclined to blame this excessive zeal. It is an old, old quarrel—the quarrel of the diplomatists, whose business it is to keep things smooth, with the missionaries, eager to do what they believe to be their duty. Whatever sides we may take in this dispute, in one point, we think, the
missionaries were undoubtedly right. Submission to the Pope was in the forefront of the missionary propaganda. "Submit yourselves to the Holy Father, and you will find that all other difficulties will in time be resolved." "This doctrine is at the root of all the trouble," said the ambassador; "it awakens fear and jealousy: why not keep it to the end?" But surely all experience shows that it was the only point on which there was a chance of an agreement; if once the gates of theological disputation were opened, all hope of a consensus was gone.

The political history of these missions is especially worthy of study at the present time in face of the Russian propaganda. From its own point of view, the Porte is probably right in regarding all missions as equally dangerous; they enlighten the minds and secretly turn away the hearts of his subjects; and they afford foreign powers a pretext for internal interference. On the other hand, the native churches, distracted between all the claimants to their attention, remind us of the polygamist gentleman whose wives objected to his hair; one pulled out all the white hairs, and one all the black, until he rose up bald and naked.

We have tried to show what a wealth of material these volumes contain for the student of the times as well as for the student of missions. On this latter aspect of the work we cannot enter. But no one can rise from a study of these volumes without an increased admiration for men who brought succour to the slave and enlightenment to the degraded Syrian and Greek; whose devotion extorted admiration from the Moslem; who persevered in a seemingly hopeless task under every circumstance of poverty, privation, and physical danger; and whose learning was an important adjunct to their faith.

J. Kennedy.

Cours pratique de Japonais. Par F. Guézennec. Fasc. i. (Leide: E. J. Brill, 1907.)

Japanese Self-taught. (Thimm’s system in Roman characters.) Edited by W. J. S. Shand. (London: E. Marlborough, 1907.)

The first of these books is a mere pamphlet, quite inadequate for any purpose save that of giving a very cursory view of the nature of spoken Japanese. The second is the first instalment of a more ambitious work which is designed to enable the student to read modern Japanese—the Japanese of periodical literature made up of Chinese ideographs accompanied by syllabic signs which give a clue to the Kun (Japanese reading), when this is indicated, of the Chinese character. The author’s system seems a good one. He says: “J’ai puisé mes exemples dans les livres employés officiellement dans les écoles de Japon; le style de ces livres est clair, concis, et de toute élégance, et ils ont le grand avantage d’amener progressivement à la connaissance du Japon et de la langue Japonaise.”

But why does M. Guézennec introduce his ‘introduction’ by the extraordinary statement that Japanese “semble d’origine malaise et avoir été importée par le célèbre guerrier Zinmu tennō devenu peu après le premier empereur du Japon.” It is well to warn the student of written Japanese that several years of close study are needed to acquire any real command even of the comparatively easy modern periodical style.

Mr. Shand’s work is much the most practical of the three. It is not, indeed, ‘Japanese self-taught,’ but a collection of words and phrases. But the collection is good, especially of naval and military terms. Every word and phrase is accompanied by a painfully elaborate
figured pronunciation, which is a mere travesty of the true pronunciation much more easily attained by simply reading the vowels in the accurately romanized text as in Italian and the consonants as in English (with a few special qualifications). Far more really useful would the book have been had the column headed ‘pronunciation’ contained a literal translation of the Japanese phrase with indications of its parsing, for, as Mr. Shand well observes, the Japanese equivalents of the English phrases are not translations, but “those which the same set of circumstances would draw from Japanese speakers.” The real difficulty of Japanese lies in the fact that, practically, translation is impossible, equivalence alone can be attained, and the important thing is to show how Japanese words are ordered and manipulated to produce this equivalence. Thus the student may be trained to think in Japanese and à la Japonaise, and pari passu with his power to do both will his command of the language improve.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.


One turns eagerly the pages of a new manual for the study of Chinese by a past master of this difficult tongue to see if one can surprise the secret of his own remarkable proficiency in the colloquial art, in the successful practice of which, it was generally admitted, he had no rival among his contemporaries in China. But Sir Walter
Hillier has no royal road to suggest in his system of study, which, on the contrary, "presupposes in due course the services of a native hsien-shéng, for no one who has not the opportunity of studying with an instructor by his side can ever hope to speak accurately or to pronounce his words well. It will not be so difficult to acquire a paper knowledge of the spoken language, but the assistance of an expert is indispensable for obtaining a correct pronunciation and the rhythmic swing and intonation which are so essential to elegant speaking. A point should be made daily of reading, sentence by sentence, after the 'teacher,' and endeavouring to mimic his intonation and his style as closely as possible. Mimicry is the great element of success."

The present work, we are told in the preface, is especially intended for the use of army officers, of missionaries, and of young business men connected with trade interests in China who wish to commence the study of the language in England with a view to continuing it in the country itself. It contains a chapter on the written language, with a comprehensive sketch of its origin and subsequent development; another on the spoken language, with remarks on dialects, 'tones,' and pronunciation; and a table of sounds arranged according to the Wade system of transliteration, with their approximate phonetic English spelling attached. Next come the progressive exercises, which form the body of the book, together with sections on the recognized system of writing the characters and on grammatical particles and construction. In the exercises the Chinese text is not given with the English phrases, but by a happy device, which is a novel feature of the author's system, the literal translation of the Chinese equivalent is placed opposite to each sentence, with the idea of illustrating the Chinese order of construction. It is certainly a happy idea, and any kind of apology for suggesting that the student should feel his way to Chinese
through the channel of 'pidgin' English—for that is what it practically amounts to—is hardly required.

The table of radicals that follows is clearly arranged and classified, but one little point may be noticed here en passant. The primary meaning of pei, the 154th radical, should surely be 'cowry.' Its early form is a pictorial representation of the actual shell, and its use in the construction of so many ancient characters relating to barter, purchase, value, riches, and the like, points back to a time when cowries were the ordinary currency of the people who invented the script. It is one indication, among others, of the indigenous origin of the script, and tends to prove that it could not have come from Western Asia, or from any country where cowries were unknown in ancient times.

But to return to our book. The supplement of a thousand characters in fine bold type ought to be eminently useful; and it has been separately printed so that the student may cut out the written symbols and play with them, as he is advised to do, to his heart's content, until they become perfectly familiar. A final index of characters arranged under their radicals completes a work of light and learning which can be confidently recommended to those for whom it is intended. There is, besides, an introductory preface, in facsimile, contributed by H.E. Wang Ta-hsieh, late Chinese Minister in London, and the cover is inscribed with a Chinese title, specially written for the purpose by the same calligraphic brush.

S. W. B.

Utamaro, von Dr. Julius Kurth. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1907.)

Kitagawa Utamaro is said to have been born in 1753 or 1754 at Kawagoye in Musashi, a quite uninteresting town some twenty miles north-west of Tōkyō. His real
name was Shioku Yūsuke; how he came by the name Utamaro I do not know. He described himself as belonging to the Tachibana, one of the four great clans, but all sorts of persons enrolled themselves after this manner. His father was probably quite a humble person. After his father's death, while Utamaro was quite young, his mother removed with him to Yedo (Tōkyō). There he attracted the notice of a famous artist, Toriyama Sekiyen, who was born in 1712. Sekiyen began as a Kano painter, but, about the age of 50, transferred himself to the Ukiyo, or Popular School, of which Hokusai is the master most known to the West. Utamaro himself, originally a painter, followed his master, and is perhaps the most graceful of the colour-print artists of the Popular School of the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. He is the very antipodes of Hokusai, whose brush swept the whole gamut of Japanese life, who lived a temperate life, drinking neither tea nor sake, and who busied himself rather with the manifestations of things, still and living, than with the beauty of the world about him. Utamaro, on the other hand, though he drew natural objects (as in his famous "Insect Book"), occupied the greater part of his life with drawing the courtesans of the 'green houses' of the Yoshihara in various groupings, attitudes, and occupations. He lived for a long time in his publisher's house, just outside the Yoshihara, within the barriers of which he spent most of his time. His pictures are extremely graceful in line and composition, and delight the eye by their shades and harmonies of colour, often brilliant but never crude. The Yoshihara colour-prints are not always unexceptionable, but the majority of those I have seen are not in the least 'erotic'—they are charming pictures of charming women, beautifully dressed, standing, talking, feasting, picnicking, playing, boating, and so forth. Nearly every artist of those days drew women of this order. Utamaro died in
UTAMARO.

1806, in his 52nd or 53rd year. His work was affected by the influence of Sekiyen, Kiyonaga, and—especially as to the delineation of women—of Katsukawa Shunsho. His first publication was in 1780, the so-called "Mussel Book," after which he signed himself Jisei Ikke—"Self-sustaining." He may for a short time have held an official position—we know not what. Once he got into trouble by publishing a coloured drawing of the great Taiko (Hideyoshi) amusing himself with a bevy of his women. Dr. Kurth reproduces the picture, which seems harmless enough, but cost, probably, the author of it a year's imprisonment—i.e. a year in a wooden cage, among a crowd of criminals, within some jail, subject to the brutalities of irresponsible gaolers. Utamaro's principal work is the Seiro Yehon—"Book of Pictures from the Green Houses," in two volumes. Mr. Strange, in his delightful book on Japanese Illustration, gives a portrait of the artist at work upon a huge Hô or mythical Fêng bird. Dr. Kurth draws a most attractive and sympathetic portrait of the man—"Liebgewinnen aber kann den durch und durch noblen Menschen nur, wer sich immer wieder in seine schier zahllosen Werke vertieft. Um so schöner, das ihm nicht, wie vielen Grossen der Erde, der Zaubermantel der Grösse um die Beine herunterschlottert, wenn wir von dem Meister zum Menschen kommen."

It is impossible to overpraise Dr. Kurth's monumental work. It is more than a monograph, more than a biography; it is both, but in addition a treatise on the Colour-print School, on Utamaro's position in it, and on the signification of his work. It is also a full and complete guide to the collector. Dr. Kurth describes over 500 specimens of the master's work, describes them fully, a necessary preliminary to their comprehension and appreciation, giving dates and publishers, and in a great number of cases adds translation of the legends and uta that so often accompany Japanese pictures, and must be read with
them to understand the real beauty of this marriage of two arts. Forty-five brilliantly executed reproductions in colour, and black and white, lend interest to the work, a small quarto volume of nearly 400 pages, excellently printed (in roman) and in every way admirably got up. Full indexes of marks, signatures, and names are added—in fine, the work is a monument of German research and faithfulness, and more than German enthusiasm over a singularly beautiful but extremely esoteric realm of art.

Two of Dr. Kurth's translations I cannot refrain from giving. One is Sekiyen's postface to Utamaro's "Insect Book," a characteristically Japanese composition mentioned in v. Siebold's Archief. "When one paints pictures natural forms should be conscientiously observed and reproduced with the brush. This is just what my scholar Utamaro has done in this book. In his earliest youth he observed natural objects most closely. If he got hold in a garden in Autumn of a grasshopper or a cricket he fully and delightfully examined it. How often did I warn him not to kill living things [Sekiyen at the moment did not understand Utamaro's artistic purpose]. Now when his genius has developed to its highest point bestows he this book upon the world. He has robbed the scarabeus of its lustre, and so overthrown the old manner of painting, arming himself, one may say, with the delicate antennae of the cicada. He has borrowed the burrowing power of the common worm to get to the bottom of his matter, the delicate movement of the caterpillar to penetrate the secrets of nature, while he is illumined by the glow of the firefly, nor rests till, like the spider with his web, he has completed his task. Many masters of verse have assisted him with their humorous compositions. The Toissó wood-engravers have helped him in reproducing his drawings. Lastly, a word of excuse is offered for the shortcomings of these cherry-wood blocks. Seventh year of Tenmei (Period of Celestial Lustre), the year of the
goat (1787) in Winter. Written by Toriyama Sekiyen Toyofusa."

The other is a letter from his wife to the publisher of the book "Yohon Wasai jogo" (a collection of somewhat free erotic colour-drawings), serving as a preface. "I trust that your honourable relations are well, despite this continuance of severe weather, and that you, too, sir, are in good health is my most earnest desire. [These are only common epistolary introductory phrases.] My husband has gone to Enoshima (near Kamakura) on the invitation of a distinguished friend. The sketches in this book have been coloured by me, though I am far from possessing his talent. For a lady such a task was highly embarrassing, but I am an artist's wife, and the devil's spouse must be something of a devil too. So has it come to pass that night after night have I worked at this task, a very grass-widow. There must be many failures that won't please you, but reflect, sir, how loving a pair we are, and how much the fact that the husband has drawn and the wife coloured these pictures adds to the reality of their union, besides being in excellent agreement with the contents of this volume. The sale will surely thus be promoted! Although I thought and thought, I have not been able to hit upon a good title. Following my own disposition I have called it a book for Lacquer-lovers. So do I beg you to publish it in the best way you can. Wishing you the best luck. The wife of Maro. To Matsumidori-ya (Pine-tree Greenery—name or sign of the publishing house)."

A word of caution must be added. It appears that the prices of good specimens of Utamaro's work fetch any sum from 30 to 3,000 marks. It may safely be said that no Japanese colour-print is intrinsically worth any approach to thousands of marks. They are the joint product of a number of hands, including pupils, and largely therefore the work of craftsmen. I possess a certain number myself,
and derive a very pure pleasure from their contemplation. But to enjoy them one must know what was the object and purpose of the artist. Of the life of old Japan we in the West know very little; very few of the new generation of Japanese know much. Pictures, vocal enough to their contemporaries, are largely dumb to us, who must guess, and often guess quite wrongly, what they are intended to mean. Moreover, the *genre* colour-print is extremely limited in range; within that range there is, of course, much variety in detail, nevertheless the sameness largely preponderates. Of all the 'generalised' faces, for instance, the features are represented by about half-a-dozen curved and closed lines. With a little practice these can be repeated *ad infinitum*, but always with very small significance. Thus the personality of the pictures is extremely slight; they are rather decorative than pictorial, but *qua* such are inimitable. The esoteric collector, however, will not be content with such a judgment as this; he gradually learns to detect a thousand beauties of a peculiar if slight and sketchy kind, and in German, as in English and French, finds language insufficient to express his raptures. This is uncritical, and the Japanese who laugh at our Western enthusiasm are not perhaps wrong. What I have written does not altogether apply to Hokusai, who has preserved for us the whole world of old Japan, but who aims rather at depicting nature and life than at decorative beauty.

F. Victor Dickins.

MUNDARI GRAMMAR. By J. Hoffmann, S.J. (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903.)

In the October number of the quarterly review published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and entitled *The East and the
West, there is an article by the Rev. K. W. S. Kennedy, M.D., on the educational work done by missionaries, in which the writer lays stress upon the importance of a scholarly knowledge of the non-Aryan languages for those whose lot is cast amongst the aboriginal tribes of India. In the course of his remarks he says: "I have in my mind a Jesuit missionary whose great intellectual powers had for many years been exercised as Professor of Philosophy in one of the most famous educational institutions in India. He was transferred, with apparent reckless ignoring of his powers, but real wisdom, to a lonely outpost among an aboriginal tribe. He is now, owing to his unsurpassed knowledge of their language and customs, not only a power among the tribe, but able to influence, almost at his pleasure, both the legislation and administrative acts of Government." No one who is familiar with the conditions of Chota Nagpur will be in any doubt as to who is the missionary referred to in these warm terms. He is the author of the work under review, and, if I may venture to add a word to complete the picture, in that book Father Hoffmann's learning is illumined, even when apparently concealed, by that genuine modesty which is the mark of the true scholar.

Mundari is called by its speakers Ḫārā Ḫājī, the language of Ḫārās, or 'men.' As in many other aboriginal languages, the word for 'man' is also the word employed to designate a member of the tribe which uses it. It is the vernacular of about half a million people in Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring districts, and is commonly looked upon as an independent language; but in the Linguistic Survey of India it is, rightly I think, classed, along with Santali, Bhumij, Ho, and other cognate forms of speech, as a dialect of one great language which we have named Kherwari. Of these dialects Santalí and Mundari are the most important. Attention was first drawn to them by Hodgson some sixty years ago, and
eight years later Max Müller, in his famous *Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages*, identified them as members of a distinct linguistic family, to which he gave the name of 'Munda.' Since then they have been examined by several scholars, of whom we may mention Logan and Kuhn; and their relationship to Mon-Khmer, which has been finally proved by Pater Schmidt, is the subject of a review that appeared on pp. 187 ff. of last year's *Journal*. Several grammars, more or less complete, have been written of each. Of these Skrefsrud's is the best known for Santali and Nottrott's for Mundari, but, until Father Hoffmann's work appeared, the only attempt at a scientific analysis of any Munda form of speech was Boxwell's luminous paper *On the Santali Language*, which appeared in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1885–7. Buried there from the ken of Indian students, it remained known to few who were not personal friends of that brilliant genius, and has been practically lost to Oriental scholarship.

The Munda languages are typical examples of agglutinative forms of speech, and would make excellent subjects for the tentative application of Sir Richard Temple's "Theory of Universal Grammar." In them we see perhaps more clearly than in any other group of connected tongues that the unit of speech is the sentence, not the word. A number of stems are grouped together under certain rules so as to unite the ideas represented by each into one mental picture, and then, by a further effort, the reality of the picture is affirmed by the addition of what Boxwell happily called "the categorical a," and what

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1 This letter was published in 1854. Twelve years later Sir George Campbell gave the family the name of 'Kolarian,' a term which is not only misleading in appearance, but is also based on alleged facts which have since been proved to have no existence. I hence make no apology for reverting to the original name given by Max Müller.

2 Last explained by him in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1907.
Father Hoffmann calls "the copula." The sentence, it is true, is built up with what, for want of a better name, we must call words, but none of these, by itself, has any definite meaning. Any of them may be a noun, a verb, or a particle, and the exact function that it performs in any particular case is fixed by the association with the other words which together with it help to form the mental picture. No word in Mundari can be classed under any of our parts of speech; we can only say that in a particular case it there, for the nonce, performs the function of a noun or of a verb or of a particle, as the case may be. Take, for instance, the Mundari word orok. According to its incidental function, it may be used as a conjunction meaning 'and'; as an adjective meaning 'more'; as a substantive or pronoun meaning 'more'; as an adverb meaning 'again'; as a verb meaning 'to do again' or 'to ask for more'; as a verbal noun meaning 'the act of doing again' or 'the act of asking for more'; or as a noun of agency meaning 'one who does again' or 'one who asks for more.' In all these functions the word orok remains unchanged, and the particular function is defined by means of help-words or by its collocation in the sentence. Even words which from their signification are primarily what we should call nouns can perform the function of verbs. Thus gitiorak, 'a village dormitory,' can be used as a verb 'to-village-dormitory,' i.e. to sleep in one. So munda means not only 'a village chief,' but can be conjugated, like one of our verbs, in the sense of 'to-village-chief,' 'to act as a village chief.' Hence—akan being what we might call the suffix of the past participle—we can say munda-akan-a-e, viz. e, 'he,' munda-akan, 'village-chiefed' (participle), a (categorical a). Here the categorical a indicates that the mental picture of so-and-so being a village chief is an actual fact, and the verb so formed must be translated 'he acts as a village chief.' Nay, further, even a whole
sentence can, taken as one unit, be treated as part of a larger and more complex sentence-unit, and perform the function of a noun or of a verb. Thus, *dal-lak-ko-niak' orak* means 'the house of the one that struck them first.' Treated as one subordinate unit, this may perform the function of a verb meaning 'to-be-in-the-house-of-the-one-that-struck-them-first,' and can then be, as we should say in Aryan grammar, 'conjugated' throughout in all its voices, moods, and tenses.

I have dwelt at length on these points in order to show how, before we can approach any Munda language, all our acquired presumptions of Aryan grammar must be thrown overboard. As both Father Hoffmann and Sir Richard Temple—the one dealing with a special language and the other with the general question—insist, the only point in which Munda is at one with an Indo-European language is that which is a necessary element of all speech—the enunciation of a *Subject*, i.e. the matter to be discussed or communicated, and of a *Predicate*, i.e. the discussion or communication. Munda allows us to use these terms, and these terms only, of Indo-European grammar. Any other such terms, if used, must be distorted from their current signification before they can be applied.

Previous grammars of these forms of speech, whether full, like Skrebsrud's treatise on Santali, or one of the many sketches which have issued from the press in later years, have failed to recognize this, and have hence failed to draw a proportioned picture of the language dealt with. They have overladen it with difficulties caused by the method of presentation and not by the subject itself. Munda grammar has enough difficulties of its own, in all conscience, and Father Hoffmann has materially lightened his own task and that of the learner by recognizing the facts and describing the language as it really is. He has brought to it an unequalled knowledge of his subject, controlled and illumined by his philosophic training. In
his general scheme of arrangement he places at the disposal of other students a model of the lines which should be followed in analyzing the structure of any agglutinating form of speech. So entirely does this scheme differ from that to which we are accustomed in dealing with Aryan languages that space will not permit its being described in detail, and the above general statement must suffice.

One minor point may be alluded to before closing this notice. Munda languages are well known to possess a series of 'checked' or half-pronounced consonants. These are, I have little doubt, consonants on, so to speak, the road to elision. We find them in the next stage in the so-called 'abrupt tone' of Indo-Chinese languages. Here the consonant has disappeared altogether, but the fact of its elision is shown by the short, abrupt tone with which the preceding vowel is pronounced. It has been customary hitherto to indicate the Munda checked consonants by a diacritical mark, thus $k'$, $c'$, $t'$, and $p'$. In the Mundari dialect the $k'$ and the $c'$ have apparently achieved their final fate and have undergone complete elision, leaving only, as in Indo-Chinese, the abrupt tone behind them. Father Hoffmann therefore omits the consonant, and represents both without distinction by a simple apostrophe. Thus oro' instead of orok', la' instead of lac'.¹ From the practical point of view of teaching the correct pronunciation to a learner I am ready to admit that he is correct, but, as a student of comparative philology, I may express the regret that his method of spelling does not permit us to say whether oro' was originally orok' or oroc', and whether la' was originally lak' or lac'. Such information coming from an authority like Father Hoffmann would be of the greatest value in

¹ As a matter of fact he employs an acute accent instead of an apostrophe, but in the above remarks I have retained the older apostrophe to avoid confusion.
dealing with the general question of the history of the Munda languages and of their connexion with Mon-Khmer. The other two checked consonants have hitherto been usually written ‚t‘ and ‚p‘, i.e. as checked surds. It is very difficult to determine the exact sound of these letters. I believe that no foreigner has ever yet succeeded in mastering their perfectly correct pronunciation. Phonetists in Europe who have studied the question maintain, and apparently with reason, that they are surds; but some Indian authorities, and amongst them Father Hoffmann, prefer to show them as sonants, ‚d‘ and ‚b‘. We hesitate to doubt the authority of one who is more familiar with the language than any other European, especially when he is a scholar like Father Hoffmann and is backed up by the statements of Mundaris themselves, but I may quote a parallel instance to show how doubtful the matter is. A friend who has an exceptionally well-trained ear, and who has made a study of the similar checked consonants in the cognate Kanauri language of the Punjab, says that they strike his ear as sonants, but that they may be surds. Other scholars in the Munda area, too, maintain strongly that the sounds are surds. I draw attention to this, not by any means to prove that Father Hoffmann is wrong, but to prevent difficulties being felt by students who may compare his work with that of his predecessors.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.


This handsome volume, which has been published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press and subsidized by the India Office, is another instalment of Dr. Hoernle’s valuable
recent studies in the field of ancient Indian Medicine, with which the readers of this Journal are familiar. It is impossible to do justice to the wealth of detail by which Dr. Hoernle's present work is distinguished, equally with his previous contributions to the history of Indian Medicine, and I can only point out some of its leading features.

The introductory part is chronological, and contains the important results of the author's elaborate researches into the history of some of the principal medical writers of India. A great deal of new light is thrown on the relation in which the original textbooks of Charaka and Suśruta stand to the recasts due to Drḍhabala and Nāgārjuna (?). Drḍhabala is shown to have been probably a native of Kashmir. With reference to Drḍhabala's activity as a supplementor of Charaka, it may be mentioned, perhaps, as a confirmation from an independent source, that a Nepalese twelfth century MS. of Charaka, a transcript of which has been recently procured for me by Haraprasad Shastri, closes with the words pariśīṣṭaṃ dāṛghaḥ ṯaḷaṃ (r. dāṛḍhabalaṃ) aṣṭamam śthānaṃ samāptam, i.e. "Here ends the supplement composed by Drḍhabala, the eighth section." Vāчасpati's 'Mahamada Hammīra' is happily identified by Dr. Hoernle with the Amīr Muizzuddin Muhammad, the celebrated Muhamed Ghori of Delhi. 'Vāgbhaṭa I' and 'Vāgbhaṭa II' have also been placed in a new light, and if I still hold that the medical authority referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Itsing (seventh century) is Suśruta, not Vāgbhaṭa, it is not because I mistake the force of the argument taken from the title of Vāgbhaṭa's work ("Summary of the Octopartite Science"), but because the details mentioned by Itsing seem to point to an acquaintance with the contents of Suśruta's standard textbook rather than with Vāgbhaṭa's more recent composition.

1 See this Journal, 1906, 283-302, 699-700, 915-941; 1907, 1-18, 413-417; also Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin, i, 29-40 (1907).
The second part, entitled "The Records," contains a very full discussion of the three different systems, in which the theory of the ancient Indians regarding the skeleton may be said to have been transmitted. In tracing the rise and history of this theory, the author has not confined his investigations to medical literature, but has ransacked the lawbooks, Purānas, and Vedic literature as well. None of the three versions of the Indian system of Osteology is free from glaring faults and incongruities, in his endeavours to elucidate which Dr. Hoernle had to grapple with formidable difficulties. No pains have been spared to procure available MSS. from India and elsewhere. Thus the osteological sections of Charaka, of the Vājñavalkya-smṛti, of the Viśnu-smṛti, and of Suśruta, have been edited, respectively, from 9, 16, 17, and 12 MSS., besides the printed texts, in the fourth part of the work, entitled "Apparatus Criticus," in which all the principal Sanskrit texts bearing on Osteology have been collected. This part furnishes a fine specimen of textual criticism, but it is in his remarks on Gangādhar's apocryphal version of Charaka's Osteology, which version has unfortunately gained general currency, and has passed into all the more recent editions of Charaka's textbook, including the handy Bombay edition by Sankara Shastri, that the author's critical skill and acumen are displayed to special advantage. The remarks on the original version of Suśruta's Osteology, which has also been replaced, at an early period, by a falsified substitute, are equally interesting.

The third or anatomical section consists of a careful survey and discussion of the entire anatomical system of Indian writers, compared with modern anatomy. Indian anatomists enumerate and describe no less than 360 or 300 bones, which large excess over and above the 200 bones or so in the adult human skeleton is chiefly due to their counting processes or protuberances as if they were separate bones. Dr. Hoernle's identifications of the
sometimes very curious Sanskrit designations of the bones in the human body, of which the lucid discussion of the term *jatru*, 'windpipe,' hitherto wrongly explained as denoting the clavicle or collar-bone, may be quoted as an example, seem to be well founded, particularly as he has made a special study of human anatomy, and has also enjoyed the benefit of expert advice in writing this essay. Sanskrit lexicographers should study his remarks as well as students of Indian Medicine, quite a number of difficult terms having been first cleared up by him. Thus the new etymology of the puzzling term *ghanāsthikā*, as being derived from Prākrit *ghanā*, 'smelling,' or 'nose,' and meaning literally 'the smelling-bone' (p. 65), is very striking. The value of the anatomical section is greatly enhanced by copious and excellent illustrations, for most of which the author declares himself indebted to the skilful hand of his son.

In discussing the 'non-medical version' of Ātreya's System of Anatomy, Dr. Hoernle has found reason to reverse the hitherto prevailing theory of the dependance of Yājñavalkya's lawbook on Viṣṇu's, at least as far as the section on Osteology is concerned. The analogies between Viṣṇu's list of bones and the anatomical theories of Vijñānesvara, in his commentary on Yājñavalkya, are indeed surprising. However, might it not be sufficient to say that the list of bones has been remodelled by Nandapaṇḍita, in accordance with Vijñānesvara's theories, instead of attributing its first introduction into the text of Viṣṇu's lawbook to Nandapaṇḍita (seventeenth century)? Viṣṇu's theories on non-anatomical subjects are generally more archaic than the corresponding statements of Yājñavalkya, while the groundwork of both books is to a large extent identical.

Avinās Chandra Kaviratna's edition of Charaka is characterized as a simple reprint from the Berhampore edition of Charaka (p. 21). So no doubt it is, but, in
justice to Avinās Chandra, it may be observed that in the very recently published anatomical part of his English translation of Charaka (p. 805) he inveighs very strongly against the "erroneous readings of Gangādhar," and calls his list "entirely incorrect."

In view of the great rarity of MSS. of Chakradatta's Commentary on Charaka, it seems worthy of remark that a MS. of "Charakavyākhyā Chakradattiyā" is mentioned as existing at Alwar, in S. R. Bhandarkar's just published Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (p. 57).

The great question regarding the originality of Indian Medicine and its relation to the medical theories of other nations of antiquity, notably the Greeks, has been touched upon in the Preface, which also contains an interesting osteological summary, of admittedly Greek origin, from the Talmud. A final solution of the problems connected with the origin of Indian Medicine will not be possible till every part of it has been investigated in the same thorough manner as Indian Osteology has been examined in the volume under notice. It is much to be hoped, therefore, that its author will soon be enabled to publish a sequel of this first volume of his "Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India."

J. Jolly.

The Vāsavadattā - Kathāsāra, with two Appendices useful to candidates preparing for University Examinations. By M. T. Narasimhiaengar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Central College, Bangalore. (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1907. Price 3 as.)

The author of this little work, a master at the Bangalore College, known as editor of the Dinacaryā, with commentary (1905), essays to adapt to educational uses the
slender thread of story which trickles through a jungle of puns in Subandhu’s work. One hundred and thirty-two verses, composed in the Āryā metre and its sub-species (Gītī, Udgitī, Upagītī), suffice to convey the narrative, chiefly in the words of the original, and not without a taste of its paronomasias savouring. Mr. Narasimhiengar writes Sanskrit with the ease of one to whom the language is a living one; the verse flows, and the reader is pleasantly introduced to the features of the Kāvya style. The word सुवण्डत्र in v. 96 is to be regretted, and we must also protest against the constant use of क in place of ज, a South Indian peculiarity; so too छ for घ in v. 12. I also doubt whether सर्पमन्य in v. 62 is justified by Pāṇini iii, 2. 83, and in v. 5 यहिमकरीद्रोत: should be read in place of यहिमकरीद्रोत:.

Some features of the grammar and style (allusions, puns, etc.) are usefully collected in Appendix A (pp. 23–32), and Appendix B consists of a paper of model examination questions relating to the work, its author, and its literary interest.

F. W. THOMAS.

November, 1907.

A STUDY OF THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By SHANTARAM ANANT DESEI. (Bombay, 1906.)

The Professor of Philosophy at the Holkar College, Indore, has in this volume expanded some addresses delivered at the Central India Brahma Samaja, Indore, into a concise, clear, and suggestive account of the chief Indian philosophies, mainly having in view the relation between the metaphysical ideal and the ethical attitude which should logically be taken in accordance with it. The book marks the change which has been brought about by the intercourse of East and West, and could not have
been written fifty years ago. It is, indeed, partly Western in its standpoint, and Browning's views of life have evidently been an inspiration to the author. The account of the Gitā does not follow the traditional interpretations, and, as Mr. Desai says, will certainly not be accepted by everyone. He always gives the original Sanskrit on which he bases his statements, so that the book contains an admirably chosen assemblage of sayings on the most important parts of Indian philosophy, and is worth possessing for that reason alone. But, as no one would acknowledge more readily than Mr. Desai, an assemblage of quotations depends on the choice of the collector, and the reader must turn to the originals to judge for himself what is the spirit of the whole work. As a suggestive, and indeed fascinating, introduction to Hindu philosophy, the book is to be recommended, especially to European students of Hindu philosophy; but it is one which must be taken as a starting-point for a thorough and independent examination of the systems themselves. For his own countrymen, the important part of Mr. Desai's work is in a chapter called *The Gita and progress—a possible criticism*, objecting that the ideal of indifference, of freedom from hate, love, and desire for results, would allow of no progress in social life as we know it. This criticism he promises early in the book to refute in later chapters, but he has finally put off answering it to another volume, which he says is already prepared. One cannot help feeling he would like the criticism to sink in before he attempts to remove it. Part—but part only—of the obvious answer is that the indifference aimed at differs as much from that of obtuseness as the simplicity of a clown differs from the simplicity of a prince, which is the finest result of knowing every complexity. The souls that have seen through the weak and selfish elements that beset human aims and passions in their first instinctive state are like strong ships that leave far behind tiny boats
tossed by every wavelet, and carry their burden safely through the waves of this troublesome world to the further shore. This special glory of Hindu philosophy is its contribution to the knowledge of the soul and its powers, and India will have lost much when such objections, though worth stating, are felt to be final.

C. M. R.

Ramtanu Lahiri, Brahman and Reformer. From the Bengali of Sivanāth Sāstri. Edited by Sir Roper Lethbridge. (London, 1907.)

If the deeds and character of ancestors are, as Thucydides says, a possession to their descendants, the subject of this biography started life with a noble inheritance and followed the advice of Pericles in leaving it augmented and not diminished for those who came after him.

The Lahiri family were Brahmans, who for generations had served the Rajas of Nadia at Krishnagar, and had been connected with the Dewani of Krishnagar. On a division of the family property between Ramgovinda, the great-grandfather of Ramtanu, and his brother, all the valuable possessions were set on one side, and the image of the family deity with a small piece of land on the other, and Ramgovinda chose the deity, and bore cheerfully the poverty that accompanied his choice. The youngest brother of Ramtanu was a generous physician, loved by the poor. "A cartload of straw" on one of his prescriptions puzzled the dispenser, till the doctor explained that till the patient's roof was mended medicine could not cure him, and he therefore made a present of the straw. The mother of Ramtanu was also of honourable birth, but she chose to live in poverty with her husband, working with her own hands rather than that he should lose his independence by using the Kulin Brahmans' privilege of
living with his father-in-law. Ramtanu was first sent to the local pathsala, where, as in our English dames' schools, much chastisement made up for little learning, and the masters favoured those boys who made them most presents. Krishnagar was at that time no good place for bringing up a child, and little Ramtanu was sent to his eldest brother Kesava, who, with the proceeds of a small office, in which temptations to increase his narrow income by indirect means were common, managed with unfailing integrity and great self-denial to bring up his younger brothers and help to support his parents. Ramtanu was admitted as a free scholar, after much patient importunity, at the school founded by David Hare to give Western knowledge to the Hindus. His relations with his school friends, and not only with them, but, different from English ideas on the subject of Hindu ladies, with the mothers and sisters of his school friends, were very happy. A charming tribute to home influence of the kind we most reverence in England is given by Isvara Candra Vidyasagara, in speaking of the mother of a friend: "In the whole range of my experience I have never found one equally loving, kind, courteous, and amiable. He who has personally come under the benign influence of a woman like Raimani cannot help adoring the sex to which she belonged." In 1828 Ramtanu was admitted to the Hindu college.

Two streams flowed together to swell the desire for improved education, the one fed by the generous desire to bestow the blessings of Western education, inspired by such men as Grant, Carey, Marshman, and Rammohun Roy; the other rising from scholars like Sir W. Jones and Wilson, who reverenced Sanskrit, and desired to deepen the knowledge of the pandits, then generally limited to grammar, logic, and Hindu theology, but not including Veda, Vedantas, or Puranas, or the Gitâ. The East India Company, urged by Lord Minto and the Sanskritists, sought to develop Sanskrit learning, while Dr. Duff added
his strength to the missionary and patriotic zeal of those who desired Western knowledge.

At this moment of new ideas Ramtanu fell at college under the influence of Derozio, who "introduced a new epoch in the intellectual and moral history of Bengal." His generous enthusiasm and great talents had an undying influence on his pupils. It is, however, to be regretted that the zeal for high ideals inspired in them was accompanied by lack of discrimination, and that the eating of beef and drinking of wine were essential parts of Western discipline to his young hearers, many of whom caused just scandal to the orthodox Hindus by getting drunk in honour of Western civilisation. "How," said one, "shall we Indians be civilised, and how will our country be free from the tyrannical sway of error and superstition, if we abstain from wine?" "Break down everything that is old, and rear in its stead what is new," was their cry. But the zeal first shown as to food found a nobler outlet in the feeling of young India as to social and religious reform. Derozio's instruction gained them honour in literature and science, but what is more, "they were all considered 'men of truth,' and there was then a saying: 'So and so cannot lie, because he is a Hindu College boy.' Incidentally we see a point of view differing from our own in a criticism of the author's as to the previous decay of truth among the Hindus, due partly to flattery of their Mahomedan conquerors, but also, he says, to the spirit of setting truth at naught which the English courts shewed. It is said that these courts had no regard for actual facts, if they were not borne out by evidence. Truth was not esteemed by them in itself, but only when it was supported by witnesses." This remark is given for what it is worth, but it is not a criticism that is obvious to the Englishman at home.

We must refer readers to the book itself for the account of Ramtanu's work as a teacher which earned him the
title of the Arnold of India; or the share he and his friends took in supporting the founding of the Calcutta Medical College, the Calcutta Public Library, the giving freedom to the Press, the abolition of sati, the education of girls, and the question of re-marriage of widows. In all questions he was too modest to put himself forward, but earnestly though quietly supported his friends. Persuaded that it was hypocritical to advocate his advanced views on religion and yet carry out the ordinary habits of a Brahman, he gave up his Brahmanical thread, and not only suffered persecution himself, but endured the patient and unrepining grief of his father for his heresy. Such was his love of liberty, when old and weak, that the quotation of a great speech on liberty was as a spark to set his thoughts on fire. We have in him the picture of one who combined simplicity and gentleness with unflinching truth, the type of that Rāma from whom his name was derived. No country can have been richer in noble lives than India during the last century, and it is of interest to compare the great men whom England sent out—Nicholson, Sir Herbert Edwardes, the Lawrences, Mr. Hare, and Dr. Duff, with those noble Hindus who met them in their efforts to bring help to the country of their adoption.

The book has been dealt with at length, because it is typical, especially in its earlier parts, of a life that Europeans do not know, and which can hardly survive the conditions of the present century: alike as a picture of life and as a portrait of a noble character, it is worth reading for all who care for India.

C. M. R.

Origines Bouddhiques, par E. Senart. (Paris, 1907.)

We always look in the work of M. Senart for the results of scholarly research illuminated by wide learning,
scrupulous fairness, and charm of expression. These qualities do not fail us in *Origines bouddhiques*, where M. Senart, like the Happy Warrior, is able to assure us that his long experience has in the main (albeit with some modifications) confirmed the view of his earlier years as to the story of Buddha. He traces the convergence of several ideas; he sets forth Māra as representing the Mṛtyu of the Upaniṣads with his host of darkness on the one hand, and Kāma on the other hand. He explains the mingling in Buddhism of personal devotion with a philosophic theory of uncompromising nihilism, by influences of which the Yoga system forms the bridge between Buddhism and that cult of Vishnu which developed in the sect of the Bhāgavatas. From the Yoga system, he says, Buddhism learns to set its highest value on the *jñāna* produced by *samādhi*, which was foreign to the original merely ethical aim of the system. Buddhist nihilism is a natural result of transferring the moral tendencies of Yoga into the sphere of metaphysics, proceeding by self-mortification and cultivation of indifference to outward things to the denial of their objective existence. To the Śaṁkhya philosophy he attributes very slight affinity with Buddhism, except in so far as in its more fluid state it had affected Yoga, and he thinks that it is from secondary notions or tendencies common to the Indian nature as a whole that scholars have been inclined to see a connection between Śaṁkhya and Buddhism. It is impossible in a few lines to do justice to the careful working out of so important a subject; but this short pamphlet is full of the insight into the meaning of religious ideas which gives light where verbal and superficial likenesses often tend to mislead; and those who do not agree with the results cannot fail to feel the suggestiveness and charm of the treatment.

C. M. R.
THE CLOUD-MESSONER. A Translation into English Verse of KALIDASA'S MEGHADUTAM. By S. C. SARKAR. (Calcutta, 1906.)

Mr. Sarkar has made a literal translation in verse of the Meghadūta. It is hardly to be expected that a translator into a language not his own should have the knowledge of his instrument or the instinct which can give charm or render beauty. The scansion is weak, but the translation, to judge from various test passages, is careful, and in fairly good English; and an introduction about chronology and authorship, together with explanatory notes at the end, dealing more with allusions than with language, should make it useful for those candidates for examination who have not learnt to despise a crib.


These two sumptuous volumes contain a full record of the copious archaeological materials gathered by Dr. Stein during his remarkable explorations carried out in 1900–1, under the orders of the Government of India, in the southern districts of Chinese Turkestan, and particularly in the territory of Khotan. Published at the Clarendon Press under the auspices of the University of Oxford, it goes without saying that they are admirable in their
typography and wealth of illustration. The title-page is really quite a work of art, with good type, well sized and well spaced, and an artistic vignette of Pallas Athene carrying ægis and thunderbolt in the centre, penned from an intaglio seal-impression in clay that was found attached to one of the Kharoṣṭhī documents on wood discovered at Niya.

It is unnecessary to insist here on the unique importance and far-reaching interest of Dr. Stein’s discoveries, which are now presented in the fullest details, with an annotated description and delineation of all the objects gathered and preserved. A summary sketch of his explorations was first published in the Preliminary Report on a journey of archæological and topographical exploration in Chinese Turkestan, India Office, London, 1901; and a more popular account in his Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, Personal Narrative of a journey of exploration in Chinese Turkestan, of which two editions have appeared, and which, the author tells us, is “a useful and even necessary preliminary to the present work.” Dr. Stein is distinguished alike as explorer, scholar, and author, and it would be a presumption on our part to criticize his methods, or do more than recommend his work to the admiring appreciation of Oriental scholars. The book has already been justly characterized by an appreciative reviewer in the Scottish Geographical Magazine as “a model of scientific antiquarian inquiry, reasoning, and description.” It is most appropriately dedicated to a former distinguished President of our Society, and an eloquent passage written by the author at the foot of the mighty Kunlun, on his way back to the deserts of Khotan, may be quoted in our pages:

“During that happy year of travel through the mountains and the deserts which once saw the passage of Hsüan-tsang, the great pilgrim, of Marco Polo, and of him ‘who sought lost Cathay and found Heaven,’ the thought of the great scholar who had first with true critical intuition traced their tracks and those of many another
early traveller through Central Asia was ever with me. From his immortal volumes, which have accompanied me everywhere, I never failed to derive guidance and encouragement, whether I turned to them in camp after long hours of rough travel, or in my improvised study after desk labour yet more tiring. In dedicating this work to the memory of Sir Henry Yule, I claim no small privilege. But if the interest of researches on ground that was cherished by the Master, and the endeavour to carry them on in his spirit, can atone for whatever there is of defects and dryness in the presentation of their results, I hope that this tribute will not be deemed inappropriate."

Dr. Stein is first of all historian and archeologist rather than pioneer in new and unbeaten tracks. He had, however, the trained assistance of an Indian surveyor to carry on a continuous system of surveys during the whole of his travels, which he has supplemented by photogrammetric survey work of his own in the mountainous regions between Kashmir and Kashgar, and in the Kunlun ranges bordering the Tarim basin. The results are to be found incorporated in the excellent and useful "Map of the territory of Khotan and adjoining regions," on the scale of 8 miles to 1 inch, which accompanies the Report, and which gives the position of most of the ancient sites now abandoned to the great desert of Taklamakan.

The chief 'find-spots' taken in their chronological order are Niya, Yotkan, and Dandân-Uiliq, and the remarkable character of the art is easily followed in the pictures of its relics as one turns over the pages of the second volume. The strength of the classical tradition which came from Greece to India, and thence to Chinese Turkestan, is very evident as we glance at the wooden remains from Niya, and at the pottery and little clay genre figures from Yotkan, while the wooden chair-legs in plate lxx are in the shape of the foreparts of sphinxes, with a headdress that reminds us of the triple horn on the heads of Assyrian bulls. Niya's art came from Gandhāra, and Gandhāra's from Seleucia on the Tigris. Chinese intercourse with
these parts was started in the second century B.C., when Chang Ch’ien was sent as an envoy by Wu Ti of the Han dynasty to the Yueh-ti or Indo-Seyths, whose capital was then on the northern bank of the Oxus River. A travelling merchant at this time may have known the banks of the Tigris, Oxus, and Tarim equally well, and we seem to see how classical art influenced that of China by way of the civilisation of which Dr. Stein has revealed some of the remains in Turkestan. Khotan occupied an important position on the ancient trade route from China to the Oxus basin. There are unmistakable indications of imitation of Persian art in the Buddhist paintings recovered from the shrines of Dandān-Uiliq, and the curious find of a Judæo-Persian document on the same site, written in Tabaristan in the ninth century of our era, shows the continuity of these relations.

The literary finds of Dr. Stein are so manifold and important that it is impossible to do more than glance at them here. Among the most interesting is the mass of Kharoṣṭhī ‘documents’ on wood and on leather recovered from the Niya site. Specimens of these were presented by Professor Rapson to the 1905 Congress of Orientalists, but their full publication, for which Professor Rapson, we are told, has secured the assistance of two distinguished savants, M. E. Senart, Membre de l’Institut, and M. l’Abbé A. Boyer, “has had to be reserved for a separate volume which is to follow this report at a date that cannot yet be specified.” The MSS. and documents written in Brāhma characters, and showing texts partly in Sanskrit, partly in two non-Indian languages, have been intrusted to Dr. Hoernle, and are promised to appear immediately under the auspices of the India Office. The finds of Tibetan MSS. and graffiti are all happily published here (Appendix B) under the joint editorship of two competent scholars, Dr. Barnett, of the British Museum, and Rev. A. H. Francke, of Ladāk.

Dr. Stein is really most fortunate in his collaborateurs,
notably in the case of Professor E. Chavannes, Membre de l’Institut, who has with masterly clearness analysed his many finds of Chinese documents and inscriptions in Appendix A, and whose scholarly aid is generously acknowledged by the author in almost every chapter of his book. Most opportune in this connection was the publication of Professor Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Saint-Pétersbourg, Academie des Sciences, 1903, which is constantly cited. Dr. Stein, indeed, makes every use of Chinese sources of information, which shed much light on his own archaeological discoveries, while the finds, on the other hand, often afford a remarkable confirmation of the authenticity of the Chinese annals. See, for example, the exact confirmation of the cyclical day of the tenth month of the fifth year of the T'ai-shih period, A.D. 269, from historical texts, on p. 537; and the clever analysis of the Chinese general Kao Hsien-chih's memorable march over the Pamirs and across the Hindu Kush in the year 747 A.D., when he led his army in three columns advancing by different routes against the Tibetans, and gained such a decisive victory in the defile leading to the Baroghil Pass (p. 9). The current addition of the actual Chinese text to the names in many of the extracts is of service to the critical inquirer, and is generally remarkably correct, only two slight slips having been noticed, viz., Turfan for Turfan (p. 167), and the arbitrary split of the character chêi into its two component parts (p. 171).

A word of praise is due for the bibliography and for the copious and excellent index, and it only remains to congratulate Dr. Stein on having successfully completed such a worthy record of his first expedition, and to wish that his present official journey in the far eastern deserts of Chinese Turkestan may be as fruitful in its results. We have already received news of his discovery on the borders of the province of Kansu of thousands of Chinese documents written on bamboo slips during the century preceding the
Christian era, of many pieces of silk of the same period inscribed with Indian Brahmi and Kharoṣṭḥi, and of a number of writings in an early Aramaic script, presumably records of ancient traders to the distant Seres.

S. W. B.

Kabir and the Kabirpanth. By G. H. Westcott.
(Cawnpore, 1907.)

The Rev. G. H. Westcott's studies on Kabir have appeared at intervals in a magazine issued by the S.P.G. Mission at Cawnpore, and are now published in a revised and complete form. It is a pleasant book to read from many points of view, and not the least of its charms is the sympathy and tolerance which an Indian religion has received at the hands of a Christian missionary. For missionary work the book is of far more importance than its comparatively few pages would suggest, for it is an instance of the breaking off from the old and mistaken traditions that are still almost universally accepted by Europeans both in India and in England. There are few educated Englishmen—I may say there are even few missionaries—who are aware of the great Indian reformation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even those who have been in India, and who have heard of 'reformers,' seem to be unaware that they created a reformation—nay, a religious revolution. Far be it from me to say one word against our great Sanskrit scholars, but we have been sitting at their feet too long. They have written graphic and luminous accounts of Sanskrit literature, and of the religion illustrated by it, but have miscalled them histories of Indian literature, which they are not. Their knowledge of India, great as it is, stops with the birth of the vernaculars. The British public knows nothing of this, and has accepted as pictures of
present-day belief accounts of what was true a thousand years ago, but which is as dead as the doctrines of Anselm are in 1907.

The religious reformation of India was not carried out by learned men who wrote in Sanskrit, but by prophets, often of the lowest castes, who used the homely speech of the multitude. Their teaching smells, not of the lamp, but of the pleasant acrid smoke that hangs over an Indian village as the cattle wend their way in the early morning to the fields. It was full, not of pantheistic speculation, but of concrete truth; and, greatest of all, it swept like one mighty wave over the plains of the Deccan and of Hindostan, and is still the moral and spiritual guide of nine-tenths of our Indian fellow-subjects. All this is ignored by most people who write about Indian religion. Wilson, alone of our predecessors, realized it, and even he, giant that he was, found the task too great and barely touched its fringes. It is easy enough to put down what one, à priori, assumes to be the religion of India, but it is no light thing to describe the beliefs, the actual moving spiritual forces, of two hundred and fifty millions of people. The first thing to do is to find out what these beliefs really are, and, so far as I know, no one has yet even attempted to do this for India as a whole. Take one book as an example—issued under the authority of the Religious Tract Society, and written by a veteran whose name we all revere—Murray Mitchell's Hinduism, Past and Present. It contains about three hundred pages. Of these, twenty-five are devoted to what the author calls the "Hindu Sects," and the greater part of these twenty-five is filled up with catalogues of the names of sects and of the caste-marks worn by their votaries, while just two and a half somewhat unsympathetic pages are given to bhakti, the central doctrine of modern Hinduism. The rest of the book deals with the religions of Sanskrit literature, which is followed—or half-followed—only by
a few highly educated people who can read and understand what is set before them.

We cannot dispose of modern Hinduism by labelling it as a bundle of sects. Granted that it is, the sects are there, and the existence of a sect necessarily implies spiritual life. If a missionary wishes to convert the members of a sect, or if a layman wishes to understand them, the profoundest knowledge of Vēdantism or of the older Purāṇas will be of little help. All these sects are based on one common idea—that of a God who became incarnate to save mankind, and who is now in Heaven still saving those who desire salvation. Till this is grasped by a missionary, be he as eloquent as Apollos or as inspired as Paul, he will only fight the air.

What is wanted is a thorough investigation of the origin and tenets of each important sect, based on original research, and not on magazine articles or sketches of “Hindu Sects,” and herein lies the importance of Mr. Westcott’s little book. He gives us a study of the life of Kabir, a very fair account of the great reformer’s teaching, and a description of the cult and ceremonial as it exists and is carried out at the present day. There are copious extracts from the scriptures of the sect, and the author does not hesitate to deal with these, as I have already said, in a sympathetic spirit and to draw attention to the many beauties which they contain.

Mr. Westcott seems to be of the opinion that Kabir was not a disciple of the great Rāmānanda, as is the popular tradition. In defence of his opinion he quotes the verse from Nabhāji’s Bhakta-māla, which purports to sum up Kabir’s sainthood, and does not mention his teacher. This only shows how great is the want of a translation of Nabhāji’s difficult work, for it happens that in another verse, in the catalogue of Rāmānanda’s twelve apostles (p. 81 of the Lucknow edition), Kabir is specially mentioned as one of them. Moreover, the same fact is stated
in the Sanskrit commentary to the *Rahasya-traya* of Nābhājī’s own preceptor, Agra-dāsa. The fact that Kabir was by bringing-up a Musalmān need offer no difficulty. In those days of religious exaltation the profession of Islām was no bar to becoming a Hindu Bhakta. Some of the greatest Bhaktas of Vraja were originally Musalmāns,¹ and their hymns are still sung in Vaiṣṇava congregations. Kabir’s eclecticisim is prominent in the extracts given by Mr. Westcott. Christianity, Śūfism, Vēdantism, combined and refashioned by Kabir’s wonderful originality, can be traced again and again in his pages.

I trust that Mr. Westcott will soon have another opportunity of giving us still more information concerning this most interesting religion.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

A PRIMER OF PERSIAN. By G. S. A. RANKING, M.A., University Lecturer in Persian. 72 pages. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.)

This small work has been both well conceived and well executed, and is admirably suited for its intended purpose. After nineteen pages of elementary grammar, most of the remaining space is given to exercises in reading and translation from Persian, followed by passages for translation into Persian, each furnished with a vocabulary on the well-known Ollendorf plan. A most commendable innovation is the selection of matter from modern sources, the late Shah’s Diary, private correspondence, and recent Persian newspapers.

¹ For instance, Ghulām Nabi, whose beautiful poetry was written under the Hindu name of Rasa-śīna.
The Adventures of Haji Baba of Ispahan. Translated into Persian by Hājī Shaikh Ahmad-1-Kirmānī, and edited with Notes by Major D. C. Phillott, Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Calcutta. (Calcutta: published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1905.)

Although probably intended primarily for examination candidates, this edition of a Persian version of Morier’s “Haji Baba” is in many other respects a most meritorious work. It is composed, as the Persians themselves have testified, exactly as they now write and now speak. Thus it is most valuable as an introduction to the living spoken language of the country. It has been produced at the cost of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and most ably edited by Colonel D. C. Phillott, whose residence in Persia has enabled him to throw great light on the obscure modern colloquialisms so frequently found in the text. The inclusion of such a work in the list of books set for examinations in India will be a great improvement, quite in accordance with the policy which has for some years prevailed, as proved by recent recourse to a work of the same modern type, the Diary in Europe of the late Shah Nāṣir-ud-dīn.

It may be doubted whether the Persian translator always grasped fully the meaning of the English text, but he succeeds sufficiently well in catching its humorous, sub-ironical spirit. When he sees an opening, he has the habit of interpolating an excursus in the Persian manner quite regardless of the English text. His occasional imitations of the ornate openings of Mahdi Khān’s Durr-i-Nādīrī, dealing with the imagery of Spring, add an additional spice of Orientalism to his version.

The sad end of the translator, a Bābī, is told in Colonel Phillott’s Introduction. In 1887 Hājī Ahmad had gone to Constantinople, where he studied languages and engaged
in literary pursuits. He and his companions interfered, however, in Persian politics, and the Shah requested their surrender. The Sultan hesitated, and intended to obtain their pardon; but meanwhile Shah Nāsir-ud-din was assassinated on May 1st, 1896. This event alarmed the Sultan and sealed the fate of the captives; they were murdered at Tabriz on July 16th, 1896.

A Few Notes on Wa. By Captain G. Drage. (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1907.)

The Was are an uncivilised race of head-hunting hill-men who inhabit portions of the Burmese Shan States. Linguistically they are of considerable interest because their dialects, together with those of the Palaung and Riang tribes, occupy a middle place between the Khasi language of Assam and the great Mon-Khmer family of speech. Their connection with both the one and the other has been proved by Professor W. Schmidt, and they form an important link in the great chain of allied tongues that extends from Central India right through Indo-China and beyond.

Up to the present time the Wa dialects have been very imperfectly known; in fact, nothing but relatively short lists of words had been recorded, together with a certain number of sentences, until the publication of the present work. This also is but a preliminary survey, as its author modestly proclaims. But it represents a considerable advance in knowledge, and will doubtless lead the way to the composition of a completer and more systematic grammar and dictionary of the language.

In some respects the Wa language differs rather remarkably from most of the cognate tongues. For instance, it makes use of tones, and it may be presumed that this peculiarity is due to the influence of the surrounding toned
languages, particularly Shan. It is somewhat to be regretted that the author has not marked these tones throughout the book; no doubt their precise sound can only be learnt orally, but nevertheless, in the present stage of Indo-Chinese linguistic study, the importance of the tonal system is so fully recognised as a clue to etymological research that it should be regarded as an indispensable part of the description of any language in which it exists. Captain Drage should have remembered that though his work may have been written primarily for the benefit of frontier officers, it might also fall into the hands of other students who have not the advantage of being able to supplement it by oral lessons on the spot.

It is rather curious that the verb usually precedes the subject, except when the sentence is negative, in which case the negative comes first, then the subject, and next the verb. This is quite different from the typical Mon-Khmer syntax. Less strange but still worthy of notice is the fact that the pronouns have a dual as well as a plural number, and that the first person plural possesses an exclusive and an inclusive form. This has many parallels in other languages, particularly those of the Malayo-Polynesian family.

It is an ungracious task to find fault with a piece of pioneer work like the present, the compilation of which under great difficulties and through the medium of another foreign language (Shan) must have given immense trouble, and certainly reflects great credit on its author. But one must really protest against the utter absence of order in this little book. The words it contains are indeed classed into sections, roughly divided according to their subject-matter (such as 'Man,' 'Cultivation,' 'Forest Products and Fruits,' and the like), but within those sections there is not the slightest system of arrangement, alphabetical, logical, or other, and nouns and verbs are mixed up together anyhow. This makes it exceedingly difficult to find any
word that may be wanted in a hurry, and detracts from the utility of the work. Also in some cases the equivalents of Wa words are not given in English, but in some unspecified foreign tongue (presumably Shan or Burmese), which is decidedly inconvenient from the point of view of all but local students. Lastly, there are many misprints, as unfortunately is very often the case in books printed in the East.

In spite of these defects, the author is to be congratulated on having produced the first monograph on the Wa language, and it is to be hoped that it will soon reappear in a revised, enlarged, and more systematic form. One must, in the meantime, accept it gratefully as an instalment towards a more perfect production.

C. O. Blagden.


In writing his history of Mogul India, Manucci the Venetian was as discursive as was the earlier traveller and empyrie, Pedro Teixeira, the Portuguese Jew, in writing the history of Persia; and all the more interesting and valuable are their works on that account. In this third volume we have only an occasional page or two devoted to the varying fortunes of Aurangzeb and his forces in their campaign against the Mahrattahs, the remainder being occupied with curious information gathered by the author during his long residence in India. The first half of the volume contains the concluding portion of part iii of Manucci's work. The first 75 pages are devoted to an account of the Hindu religion, manners and customs, and government,
as the writer met with them in South India. This description is quite a popular one, not over correct; and it is evident that Manucci’s knowledge of Tamil was of the slightest, judging by his extraordinary spellings of words and his erroneous explanations of their meanings. In connection with his statement that “They say that this same Brahmana writes in the head of every man what he will do throughout his life,” I may point out that Captain Robert Knox, in his Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, published in 1681, says of the Sinhalese: “They hold that every man’s good or bad Fortune was predetermined by God, before he was born, according to an usual Proverb they have, Ollua cottaula tiana [oluvē koṭāla tiyanavē], It is written in the head.” Further on Manucci gives a description of Muhammadan weddings and funerals. In an appendix to part iii Mr. Irvine gives a number of extracts from the Venice codex xlv (Zanetti), consisting of matter not contained in the Phillipps MS. 1945. Among these is a brief account of Ceylon and Portuguese doings there, in which are some gross errors, due, probably, to the writer’s mixing up facts related to him. The second half of this volume comprises the first portion of part iv of Manucci’s work, to which, Mr. Irvine thinks, Catrou did not have access when he wrote the third part of his Histoire Générale de l’Empire du Mogol, published in 1715. A good deal of this portion is taken up with an exposure of the questionable methods adopted by the Jesuits in South India in order to make converts, and a long description of the persecution and trial by the Inquisition at Goa of Father Ephraim of Nevers, who had settled at Madras. We also have recorded various historical events, such as Sir William Norris’s unfortunate embassy to the Mogul in 1701–2, the Muhammadan attack on Cuddalore in 1698, etc. Manucci’s account of the latter affair, as in other cases, Mr. Irvine supplements by interesting extracts from the factory records, which largely substantiate
our author's correctness. In this part Manucci is not anecdotal, as he is in the later portion of part iii, but confines himself almost entirely to historical narrative. With regard to the said anecdotes, of course it is impossible to authenticate all of them, many relating to persons of more or less obscurity; but this is not so in all cases. For instance, João Pereira de Faria, spoken of on pp. 113 and 206 of this volume, was the son of a well-known and highly esteemed Portuguese resident of Madras, mentioned often in the factory records. Then, the story of the murder of the brothers Luiz and Manuel de Mendoça by the brothers Francisco de Mello and Diogo de Mello de Sampaio, as well as the poisoning of the commissary João Alvarez Carrilho, who was sent to Bassein to arrest them (ii, 144, 228; iii, 294), is historically accurate, as proved by documents printed in the Archivo da Relação de Goa. The same applies to Manucci's account (iii, 164) of the lawlessness prevalent in Goa and other Portuguese towns in the second half of the seventeenth century. And so in other cases that I might cite. We may, therefore, I think, consider Manucci the Venetian a writer de bonne foi, and not a mere fiction-monger like Fernão Mendes Pinto, or whoever wrote the famous Peregrinação that passes under his name. True, he made mistakes (some of them ludicrous); but he seems to have been on the whole an honest fellow, and his naïveté is charming. As in the first two volumes, so in this, Mr. Irvine's footnotes add much to the value of the work, notwithstanding an occasional inexactitude. Personally, I confess, I have greatly enjoyed reading Manucci's discursive narrative, and look forward to the further pleasure of reading the fourth and concluding volume of this truly magnum opus.

DONALD FERGUSON.
PRIMITIVE TRADITIONAL HISTORY. The Primitive History and Chronology of India, South-Eastern and South-Western Asia, Egypt, and Europe, and the Colonies thence sent forth. By J. F. Hewitt, Late Commissioner of Chutia Nagpur. Two vols. (James Parker & Co., 1907.)

In this work Mr. Hewitt pursues his favourite study, and attempts to prove that the ancient traditional history of the ruling races of antiquity, carefully preserved in many centuries and by many races from generation to generation, had been for thousands of years divided into the epochs of successive year measurements.

His object is, he informs us, to prove that one of the most reliable guides to the ascertainment of trustworthy knowledge of the sequence of the stages of progress made in the struggle of the pioneers of civilization against chaotic barbarism, is to be found in the history of the computation of annual time. He holds that the chronology of the early periods of racial growth not only furnishes a sound basis for calculating their duration, but also gives a clue to the primary sources whence national religion rose. This he seeks to prove on the lines that the idea of God underlying all religions is that of the all-pervading Will, who as measurer of time ordained the changes of the seasons which marked the periods that made up the recurring years.

He traces the methods of year-measurement at different periods in different countries, and by aid of the tribal historical legends, symbols, ritual, and national customs, he follows the peoples themselves as they passed from the state of wandering savages to that of strongly organized nations of civilized men. He takes this narrative as constituting a reliable guide to truthful conclusions.

Southern India is, if we read him aright, the birthplace of most of the myths and the starting-point of the great
dispersion, and he draws largely upon the Vedas and the two great epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa for the material which goes to build up his theories as to the astronomical character of the early gods.

Whether Mr. Hewitt's theories are accepted by scholars or not the book will serve a useful purpose insomuch as it contains a vast collection of facts relative to tradition and ritual. A new and interesting feature is the importance he assigns to the Dravidian race, whose influence in the culture of India has been ignored because the literature which records the development of religion in that country was the work of a hostile priesthood, whose only object was to magnify its own pretensions.


This is a very complete account of that town on the Black Sea which attained so much importance anciently as the capital of its district. Though in all probability small at first, its advantages must soon have become recognized, for it possesses a double harbour. Its neighbourhood is a remarkably fertile one, and this also brought it to the fore, with what effect may be seen from its being so often spoken of by Greek and Roman authors. Recognized as a geographical centre, other cities in the same tract were referred to as being "near Sinope," though not in reality so very close. Its position on the coast gave it great advantages, and its commerce was, therefore, very extensive.
The author is of opinion that the Assyrians had something to do with its early history, and this is not improbable, as their armies penetrated into all the countries around them. To all appearance they were once the masters of the district of Kaisarieh, but how far their influence reached is uncertain. That Sinope should contain the name of the god Sin (the moon) as its first syllable is possible, but the question is, what is the origin of the word? The author regards "the legends that the nymph Sinope was the mother of Syros, from whom the Syrians got their name, and that she was carried off from Assyria," as pointing to the correctness of this view. "The name Sinope," he says, "evidently antedates the Greek settlement." Ps. Scymnus, he adds, speaks of "Sinope, a city . . . which formerly the native-born Assyrians inhabited," so that the theory for which he contends is well supported. Naturally etymologies could be found for the name, but any that might be suggested would be open to suspicion. It does not appear that the worship of the moon was ever very prominent in the city, where many deities were honoured, and the cult varied from time to time.

But the monograph is important and interesting. Sinope, the author says, must have existed before 756 B.C.—30 or 35 years earlier than that date at least. This would leave a few years of prosperity before the Cimmerian inroad in 782 under Habrondas, who was probably killed.

The book has a useful list of names with biographical notices, and descriptions of the Greek and Latin inscriptions discovered at Sinope and in the neighbourhood.

T. G. Pinches.
Sâmarra, Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen zur Islamischen Archäologie. Von Ernst Herzfeld.
(Berlin: Behrend & Co., 1907.)

Sâmarra lies on the Tigris, about 50 miles N.N.W. of Bagdad, in a pebbly tract. According to Dr. J. Ross, it enjoys a climate celebrated for its salubrity. The ruins extend along the east bank of the Tigris for about 20 (Ross 30) miles. These are called Mutawakkilieh, Eski Bagdad (Old Bagdad), and Shnâs. The central ruin is a palace, of which a good plan and description are given, and the ornamentation is described. The principal ruin, however, is the great mosque with its minaret. Like the other monuments, it is built of brick, with a special decoration, the upper part of the walls, as they now stand, having square sunken panels with cup-like recesses in the middle. The building is rectangular, and about 260 m. long by 180 m. broad. Great doors alternate rhythmically with small ones, and the whole is built in the manner of a turretted fortification. Colonnades were built on all four sides, 10 'naves' being on the south, 3 on the north, and 4 on each of the other sides.

Most interesting of all, however, is the minaret, el Mulwâch, 'the spiral,' situated at the northern end of the mosque. This is a pointed tower built on a square base, but itself circular in form, and provided with a spiral ascent, ending at the top in a staircase. The author judged the height to be 60 metres, but Commander J. F. Jones made it to be 163 feet as near as possible. The ascent goes round the structure five times. This monument leads the author to speak of the Babylonian towers in stages, which, though square, and not circular in plan, were provided with ascents upon the same system, angular instead of spiral, on account of their form. The most
perfect of these ancient temple-towers (zikkurāti) is that of which the remains were found by the French explorers at Khorsabad, which was built by Sargon of Assyria. The same system is shown by the square tower of Gūr-Firūzābād, figured by Dieulafoy, the summit of which was reached in four circuits. Structures like these are not depicted in Assyrian bas-reliefs, and the author is of opinion that the representation of a building of a different form, but suggesting a tower in three stages, is in reality not of this nature. The reconstruction of this building by Sir Henry Rawlinson, preserved in the National Museum at Washington, he regards as due partly to a wrong explanation of the bas-relief in question. It is to be noted that Perrot and Chipiez have understood this relief in much the same way, but Chipiez has "placed Rawlinson far in the shade." The reader will probably say that one is just as probable as the other. To discuss this question would take too long, and would probably not be conclusive. Thus much, however, is certain, namely, that for a tower in stages it would be very low—only three, including the lowest.

Midway between the two forms, the minaret of Sāmarrah and the Babylonian zikkurāti upon a rectangular plan, is the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, at Cairo, of which a good sketch is given. The lower part of this is a solid square, with a staircase going round each side until the top of that part is reached, when it assumes a spiral form for the upper part of the tower, which is cylindrical. The two elegant upper stories, with which it is crowned, are described as of later date, but replacing something similar which must have crowned it at first.

The work contains an interesting discussion of these and other similar structures, together with descriptions and plans of many ruined buildings of considerable interest. The literary traditions concerning Sāmarrah (pp. 47–80) are very interesting. Besides sketches in the text, others
are given in the plates at the end, including an excellent half-tone photographic reproduction of the spiral minaret.

T. G. PINCHES.

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale* for 1907, No. 4, M. F. Thureau-Dangin publishes several interesting articles. His *Fragmentes de Syllabaires* are portions of four bilingual lists and one syllabary. The first gives names of date-palms and their parts, and is one of the texts from which lines were extracted and transcribed into Greek characters (Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archeology, 1902, pp. 109 ff., 121 ff.). The second text, which has names of pots and vessels (Assyrian character), gives parallels to the text published in the *Journal* of this Society for October, 1905, fragment 81–4–28, front, lines 28, 30, and 43 (in the last the broken word would seem to have been 𒇣𒄂𒅀𒂈𒆠, hubšašū). The third, which contains nouns of relationship, is part of a student's practice-tablet. The fourth has explanations of words, but is not in list-form, and the scribe has noted now and then "a recent break," or that the group was "imperfect on the tablet." In the syllabary-fragment most of the signs explained are broken away, but that in the left-hand column of the back was probably 𒉏 (su), 'blood,' 'self,' 'body,' 'corpse,' 'family,' 'kindred,' etc. (lines 10–13), as is also shown by the group ṭ 𒉏 = massū, 'ruler' or the like, in line 16.

In an article entitled *Inscriptions Diverses du Louvre* he gives (1) the dedication of a bronze statuette by Šamši-Bêl to Istar of Arbela. (2) Two Babylonian contract-tablets of the time of Tiglath-pileser III, referring to 乌鲁šинну (see the *Journal* for October, 1905, p. 826) supplied as the drink of the "mid-palace women" (SAL-ŠAG-ÉGAL). M. Thureau-Dangin translates 乌鲁šинну as 'vin de grains,' but in the first inscription
it is described as šikar suluppi, ‘date-wine,’ probably owing to "une distraction du scribe." They are both dated in the king's first year. (3) Two small tablets, one dated in the reign of An-am and the other in that of Ura-dimdim, both probably ancient rulers of Ereh.

Of special interest is his Incursion elamite en territoire sumérien à l'époque présargonique. This is inscribed on a mutilated tablet, similar to those of the time of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina (c. 4000 B.C.), found by Commandant Cros at Tel-loh (Lagaš). It appears to be a letter from Lu-en-na, priest of Nin-mar, to [E]n-e-tar-zi, priest of Nin-Girsu, stating that 600 Elamites were carrying off spoil, and that Lu-en-na attacked them and put them to flight.

Finally, he publishes some Contrats archaïques provenant de Šuruppak, the first on stone, and exceedingly archaic. It refers to deliveries of cattle, oil, and stuff for garments (lamhuṣṣū in Semitic Babylonian—J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 828). The others are a deed of gift and contracts of sale. The analogies between these and the obelisk of Maništusu, the author points out, are striking. In the case of the first document he notes that the unit used in the inscription suggests the mark which a finger impressed in clay would leave. \( \frac{1}{2} \) is represented by the same sign written horizontally instead of vertically.

The whole makes a noteworthy series, well and learnedly treated.

T. G. Pinches.

Umayyads and 'Abbásids, from G. Zaydán's "Islamic Civilization." Translated by D. S. Margoliouth. (Gibb Memorial, vol. iv.)

In publishing a translation of the work of a modern Oriental the Gibb Trustees have made a new departure; and, as works of this kind are little known in Europe,
the publication serves a useful purpose by affording us an example of what Mahommedan scholarship at the present day is; but it is as well that in the long list of forthcoming publications issued by the Trustees no more modern works are included. The author is a Syrian, resident at Cairo, and he is clearly a man of wide learning and liberal mind; but, as this volume is only the fourth of a large work of which the other volumes are not translated, it is by no means easy to criticise it, and it is unfortunate that the translator does not give us some explanation of the plan and contents of the earlier volumes. As giving us the opinions of an educated Mahommedan, the book is of great interest; but it can hardly be called critical from a European standpoint. Professor Margoliouth tells us that the author has taken pains to acquaint himself with the works of European scholars; but few signs of such knowledge are to be found in the book, in which there are no references to modern writers, and the editions of ancient writers used are all Eastern; and, although the references are copious, they are mostly to the anecdotes of late authorities, while very little use seems to have been made of the early historians, and the most important of all, Al Tabari, is apparently wholly unknown to the author. Mr. Zaydan is inclined to be garrulous, and frequently repeats himself; and, though no fanatic, he shows a strong partiality for the descendants of ‘Ali. Occasionally he repeats absurdities, as where he says that a certain man had thirty sons and eleven daughters by one wife (p. 44); but the statement that the first Turkish leader suckled a wolf (p. 215) must surely be the result of a slip or a misprint. When the author ventures into Western history, he makes strange blunders, as when he says that Stephen the freedman and Solomon the eunuch ruled the Roman Empire (p. 227). The odd statement that in the Empire the practice of marrying slave-girls was common (p. 13) seems to be only a case
of an incorrect use of terms, since the same assertion is made of the Arabs on p. 15; and we have perhaps a similar instance on p. 10, for the case of Ziyad was surely not one of adoption but of fictitious relationship. Mr. Zaydan seems to be especially weak in explaining legal points, for the method of manumission set forth on p. 15 is unintelligible, and the statement as to the rights of patrons at p. 18, l. 9 seems inconsistent with that at p. 19, l. 32. There is a stranger inconsistency between p. 32, where 'Umar is said to have kept the Kuraish in Medina, and p. 60, where he is said to have sent them away. In several places the composition is careless: thus on p. 132 Sabians and Magians are apparently classed among Christians; at p. 193, l. 13, 'the two' has no reference (four persons having been mentioned), nor has 'their' at p. 196, l. 25; and the sentence about 'the Caliph being on the winning side,' at p. 222, l. 7, is incomprehensible. This last may, however, be due to the translator, as is certainly the confusion at p. 57, l. 20, where 'who' can only refer to Mu'awiyah, though it is meant to refer to his 'father and brethren,' and the use of 'question' for 'request' at p. 183, l. 9. Also, at p. 254, l. 28, 'free-thinking' surely conveys a wrong notion. It seems odd, again, in a translation from Arabic to find the word 'chauvinism' constantly used: 'exclusiveness' would apparently express the meaning.

As the translation must be meant for others besides Arabic scholars, it is to be regretted that Professor Margoliouth has not added notes on matters which to such readers must be unintelligible, e.g., 'Market of 'Ukáz' (p. 12), 'founded upon salt' (p. 159), 'Shu'úbis' (p. 186), 'Amaleks' (p. 187), 'khuţbah' (p. 206), 'son of the road' (p. 255): nor can every reader be expected to know that 'marzubáns' are Persian governors and 'Kisras' Sassanid kings, and that Fustát is the ancient representative of Cairo.
In the use or omission of the article in the proper names there seems to be no system at all, the same name being written sometimes with the article, sometimes without. I have noted misprints at p. 126, l. 21 ('us' omitted), and p. 225, l. 3 from bottom ('Ja'kúb' for 'Ya'kúb').

E. W. Brooks.

Some recent Arabic Publications.


The works of the two greatest living authorities on the Arabic language are above ordinary criticism, and even compliments to either editor might be resented as presumptuous. The first of the two mentioned above is a new edition by Dr. de Goeje of the familiar Travel-book of the Spaniard Ibn Jubair. It would seem that Wright's work was so well done that extensive alterations were not required, though doubtless the text has profited by the revision of so experienced an editor. There would seem to be a MS. of the work at Fez, which, however, was discovered too late to permit of its being utilized for the new edition, even if such utilization had been allowed.
The following observations are meant to do no more than indicate that the reviewer has read some pages of the book.

Page 7, l. 14. ولا نظهر الوجد إلا اكتناهما. The first hemistich is unsatisfactory. Perhaps it should be corrected and are frequently confused.

Line 17. ولولا مهابته في النفس لتمعنا التزمانا. التزمنا التزمانا is not good enough. Perhaps the author meant to write استلمنا.

Page 8, l. 7. فما خال مبنصراك اهتدى. This is unmetrical. The reading of the Cairo edition of بنصراك suits the verse.

Page 9, l. 3. انظر ترثى للشمس عند طلوعها. يعجب يعجب. The Arabic appears to give no satisfactory meaning. In the next line, "causes to follow," occurs in the same context. For يتعقب يعجب perhaps we should read يعجل, "hastens on."

Line 8. كفأك بشكوى الناس إذ داك أنها تسر عدوا أو إذ داك. تسوء صديقا seems to be unnecessary, and the sentence is imperfect without a ل_after كفأك. Examples are given in Wright, ii, p. 161. Hence we should perhaps read كفأك بشكوى الناس إذلاأذلاأذلاأذلا "complaining to mankind is a sufficient humiliation in that in it pleases an enemy and vexes a friend."

Page 9, l. 12. إن شرف الإنسان فيشرف واحسان. "if a man be noble, he is so by nobility and beneficence." This is too tautologous. Read فيشرف, "he is so by lavish expenditure."

Page 10, l. 1. ما لهم في غير ميدانها استعاق. ولا لسوى هدها. For مداها read مداها = "its goal." Cf. Makrīzī, ii, 225, 9 a. f.
Lo kifsh al-‘asr. The sense is poor. Probably we should read, "this obstinacy is wrong-doing." Compare Ḥarīrī, p. 299.

Line 4. Read. لِكَنْ أَسْتُوْلِيْ الغْيَابَ عَلَى الْبَصَارَتِ. 

Page 11, l. 11. Read اذَا الْآدَمُ عَمِى بالْاَلْدَابِ فَبِلْغِ الغَيَابِ فِيهِ. Cf. p. 12, l. 9.

Page 12, l. 19. في رَقْعَةٍ كَالْضَيْمِ اْهْدِى لِبَا بِدِّ الْمَعَالِي مَسْكٌ لِيْلَ الْمَدَاد، "on a leaf white as dawn whereon the hand of eminence has bestowed the musk of the night of ink." The "musk" appears to be a mistake. Probably we should read مسك = "thine" for مسک.

Page 13, l. 14. كَتَبَ عِنْ السَّيَدِ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ... وَجَدَهُ لَا مَهَّ مَالِيْ لَهَا القَاضِي أَبِي مُحَمَّد. 

Line 15. The invariable expression appears to be مَسْكَ. هم سته. These two prepositions are constantly confused.

Page 18, l. 3. مَسْكَ فِي الْغَرِبِ وَبِجَرَى ذِكْرَكْمُ بِغَوْرِ الْدِّمَامِ بِجَرَى. We should read بِجَرَى for the second.

Page 21, l. 9. وَسَبِلَ الْزَّمَانِ وَجَعَدَهُ وَشَابُ الْبَلْدَانِ ... وَجَعَدَهُ. اسم الذَّعاف بِشَيْدَه. scarcely gives a meaning. Apparently the opposite of غَرْد، "treason," is wanted. Perhaps جوْدَه.

Page 30, l. 4. وَكَمْ نَقْصَتْ حِبَّسَةُ الظَّلَامِ وَتَلْكَ الْذَّكْرَى فِي الْبَخْرَ. The verse is rather obscure. "How long has she (Meccah) remained an appanage of the unjust one, and ...?" Perhaps the الدَّخِر will make the second hemistich a little clearer, "and that treasure of the vile one."

Line 18. يَقْبِحُ أَحُدْوَةَ الْذَّكَر. It would seem that the syntax requires حادثًا.
Line 20. **This line is left as it stands, as being hopelessly corrupt. The first words should probably be emended** مآثرك الغر تبكي نأشر ببا, and be taken after the word which the preceding verse ends.

Page 31. **We should read** ببا نأشرنا. "If my verse-making is rare, then it has been said that a rare case furnishes no rule."

Line 10. **Apparently is preferable.**

Page 35, 1. 19. ٍفاطَلْع الله علما في حال الوحشة وانغلاق الجبهات بالنوور فلا تمسل شرفًا من غرف مركبًا. It is interesting to have Professor de Goeje’s opinion to the effect that such a word as انغلقت could count as a negative, and so take the subjunctive after ف.

3. The most interesting Arabic publication of recent times is the Concordance to the Koran by ‘ALAWIZADAH FAID ALLAH AL-HASANI of Jerusalem, which bears the title Fath al-Rahmán li-tâlibi Ayât al-Ku’r‘ân (Beyrût, 1323 : Ahliyyah Press). It differs from earlier works of the same sort in giving the sentences in which the words occur, with references to the numbers of the verses, while the Surahs are quoted by abbreviations of their names. The author states in his preface the principles on which his Concordance is constructed, its purpose being rather to facilitate the finding of verses than to register the number of times each form occurs. It is simply indispensible to Arabic students, and it is rather surprising that its author should be first in the field. Since Moslem writers, e.g. the contributors to the Manâr, have taken to quoting the Koran by chapter and verse, strangely
assuming that their readers will not know it all by heart, it is likely that the 3,000 copies printed will soon be exhausted. The author deserves hearty congratulation and warm gratitude from his fellow-students for providing them with so valuable an aid. He points out in his preface some curious mistakes made by Flügel, who, as his Hājji Khalifah shows, could accomplish great things in this line. In his Latin preface to the Koran he quotes a letter to himself from a Turk, which he translates in such a way as shows little skill in dealing with Oriental rhetoric. The Turk wrote: 

بىتن طبع أيديه ذرائر بوضواده

فارغ أولسه بذئدن فارغ ولميسى أولاده طبع مستقيم بو مثالو طبع

ستقيم قبول انزم دوستم. 

This Flügel renders:  

Qui Coranum typis describunt, hanc phantasiam aliquando abiecturi, si statim ab initio deponerent, melius esset. Natura enim sana eius modi aegrotam naturam non recipit, mi amice. It should have been obvious that the two senses of طبع فارغ and طبع were played on. The Turk meant: "If the persons who are printing this would abandon their vain desire, the end would be better than the beginning. A sound nature cannot approve such unsound printing, my friend."

4. An older work of great utility dealing with the Koran is the Koranic dictionary of Rāghib Isḥānī, ob. about 500 A.H., called al-Mufradāt fi Gharib al-Kur'ān, printed at the Maimaniyyah Press, Cairo, 1324, pp. 576, large 8vo. Several of this writer's works are now accessible; his moral treatise called al-Dhārt'ah ilā makārim al-shurt'ah was published in 1308; his Tafsīl al-nash'ātān in 1319; and his great Adab work in 1287. His dictionary is arranged in the order of the first letters of the roots, and offers a most convenient conspectus of the vocabulary of the Koran. Apparently the work from which Baiḍāwī borrowed was not this, but a commentary by the same author.
5-7. The Sayyid al-Bakrî has issued several works this year, which do not appear to be in the market, but which he generously presents to those whom they are likely to interest. His pamphlet on the Future of Islam (al-Mustakbil lil-Islām) was discussed by the present writer at the Church Congress at Yarmouth of last year. A work of a very different style is his Ṣahārīj al-Lu'lu', printed at the Hilâl Press, with date 1907 (sic). It is what in Latin would be called a Satura, in prose and verse, describing the author's travels, on sea and land, to Constantinople, Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere, interspersed with odes and reflexions of various kinds. In Arabic perhaps the Mâkâmas of Ibn al-Wardi offer the closest parallel. Although the book is accompanied by an ample commentary, the work of the Shaikhs Ahmad Shankîti and Muḥammad Luṭfî, the style is perfectly clear and limpid, and the language, though recherché, by no means difficult. It may be expected that the Arabic reading public will not be satisfied till this book is rendered more accessible, and it will assuredly perpetuate the author's name among the udâbâ of our age.

A work in some ways of greater importance than the last mentioned is called Bait al-Ṣiddîk, and was printed at the Muayyad Press two years ago. It is a treatise on the house of Abû Bakr, whence the author derives his name, and contains an autobiography, an account of his distinguished predecessors, lists of the Sūfî communities, and of those which are represented in Egypt. To students of Sūfism this work will be of great value.

8. Of the monographs on the early heroes of Islam called Ashâr mashâhir al-Islām, by Rafîk Bey al-ʿAzâm, four parts have now appeared, the first having reached a second edition. The persons with whom they deal are Abû Bakr, ʿUmar, Abû ʿUbaidah, Saʿd b. Abî Wakâṣ, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmân b. ʿAffân, ʿAbdallah b. ʿĀmir, and Ḥabîb b. Maslamah al-Fihârî. The author
has used MS. as well as printed authorities, and his presentation of the careers of these persons is probably both fuller and easier to follow than any that has previously appeared. These monographs have already won him a high place among the Arabic writers of the time.

D. S. M.

**Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen.**


Two popular manuals of Oriental literature, written by well-known authors, who have gained their reputation in the field of Oriental science. The object of this series, of which the above form only two volumes, is to popularise among the German reading public a better, and at the same time a thoroughly reliable, presentment of the literatures of the East. The aim, therefore, of the various authors—who are not bound down to one scheme in the treatment of their subjects—is to pay greater attention to the poetical literature than to any other part of it; and also not to encumber their pages with too many references to literary sources. Happily the writers do not all agree on this point. Professor Horn, who writes on the Persian literature, which he divides into two sections, old (Avesta and Pehlevi) and modern, beginning
with Firdusi, deals almost exclusively with the rich poetry of the Persians, referring to German translations in preference. Interesting is his attempt to portray the historical background and the environments in which the poet lived and worked. He also points out some parallels in European medieval poetry, without accepting the view that Europe, and notably medieval Europe, was indebted to Persia for any inspiration. Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," e.g., is a striking parallel to Ferideddin Attar's "Journey of the Birds."

Professor Brockelmann, on the other hand, recognizing the enormous importance of Arabic science for the history of civilisation, includes in his section the whole of the Arabic literature, paying equal attention to theology, art, science, and poetry. In his literary references he is somewhat fuller than Professor Horn. Both print a good number of German translations, and refer to German books, because they are more easily accessible to the German reader. This book is a simplified abstract of the larger history of Arabic literature. It is divided into eight chapters, starting with the pre-Islamic period and finishing with the modern aspect of Arab literature, which is beginning to undergo a serious change under the influence of the new conditions prevailing in Egypt. Good and full indexes increase the serviceableness of this volume.

On the initiative of Professor Brockelmann a band of scholars have united to write the history of the literature of the Christian East, and they have accomplished their task with conspicuous success. With the exception of the section on Armenia, written in a somewhat exaggerated strain of admiration, the rest of the book is a sober, and in many cases quite novel and fairly exhaustive, treatment of the subject. The literary references are more copious than in the preceding volume, the matter very lucidly grouped, and fair justice is done to the most prominent representatives
of each period and of each nation. The Syriac and Arabic literature is described by Professor Brockelmann. Wright and Duval had to a certain extent paved the way. The same cannot be said of the chapter on Coptic literature by Leitpold, whose contribution is the first attempt at sketching the development of the Christian literature on the ancient soil of Egypt. Professor Littmann offers here also the first comprehensive and yet not too discursive sketch of the Ethiopian literature. Much of the old literature of Ethiopia is still preserved only in MSS., the legendary material far outweighing the historical. But Professor Littmann makes excellent use of all the available material. He pays special attention to the popular literature, which is better known through the labours of modern scholars and explorers. Each and all of the contributors to this volume give also translations of important and characteristic text. Good indexes complete these exceedingly well got up volumes.

M. G.

B. MEISSNER. KURZGEFASSTE ASSYRISCHE GRAMMATIK. v, 80 pages. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich's, 1907.

A concise grammar on the Elements, Forms, and Inflections of the Assyrian language of the period after Hammurabi, to which the majority of the best-known texts belong, has been prepared by Professor Meissner as vol. iii of the Manuals for the knowledge of the old Orient. As was to be expected, the subject is systematically arranged and scholarly treated. It is to help the beginner, and contains therefore only those forms and inflexions which have been firmly established, and on which no differences of opinion among scholars exist. There are no quotations of examples from the texts. Archaic forms are generally omitted; they would
only contribute to confuse beginners. But in their stead there are ample paradigms of verbs and nouns, and a list of the words used in these paradigms. It is to be regretted that no specimen of cuneiform writing has been added; it would have been of great help when dealing with the alphabet and system of writing. An English translation would be very desirable. It is to be hoped that in that case the price would be kept as low as that of the German edition, which is 3s. 6d. The printing is not close at all, and the type is beautiful.

M. G.

James Alan Montgomery. The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect, Their History, Theology, and Literature. 8vo; pp. xii, 358. (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1907.)

This book that comes from America is a comprehensive, scholarly, and reliable compilation, and is the best description yet available of the history and literature as well as of the theology of the oldest Jewish sect in existence. And withal, the author is fully aware of the limitations and shortcomings of his work, for, as he rightly remarks, "Samaritan study still lies in the primary stage of manuscript investigation, and the student who has not access to the original documents must recognize that at best he can only be an encyclopaedist in the subject." Though without access to the original manuscripts, still, one may safely say, not a single printed document or book has escaped the author's diligent search, and he has given us a most vivid and clear picture of the Samaritans and the vicissitudes through which they have passed from their first establishment to this very day. After a description of the land and people of Samaria, the
author gives us as full a history of the Samaritans from 586 B.C. as he could gather from many sources, and from divers information scattered through Jewish, Christian, and Muhammedan writings. The geographical distribution through the countries and towns of the East is then traced with the help of this same material. All the references to Samaritans in the apocryphal and New Testament literature, as well as in Josephus and the Talmud, are then grouped together, and the whole late Talmudic treatise "Kuthim" is given in an English translation, based chiefly on Nutt, and with notes taken mostly from Kirchheim. This forms the larger portion of the book (pp. 1–204), and is at the same time the best. All the available sources have been utilised with critical discrimination and scholarly insight. Unless quite new chronicles with more ample information should ever be discovered, very little could otherwise be added to this history of the Samaritans. After a careful examination of all the manuscripts in the possession of the Samaritans at Nabulus, it may be stated that no such further source of information is to be found among them. The "Chronicle," to which reference is made here (p. 308), is now in my possession, and, without as yet going into details, I may state that in general outlines it contains very little more than the other texts hitherto published.

Not the same need of praise can be bestowed on the second section of the book, though not through any fault of the author. He has been equally painstaking in his researches and skilful in the use of the material at his disposal, but he was hampered by the inaccessibility of the manuscripts, in Samaritan and in Arabic, of which many are still in the hands of the Samaritans, which have not yet been published, and which are sure to contribute very materially to a clearer perception and a better judgment of the theological teaching of the Samaritans, of their beliefs and practices. Not even the whole of their liturgical
poetry has as yet been printed. Any conclusions based, therefore, upon this rather scanty material must needs be to a large degree hypothetical. I have seen there a huge volume of Markah's poems, the majority of which is not as much as mentioned in Heidneheim's Bibliotheca. Besides the scarcity of the available material there is still the problem of the age of the writers of liturgical pieces. To determine the one would be to determine the development of the Samaritan theology. Dr. Montgomery has not ignored this problem. On the contrary, he is fully alive to it, but under the circumstances he accepts the results on which most of the scholars agree. We are still a long way off from a history of the Samaritan liturgy, and consequently from a history of the inner development of Samaritan dogmas. In his exposition of their angelogy, eschatology, etc., the proofs rest mostly, if not exclusively, on quotations from the liturgy, as much or as little as has hitherto been published. He has done justice to the exalted conception of Moses among the Samaritans, and has shown that all the attributes of a Saviour are applied to Moses, as the centre and aim of Creation. Some of the views on the theology and beliefs of the Samaritans will, I am convinced, undergo some change after the publication of the whole manuscript literature, the liturgical and non-liturgical poetry, the commentaries on the Bible, the Books of Precepts, and other writings which I found among them. But all that could be done with the existing material has been done, and well done, by the author. He has also given a full sketch of the literature thus far known, with exhaustive references. In this respect also I am certain we may anticipate in the near future some important additions. More than one little known or quite unknown book has been acquired by me, and also some very curious documents which may prove of value for the history of the development of Samaritan dogmas, and may contribute a chapter on the hitherto unknown
mystical literature of the Samaritans. A complete bibliography and a large number of exceedingly well-executed illustrations of documents and monuments, and also three indexes, make this book indispensable to the student of the Samaritans and of their pathetic history.

M. G.

Abyssinian Literature.


Is there any student of Ethiopic who is unacquainted with German? This question necessarily suggests itself to the reviewer of Dr. Crichton's work, and if that question be answered in the negative, some regret must be expressed that the "minute and conscientious accuracy, combined with sound scholarship," which Bezold justly attributes to the translator, have not been employed on some work of which the utility is more obvious. Since the first edition of Dillmann's Grammar bears date 1857, and was a close imitation of Ewald's Hebrew Grammar, it is no depreciation of Dillmann's merits to hold that his work ought not to be regarded as up to the level represented by the scholarship of fifty years later, which has before it quantities of fresh material, and has for its basis canons which are materially in advance of those followed by Ewald. Is the following half-page of etymologies (p. 45) better suited to the present age or to that of Varro's de lingua Latina?

"Thus א often stands in Ethiopic as first radical in place of ḳāf: אנה 'old woman,' alongside of כמר, while the
pronunciation ከሣቁ in Ethiopic bears rather a spiritual (figurative) sense, ከቁ ‘to be old,’ beside ድርጉ, ከጊ, ‘to gather,’ with ከጊ. farther, in several Ethiopic words ከ, ከ are very commonly exchanged for ከ, e.g. ከስ and ከስ ‘to stir,’ ከስ and ከስ ‘to be unclean,’ ከስ and ከስ ‘to shake,’ ከር and ከር ‘monument,’ ከጊ and ከጊ ‘cassia’; ከስ, ‘river’ belongs to ከ, ከ to lie in—to ከ, ከ to tell a lie’—to ከ (خلاص). More rarely ከ or ከ corresponds to a Geml, ከ ‘snow’—to ከ (in contrast with which ከ ‘ashes’ belongs to ከ), ከ ‘vat, pit’—to ከ, ከ ‘navel’—to ከ, ከ ‘scab’—to ከ (جرب). Still more frequent is the substitution of the rougher gutturals for Qāf, e.g., ከ ‘to be short,’ ከ ‘to rake up,’ ከ, ከ ’but in Arabic also), ከ ከ ‘beard,’ ከ, ከ to fumigate with incense.’ ከ, ከ, ከ, ከ, ከ to keep by ከ and ከ even where other tongues admit ከ in place of them."

If this paragraph did not come to us with the authority of Dillmann and Bezold, it would meet with scathing condemnation. What, e.g., is meant by ‘substitution,’ ‘correspondence,’ ‘being ranged with,’ etc.? If these words mean anything definite, they should have reference either to ‘ursenitisch’ or to some particular dialect; but the words here are compared unmethodically with other Ethiopic words, and with other Semitic dialects indiscriminately, as though there were no laws of sound-correspondence between them. Surely it is agreed that
sound-correspondence is uniform, and only disturbed by cross-currents. Supposing, therefore, these etymologies were correct, they would be of the same value as the observation that in English *ct* is sometimes softened into *sh*, as for example in *faction*, which is to be 'ranged with' *fashion*—an observation worthy of the infancy of etymology rather than of its maturity.

But, in fact, this observation is much better than those in the paragraph quoted. It is agreed that the Arabic كبير means 'great,' and, where the context implies it, 'a man of great age.' But the context must imply it; كبير means 'an old man,' and perhaps كبير 'an old woman'; but without the words شيخ and before them or the word شيخ after them they do not mean 'old.' Now this word 'great' has an obvious cognate in Ethiopian, meaning 'great' in the sense of 'glorious.' How 'great' as applied to position is more 'spiritual' or 'figurative' than as applied to age does not appear; for 'an old woman' does not suggest greatness in the material sense. But to connect مل with كبير when that root is already otherwise represented in Ethiopian, and solely on the ground that some Arabic analogue must be found for it, appears to be following antiquated methods.

The next etymology is even less satisfactory. The Arabic كره does not mean 'to be old,' but 'to be green or mouldy' of bread. In the Dictionary Dillmann abandons this rather wild shot, and makes some other suggestions.

The next sentence, "in several Ethiopic words ه, ي are very commonly exchanged for ن," leaves something to be desired in point of clearness. Does it mean that the following words are alternative forms of the same, and differ merely in spelling? This does not appear to be true; the two words for 'to be unclean' seem to be
distinct, and no more confounded in the consciousness of those who used the language than 'foul' and 'vile' are with us. But since 'several' is less inclusive than 'commonly,' it is difficult to interpret the words otherwise.

In what follows the better light of the Dictionary has not been used to correct the statements of 1857. In the Dictionary the supposed connection between ֚תוֹ and ֚וֹ is rightly given up. The former word is written there ֚ת, 'parturire,' rightly connected with the Arabic خرس, 'cibus paratus ob mulieris partum.' Examples of the occurrence of this word are given in Maṭāliʿ al-Budur, ii, 44.

If ֚ת can be connected with both קָדָב and קָדָב, it can only be so as the result of a complicated historical process. The history of the obscure roots קָדָב קָדָב suggests no connection with a verb meaning 'to lie'; the old grammarians know little about either; apparently קָדָב first appears in connection with camels—Ibn Hisham, 173, الوصية بين السديس و بابل, said to mean 'not allowed to go to pasture'; ibid., 458, وکیس حتی, afterwards 'to emaciate,' Aghānī, viii, 190, وکیس حتی, which comes near the sense 'to be valueless.' Probably the Lisān al-ʿArab is correct in giving קָדָב the sense 'to remain in one place,' whence the senses 'to be stagnant,' 'grow corrupt' arise; and the beginnings of the sense 'to deceive' are found in the expression קָדָב מִיעֲדָכ (Yākūt, Irshād, i, 313). But the connection of this verb with קָדָב must be described as a wild shot.

In the year 1857 this paragraph was probably unobjectionable; in 1907 it is deserving of censure. It is therefore to be regretted that Dr. Crichton's abilities have not been devoted to some better task than the reproduction of antiquated German work. A grammar of the Ethiopic
language compiled by himself in accordance with the newest lights would be far more creditable to British scholarship, and such a task it is not too late for him to undertake.


The opening out of Abyssinia has led to some demand for works dealing with the modern dialects spoken in that country. M. Faïtlovitch's collection of proverbs will be generally welcome, as a help both in acquiring the Amharic language, and in learning to understand the spirit of the people, of which only one side, we may hope, is known from the work of Rüppell. The Abyssinian outlook on life would from these specimens appear to be similar to that of other nations, for most of the proverbs can be paralleled quite near home, though the illustrations employed sometimes differ; thus, where we speak of shutting the stable-door after the horse has been stolen, the Abyssinian thinks of the dog barking after the hyaena has gone by. The editor has given the proverbs in the Amharic script, with transcription, translation, and commentary, and has added a useful introduction, dealing with the bibliography of the subject and the territorial expansion of the Abyssinian dialects.


This is a collection somewhat similar to the last, only more varied in character, containing stories and songs, as well as proverbs and jests. Dr. Mittwoch obtained them from Aleka Taje, teacher at the Seminar für Orientalische
Sprachen. He has bestowed great pains on the nuances of the pronunciation, and has endeavoured to reproduce these in his transliteration; learners will derive great help from his labours, though the words at first look somewhat unfamiliar in consequence. His collection of proverbs appears to be quite distinct from No. 2.

4. **Exzerpte aus dem Koran in amharischer Sprache.**
   Mitgeteilt von Eugen Mittwoch. As above, Jahrgang IX, Abteilung 2.

This is a collection of passages translated into Amharic for the use of the native scholar mentioned in the last review by two Moslem friends. The Arabic texts were transliterated into Amharic characters and then interpreted in the Amharic language. The translators were not quite equal to their task, and even in the familiar لبيب فيه mistake ريب for عيب. This chrestomathy is, however, a very welcome addition to the literature of the Amharic language.

5. **Abessinische Glossen, von E. Littmann.** Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XXI.

This is a collection of three glossaries—Tigré-Turkish, Tigré-Arabic, and Ethiopic-Amharic. The second is by far the longest, and is interesting as a monument of Egyptian Arabic. The first, consisting of eight glosses only, contains three puzzles: the Turkish for ‘there is’ is given as yōl, for ‘go away’ bīnā‘ādam, for ‘he is gone’ dalddal. Since the first of these words is the ordinary Turkish for ‘way,’ the second somewhat like the Turkish for ‘a thousand paces,’ and the third something like the Turkish for ‘plunge, plunge,’ perhaps the glossator was mistaken or the glosses have got attached by accident to words to which they were not originally assigned.

This new Journal, of which there have come to hand Nos. 1, 2, and 3, pages 1 to 334, of vol. i, for January, April, and July, 1907, promises to be of considerable interest. The object of the editors, who have various scholars co-operating with them, is to devote it partly to the translation into English of important Sanskrit works,—chiefly of the philosophical class, but including also grammar, astronomy, law, and other departments,—and partly to original papers dealing with the literature of India in all its various branches, and with its antiquities. And reviews are to be given of any works falling within the scope of the Journal.

In the three parts now before us, we have instalments of translations of the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakādyā of Śrī-Harsa which probably dates from before the eighth century and is presented to us as being the most famous and important of those Vedānta treatises which emphasize the negative or sceptical side of that system, and of the Vivaraṇaprameya-saṅgraha of Vidyāranya-Mādhavaśārya which exhibits in a concise form the contents of Prakāśatman's Vivaraṇa or elucidation of Padmapādācārya's Pañcapādikā or gloss on Śaṅkarācārya's great commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. And we have also the first three instalments of an Historical Survey of Indian Astronomy by Professor Thibaut, than whom no one is more competent to instruct us on that interesting topic: in the introductory note to this, a graceful tribute is paid to the memory of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, whose early death removed a scholar who was competent to take a leading part in this line of research.

The editors announce that they have in course of preparation translations of the Nyāyamañjarī and the Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa, an analysis of Kumārilabhaṭṭa's
Slōkavārttika, and a new translation, with a full commentary, of the Sūrya-Siddhānta, based on an original commentary by Pandit Sudhakara Dvivedin who is already well known as Professor Thibaut’s collaborator in editing the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira. And they notify that translations are contemplated of the Mādhva-siddhāntasāra, the Nyāyabhāṣyavārttika, the Dhvanyālōka, the Bharatanātyaśāstra, and, in the department of law, the Vīramitrodaya and the Mitāksarā.

With this programme before us, and with the sample of performance given to us in the first three parts, we may cordially commend this new publication to the favourable consideration of our readers.


This is the first result of a commendable undertaking begun by Mr. Ojha with a view to imparting to his compatriots, in the Hindi language, a knowledge of the ancient history of their country. As is indicated in the introductory note, the work is, of course, chiefly based on the inscriptions edited by European and Native scholars in the Indian Antiquary, the Epigraphia Indica, and other publications. Mr. Ojha shews, however, that he has not simply taken over the results arrived at by others, but has weighed the epigraphic bases for himself, as also the translations of the writings of ‘Maigesthiniz, Ārian, Karṭihas Rūfas, Pluṭārk, Dāyodōras, Jaśtin, Tālamī, Fāhiān, Huentsaṅg, Sunγyung, Ukauṅg, Itsīng,’ and others: and he has not hesitated to express opinions of his own when he has found reason to differ from the views arrived at by other inquirers. As regards the scope of the present
instalment,—the term Solañki is used as the established vernacular form of the name which in the inscriptions is presented as Calukya, Cālukya, Caulukya, and in various other forms; and Mr. Ojha has exhibited here the history of the Western Calukyas of Bādāmi (about A.D. 550 to 757), of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi (A.D. 973 to 1189), and of the Eastern Calukyas of Veṅgi (A.D. 615 to about 1146). We wish him success in his undertaking, and hope that he may arouse an interest in antiquarian research which will result in the bringing to light, from a part of India which must possess many such remains, ancient inscriptions which, without local assistance, are beyond the ken of even the most zealous searchers.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1907.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 12th, 1907.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:

Mrs. Blanche Eleanor Dutton,
Miss Shaila Bala Das,
Sir C. A. Elliott, K.C.S.I.,
Sir J. Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I.,
Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika,
Mr. Tirjugi Narayan Chadha,
Mr. Alexander Smith Cochran,
Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E.,
Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S.,
Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad Hasan,
Mr. Gustav Theodore von Holst,
Qazi Talammuz Husain,
Maulvi Sakhawat Husain,
Maung Ba Kyaw,
Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed,
Colonel John Pennycuick, R.E. (ret.),
Shaikh Abdul Qadir,
Sundar Singh, Ramgarhia,
Mr. Lovat George Fraser,
Mr. C. W. McMinn, I.C.S. (ret.).
Rev. H. Anderson Meaden,
Rev. W. Sutton Page,
Srimán Muttusvámi Sivánandhi Vaidyásvara Mudhaliyar.

Sir Mortimer Durand read the following paper:—

**NADIR SHAH.**

We have seen in the course of the present generation a great stirring of the dry bones in the East, and among the nations which seem to be waking to a new life is the ancient monarchy of Persia.

I need not go into details with regard to the remarkable movement which has swept over the face of the land, but it is one which has shaken the established order of things to its foundations. Fourteen years ago, when I went to Tehran, Persia was an Oriental monarchy of the old type. The Shah, Nasr ed din, was an autocratic ruler who could do exactly as he pleased, and there was not a semblance of popular rights, or the least desire on the part of the people to put any check upon his power. As in Russia a few years ago, the people in general regarded the monarch as their God-given ruler, to whom they looked for protection against ill-treatment on the part of Ministers or provincial Governors. His word was as the word of God Himself.

It is true that the Shah was obliged to pay some regard to the feeling of his priesthood, who, though not beloved by the Persians, had yet considerable power of giving trouble. It is true also that, like other Oriental rulers, the Shah had, for his own convenience, entrusted the administration of the country, with very full powers, to his Wazir, and this Wazir, the late Sadr Azem, believing himself to be indispensable, behaved towards the Shah at times with much arrogance; but everyone knew that if it came to a serious conflict between the Shah and the Mullahs or
between the Shah and his Minister, and the Shah chose to exert himself, his will would certainly prevail. This was shown when Nasr ed din's son and successor, a much weaker ruler than himself, suddenly deposed the Sadr Azem in 1896. Neither the Sadr Azem nor his friends the Mullahs, whose support he had always studiously cultivated, made the slightest attempt at resistance.

In every Oriental monarchy there always remains the one check which nature has imposed upon despotic power, the possibility that the nation may revolt against intolerable tyranny, and Persia was no exception to the rule, but practically there was no other check upon the omnipotence of the Shah.

The position now is very different. There has been a sudden upheaval, and, as in Russia, the autocratic power of the monarch has been overthrown with extraordinary suddenness. A representative assembly sitting in Tehran now dictates to the Shah on all sorts of matters, turning out ministries, and refusing taxation, and behaving generally as if it were the strongest power in the country. The Shah has subscribed to a new Constitution, granting to all classes of his subjects rights which they would not have dreamt of claiming ten years ago, and the most powerful and popular Minister Persia has seen for the last fifty years has been murdered on suspicion of being opposed to the reform movement. Not only that, but the murder is openly defended in Tehran, and the Shah's own entourage, if the newspapers are to be believed, have signified their adhesion to the party of reform. It is enough to make old Nasr ed din turn in his grave!

What will be the outcome of this upheaval no one can venture to predict. It may end in foreign interference, or a return to autocratic rule, or the permanent triumph of democracy. It may end in the regeneration of Persia. But one thing is certain, that the Persian nation has been deeply stirred.
In these circumstances it has occurred to me that it might be of some interest and advantage to turn back to the last occasion upon which there was a great upheaval in Persia, and to see what the Persian people is capable of doing.

You all know the history of the great soldier Nadir Kuli, who raised himself from the position of a penniless adventurer to the throne of Persia, and swept with his conquering armies all Western Asia from Bagdad to Delhi and from Khiva to Muscat. I need not enter into the details of his career. What I wish to point out is that he was a Persian, and that he made the Persians once more for a time the strongest power in Asia. He was, it is true, a Turkoman by descent and language, not a Persian-speaking inhabitant of Fars. But Iran, or Persia as the world has chosen to call it, consists of a number of different populations and tribes, among whom are several tribes of Turkmans, for example the Afshars, to which Nadir belonged, and the Kajars, who have given Persia its present dynasty. The members of all those populations and tribes consider themselves as Iranis. Nadir, though a Turkoman, was an Irani, just as much as if he had been born a Bakhtiari or a Feili Lur, or a Beluch from the Eastern provinces, or an Arab from the Karun Valley, or a Kurd from the western border. All these tribes and many more are still included or represented within the borders of Iran. I can myself remember hearing a Bakhtiari chief, who had the greatest contempt for the Persians of the cities and plains, speak of himself as an Irani. And when I asked him whether the Bakhtiariis generally spoke of themselves by this designation he answered: "Chira, Sahib? Why not? We are Bakhtiariis, but we are Iranis of course. All the Iliat, the nomad tribes, are Iranis. Some of us are Deh Nishin, sitters in villages. Some are not, but all are Iranis." Whatever distinctions one may draw between the various inhabitants of Persia, they are all Iranis—
Persians. Nadir was a Persian, and in the main it was the Persians to whom he owed his wonderful success.

Now, without going into great detail, what were his achievements?

When his name first began to attract attention he was a freebooter, a rak zan, or striker of roads, in the Khorasan province. He had been in the service of the Governor of Khorasan, and had distinguished himself by beating off and dispersing a large force of Turkomans from the steppes, the dreaded ‘Adam farush,’ or man-sellers. The reward of his courage and capacity had been jealousy and hatred on the part of other Persian officers, the men who had been jobbed into military commands by influence at Court, and they had brought about his disgrace. The conqueror of the Turkomans was even subjected to the ignominy of the bastinado. Then he turned against his persecutors and took to the road. Very soon the cowardice and incompetence of the people about the Court achieved the ruin of the country, and when Nadir had established himself as a professional bandit with a following of two or three thousand free lances Persia had fallen to the lowest point she has ever reached. An army of Afghans, contemptible in numbers and with no organisation, had overrun the western half of the country and set up an Afghan dynasty in the old capital of Isphahan. Tehran and Kasvin also were in their hands. The Turks had advanced from the opposite direction and seized the Eastern provinces, until Turk and Afghan met. The Russians had come down from the north into what is called the ‘silk country,’ and were established in Gilan. The wretched successor of the Persian monarchs was a fugitive in the jungles which lie between the Elburz range and the Caspian coast, and of all the once mighty empire of Iran nothing remained to him but a few poor and almost inaccessible districts in Mazanderan and Irak. We have been accustomed to regard the Persia
of our day as a decadent kingdom, melting away, as a Persian statesman put it, like a piece of sugar in a saucer of water; but the Persia of our day never sank so low as the Persia of 1727. Yet what followed? In that year the freebooter offered his services to the fugitive Shah, who accepted them gladly, and soon afterwards made Nadir his commander-in-chief. Nadir at once proceeded to attack the Afghans, whose real weakness he saw from the first. His Persians fought well when well led and well paid. In a year or two the Persians were once more masters of Khorasan, Ispahan, and Shiraz. Then the victorious general, to whose standards the Persians flocked with enthusiasm, dethroned the Shah and turned upon the Turks. We all know what soldiers the Turks are. Yet after one success they were beaten by the Persians in great battles and driven back to the walls of Bagdad. Finally, such was the fear inspired by Nadir and his Persian army that the Russians evacuated without firing a shot the provinces they had occupied. In 1736, nine years after the freebooter had offered his services to the Persian monarch, he was himself crowned Shah, and found himself the ruler of an Iran which stretched once more from the Tigris to the Afghan border and from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly what proportion of Nadir’s army was then drawn from Persia. Some of the beaten Afghans had entered his service as soldiers of fortune, and he had enlisted in Khorasan some of the nomad Turkomans and some Uzbegs from Balkh, but certainly the bulk of his force was Persian, and it was supported entirely from the revenues of Persia. Up to that point, at least, the regeneration of Persia was mainly the work of her own sons.

Then Nadir Shah’s ambition lured him on to schemes of foreign conquest. First he turned upon the Afghans and made them pay dearly for their raid into Persia.
Candahar was taken after a long siege, in which the Bakhtiaris from Central Persia greatly distinguished themselves. Then Kabul fell, and Nadir established there a garrison of his Kizilbash, the descendants of whom remain to the present day. They were Persians. Possibly they were in part Turki Persians from the more warlike tribes of the north. The very word is Turki. But the word was in use before Nadir's day to describe the soldiers of the Persian monarchy. These Kizilbash were undoubtedly Iranis.

Having made himself master of Kabul, Nadir marched on to India, and you all know what followed. The Indian armies, disheartened by the incompetence and treachery of their leaders, made little resistance, and the Mogul emperor was soon a prisoner in his own capital. After two months stay in Delhi, Nadir Shah marched away again, loaded with colossal plunder, and having annexed to his dominions all the provinces of the Mogul Empire west of the Indus.

It is very interesting, by the bye, to study Nadir's way of making war. The Persian army in its advance on Delhi was covered by cavalry riding sixty to eighty miles in front, after the manner of Napoleon, and his methods were described by a contemporary writer in words which might have been applied to Napoleon, or his American imitator, Stonewall Jackson. Hanway writes of him: "In the conduct of his wars he ever preferred stratagems to force. His marches were always amazingly rapid, and his progress so irregular and contrary to the ordinary rules of war that he confounded his enemies."

The Persian army which took Delhi was a more heterogeneous force than the armies which had beaten the Afghans and Turks in Nadir's earlier campaigns. As he conquered fresh territory Nadir incorporated with his troops contingents from the conquered populations, readily attracted to his standards by high pay regularly disbursed, and by the prospect of plunder under so mighty a leader.
The Persian troops, though still generally spoken of as Kizlbash, included not only bodies of horse and foot from among the Georgians and Bakhtiaris and Kurds and Turkomans from Iran, but also a considerable number of Afghans and of Uzbegs from Balkh, whose Mongolian faces and savage ways struck with horror the more polished and gentle Indians. Yet in the main the conquering host was an Irani force under an Irani leader.

Having conquered India, Nadir proceeded to establish his power in the countries which we now call Afghanistan and Beluchistan, and then turned his arms against the Khanates of Turan and his old enemies the ‘Adam farush.’ He conquered Bokhara and Khiva, and returned to Persia by way of Merv, having signally defeated the Turkomans of the steppes on their own ground. In this expedition he was accompanied by a large contingent of Afghans, among others by several thousand Yusufzai foot-soldiers, who suffered severely in the Turkoman desert. On his return his army was swollen by many thousands of Uzbegs from Bokhara, Khiva, and Samarcand, and by some of the Turkoman nomads.

This was the zenith of Nadir’s life. Until his return to Persia in 1741 his career had been one of almost unbroken success, with just enough of hardship and reverse to temper his character. His conquests had been dazzling in their rapidity and astonishing in their extent. In the short space of twelve years he had carried his victorious standards into capital after capital over a tract of country two thousand miles from east to west, and more than a thousand from north to south—a tract about equal in extent though not in population to that overrun by Napoleon two generations later. Like Napoleon he had done all this by the power of his own genius, rising to the heights of empire from the position of an obscure soldier of fortune. And in the main he had during that time shown himself to be as just and moderate and liberal as he was bold and skilful in war.
Shortly after his return to Persia, as he was marching from Meshed through the mountains towards Tehran, an attempt was made to assassinate him, an attempt from which he narrowly escaped. Rightly or wrongly he was led to attribute this to his eldest and favourite son, Reza Kuli, and not long afterwards Reza was blinded by his command.

It is difficult to say precisely at what date he gave this terrible order. When I was in Persia I tried to collect as much information as I could about Nadir's life, and I was struck by the paucity and contradictory nature of the information available. The traditions in existence among the Persians, whether written or oral, I found to be quite untrustworthy, and the standard works on Nadir's life are full of difficulties and contradictions. As an instance I may mention the account given by the English merchant Hanway, who was in Persia in 1744. When he is writing about events of which he was an eye-witness Hanway seems to be very careful and trustworthy, but when he writes from hearsay he makes some astonishing errors. For example, when he takes up the story of Nadir's life at the point at which Fraser's history ends, after his expedition to India, Hanway makes Nadir march his armies from Peshawar to Kabul, from Kabul to Sind, from Sind to Khorasan, from Khorasan to Balkh, Bokhara, and Khiva, and from Khiva back to Persia by way of Merv, all in the space of six or seven months. From a rough computation this would mean marching over ten miles a day — perhaps nearer fifteen — without a day's halt. The Persian official historian Mirza Mehdi is equally impossible to follow. He seems to skip a year altogether. Malcolm and Maynard have apparently worked out these puzzles in a more or less satisfactory manner, but much remains to be done before the events of Nadir's life are arranged in accurate sequence, if indeed this can ever be done now. I confess that after working at Nadir's life on
and off for several years I have found it quite impossible to reconcile the bewildering contradictions with regard to this question, the date of Reza Khan's blinding, which was the real turning-point of Nadir's career.

However, the question of date is one of no great importance. In any case, not long after Nadir's return from his conquest of India and the Central Asian Khanates, his fortunes began to decline, and his character seemed to undergo a surprising change. About the same time that he blinded his son he entered upon his expedition against the Lesgian mountaineers of the Caucasus, about whom the Persians had a proverb, "If any Shah is a fool, let him march against the Lesgis." They had incensed him by defeating and killing his brother. The great army which Nadir set in motion for this unfortunate expedition—Nadir's Moscow—is said to have amounted to 150,000 men, and it is certain that a large part of it consisted of Afghans and other foreigners. The advanced guard of the army, the first to attack the mountaineers, was an Afghan contingent. It is none the less true that the bulk of his army consisted of Persians or Iranis.

The expedition was disastrous. Nadir did indeed penetrate the Lesgian mountains, and established himself in their rear at Derbend on the Caspian. He tried hard, with the aid of a brave but unfortunate English sailor, Elton, to organise a Caspian navy, so as to turn the Caucasus entirely. But his troops suffered many defeats, and lost heavily in numbers and confidence in the course of their mountain warfare. The result was not only to disorganise and discourage them, but to bring upon Nadir a host of other difficulties. The Russians, alarmed for the safety of their own frontier, gave moral, if not material, support to the brave mountaineers. The Turks, smarting under their many defeats at the hands of the Persians, and apparently regarding as a serious menace Nadir's boast that one day he would plant his
standards on the shores of the Bosphorus, began to make large preparations for war. Worst of all, the news that Nadir's career of conquest had at last been checked spread like wildfire throughout his own dominions, and the tribes of Iran, weary of incessant warfare, which was draining the country of its men and its treasure, began to show a mutinous spirit. The funds required for the payment of the troops became more and more difficult to raise, and soon, from north and east and south, came news of risings and revolts. All these misfortunes coming together, enraged Nadir Shah to the verge of frenzy. Remorse and sorrow for the fate of his son had already made him gloomy and fierce. A dropsical disease which had attacked him in India grew more serious. He began to lose the moderation and justice and sense of humour which had hitherto distinguished him. The exactions necessary for the support of his army, which cost him about £5,000,000 a year, became intolerable. The punishments he inflicted grew year by year more unsparing and savage. The country behind him was gradually depopulated, and the admiration which he had inspired among the Persians changed into fear and hatred.

Nevertheless, for a few years more he fought on with fine courage and skill against his enemies, foreign and domestic. In 1744 he quelled the revolts in Persia with fearful slaughter, his veteran troops, weary of war as they were, falling upon the rebels with a cool and ordered rage which no untrained levies could withstand. At the same time he marched against the Turks and completely defeated them, until at last they took shelter within the walls of Kars. When he made peace with them he stood out once more as the greatest soldier of his time, and the lustre of the Persian arms, which had been momentarily tarnished in the defiles of Daghestan, was again resplendent.

The Englishman Hanway visited his camp in 1744 and has left on record a detailed statement of the composition of the Persian army. It is interesting to study his figures
and see what proportion of the force was Irani. He relates a conversation which he had with a leading merchant of Kasvin when on his road to the camp. This man said to him: "Who was it that restored the Persian Empire but the Persians? and who assisted the king to conquer India but the Persians? He has now a foreign force and governs us with an army of Tartars." This was a picturesque exaggeration. It is known that during this time Nadir was levying recruits from Persia in large numbers. The city of Ispahan alone gave him a thousand yearly. Hanway, who saw the faults of the Persians clearly enough, says of them that they "are robust, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become soldiers." Still, the proportion of foreigners was undoubtedly large. Hanway mentions in his list "fifty thousand Afghans," "six thousand Ouzbeqs, Tartars of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand," and "six thousand Turkuman Tartars of Turkomania." It is evident from what he says that this was not all, and it seems likely enough that at this time not far from a half of Nadir's army was non-Persian.

It is unnecessary to linger over the closing year of Nadir's life. The picture is a sad one, for no one can help admiring Nadir's character in his earlier days. The possession of uncontrolled power was fatal to it, as it seems always to be fatal. And he had had a hard life. As Napoleon said: "On vieillit bien vite sur le champ de bataille." By this time, to quote Hanway, "from an incessant fatigue and labour of mind, attended with some infirmities of body, he had contracted a diabolical fierceness, with a total insensibility of human sufferings." His countrymen were now his enemies. He had begun his career by alienating the Persian priesthood, and he had now alienated the rest of the people by the hatred which he showed to them, a hatred so fierce that Hanway believes he would have gladly cut off the whole nation at one stroke if he could have done without them. After a year
or more of fearful horrors inflicted upon them; horrors which make one feel that the great conqueror's mind was now thoroughly unhinged, they became persuaded that he did in fact contemplate a general massacre of his Persian troops with the aid of his Afghans and Tartars. The Persian officers in his army thereupon decided to save themselves by the only means in their power, and in June, 1747, Nadir was assassinated in his camp by his own Persian guards.

The accounts of the assassination agree in relating that the Afghans and Uzbegs, led by Nadir's foremost lieutenant, the Afghan Ahmed Khan, afterwards himself a great conqueror, attacked the Persians to avenge the death of their great leader, but were beaten off. This story seems to be true. It would appear, therefore, that they could hardly have been in superior force.

To sum up, I think it may fairly be said that in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the Persian Empire had fallen to the lowest point it has ever reached, a Persian soldier of fortune, aided mainly by Persian troops, which were supported entirely from the resources of Persia—for Nadir hardly touched his great reserve, the treasure plundered from India—not only shook off a foreign yoke, but for a time raised Persia to the first place among the Asiatic powers. When the conqueror turned against his own people they slew him. With him no doubt fell the supremacy of Persia; but the country has ever since retained her independence and a great territory. She is now in a far better condition than she was when Nadir first drew sword in her cause.

I think that at the present time these facts give food for thought. Of course, the days are past when a Persian monarch leading a Persian army could hope to sweep over half Asia, and defeat or frighten Turkey and India and Russia. All I wish to point out is that even in comparatively recent times Persia has shown herself to
be capable of great things. The world has changed since then, and it seems unlikely that Persia will ever again be one of the leading powers of Asia; but she is a country of great latent resources, with a quick-witted people, a large proportion of whom are not the contemptible cowards which misrule and misunderstanding have sometimes made them appear. Persians still speak of Nadir Shah with admiration and pride, and rightly so, for not only did he free his country from a foreign yoke, but he revived the spirit of her people and left them a great tradition. In the hands of a capable Government Persia may still be a respectable power, and her voice may yet count for something in the councils of the East.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoey, Mr. Irvine, Syed Ameer Ali, Professor Hagopian, Dr. Thornton, and the Chairman took part.

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*December 17th, 1907.*—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. H. D. Watson, I.C.S.,
Mr. R. C. Hobart, I.C.S.,
Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha,
Sirdar Kahan Singh,
Mr. Narsingh Prasad.

The President made mention of the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Mr. E. L. Brandreth, who had been Hon. Treasurer of the Society for 17 years, and who had been made an Hon. Vice-President in 1906.

A vote of condolence to Mr. Brandreth's family was passed.

Mrs. Bullock Workman read a paper on "Ascents in the North-West Himalayas," illustrated with lantern views.
II.—Principal Contents of Oriental Journals.


Stumme (H.). Mitteilungen eines Schilh über seine marokkanische Heimat.
Schmidt (R.). Amitagati’s Subhāṣitasaṃdoha.
Streck (M.). Bemerkungen zu einigen arabischen Fischnamen.
Grierson (G. A.). A Specimen of the Khas or Naipāli Language.
Lidzbarski (M.). Das Mandäische Seelenbuch.

II. Journal Asiatique. Série x, Tome ix, No. 3.

Meynard (A. C. Barbier de). Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe.
Revillout (E.). Le papyrus moral de Leide.
Kugener (A.). Note sur l’inscription trilingue de Zébed.

Tome x, No. 1.

Boyer (A. M.). L’inscription de Sārnāth et ses parallèles d’Allahābad et de Sanchi.

Tome x, No. 2.

Addai Scher (Mgr.). Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l’archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir.

Saussure (L. de). Le Texte astronomique du Yao-Tien.


Williams (C. T.). Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code.
Kingsmill (T. W.). The two Zodiacs, their Origin and Connections.


Takakusu (J.). Buddhism as we find it in Japan.


Gubernatis (A. de). Il Quarto Veda, tradotto e commentato dal Whitney, edito dal Lanman.

VII. Anthropos. Tome ii, Heft 6.

Cadière (L.). Philosophie populaire annamite.


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IX. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Clement (E. W.). Japanese Medical Folklore.

X. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

Sayce (A. H.). Hittite Inscriptions.
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Ayrton (E. R.). The Tomb of Thyi.
Thompson (R. Campbell). The Folklore of Mossoul.
Crum (W. E.). Hagiographica from Leipzig MSS.
Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.

First half.

Friedlaender (I.). The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm.
Oertel (H.). Contributions from the Jaiminiya Brähmana.
Haupt (P.). The Name Istar.
Hopkins (E. Washburn). The Sniff-Kiss in Ancient India.
Clay (A. T.). The Origin and Real Name of Nin-ib.
Langdon (S.). An early Babylonian Tablet of Warnings for the King.
Metheny (J. R.). Road Notes from Cilicia and North Syria.
Prince (J. D.). A Hymn to Nirgal.
Yohannan (A.) and Jackson (A. V. Williams). Zoroaster and his Religion.
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Presented by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Salford.


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From the Publishers.
THE NATIONS OF INDIA AT THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE PANDAVAS AND KAURAVAS.

By F. E. Pargiter.

This paper explains how the nations and tribes of India were arrayed in the great war of the Pándavas against the Kauravas, and the annexed map illustrates the position by exhibiting the names of the countries and peoples in different colours, those supporting the Pándavas being printed in blue ink, and the Kauravas and their allies in red, while those which were neutral and all collateral details are printed in black ink. It has been prepared at Dr. Grierson's suggestion in order to ascertain whether the division has any ethnographical significance with reference to his researches into the languages of India.

It is based entirely on the Mahâbhârata. All the data adduced are taken from that work, and I have not gone outside of it, even to the Hari-Vaṁśa, to supplement or modify what the Mahâbhârata itself says. To enter into questions of criticism of that encyclopaedia is no part of the present discussion. The aim is a much humbler one; it is to let the book speak for itself, and to put together all that it says about the formation of the two hostile
confederacies. The story, with its interspersed explanations and allusions, is taken just as it stands, and the incidents narrated (excluding, of course, the miraculous) are treated as if real. It is only in this way that, in the first instance at least, one can attempt to estimate whether the account of the great battle and of the nations engaged in it yields any information about the ethnographical divisions of ancient India. The edition of the Mahābhārata used is the Calcutta edition of 1834.

The Pāṇḍavas had delivered Virāṭa, king of Matsya, from the combined cattle-lifting raid of the Kauravas, led by Duryodhana, and the Trigartas, led by Suśarman, and Virāṭa, in gratitude, bestowed his daughter Uttarā on Arjuna's son Abhimanyu. The nuptials were solemnised at his capital Upaplavya, and in response to invitations there came the following kings and princes:—Krṣṇa with the Daśārhas from Ānarta, the king of Kāśi and the king of Śīvi, who were very friendly to the Pāṇḍavas, Drupada Yajñasena, Śīkhaṇḍin, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna of Pañcāla; and also others apparently who are not named definitely. As the period of the Pāṇḍavas' exile had come to an end, the occasion was deemed a fitting one for them to demand that they should be restored to their former position, and negotiations were opened.

Krṣṇa and his attendant princes were closely allied to the Pāṇḍavas by consanguinity, marriage, and friendship, for he and they were first cousins, Arjuna had married his sister Subhadrā, and he and Arjuna were like brothers. Krṣṇa and his kinsmen, however, did not then wholly commit themselves to the support of the Pāṇḍavas, and returned home after the marriage. Drupada proposed that the Pāṇḍavas, while demanding their kingdom or at

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1 iv, 2313–47.  
2 iv, 2348–76.  
3 v, 24, etc.  
4 Their mother Prthu Kunti was his father Vasudeva's sister.  
5 i, Subhadrā-haraṇa-p.  
6 v, 100.
least five villages, should send messengers to all the kings to solicit their aid, so as to forestall Duryodhana, according to the maxim that right-minded persons respond to the request of those who first importune them.\(^1\) That was done,\(^2\) but Duryodhana, who kept himself informed of their proceedings by means of spies, sent out appeals also immediately afterwards.\(^3\)

The support of Kṛṣṇa and his kinsmen princes was a matter of great importance to each party, and Duryodhana and Arjuna each hastened to Dvārakā to solicit their help.\(^4\) Kṛṣṇa took a middle course. He joined the Pāṇḍavas as a non-combatant ally, and sent a large body of warlike cowherds called Nārāyaṇas to fight for Duryodhana.\(^5\) The Yādavas and their tribes (or families), the Bhojas, Andhakas (or Andhas), Vṛṣnis, Sātvatas, Mādhavas, Daśārhas, Āhukas, and Kukuras, were not altogether at one in their sympathies. Most of them naturally sided with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and thus Yuyudhāna, Cekitāna, and other princes actively joined the Pāṇḍavas; but Kṛtavarman joined Duryodhana,\(^6\) though no definite reason is apparent why he took that course in opposition to the rest of the Yādavas. It may, however, be noted that, while all these princes are called Vṛṣni, Sātvata, etc., Kṛtavarman alone among them is called a Bhoja.\(^7\) As a Bhoja, therefore, he would have approximated to the other Bhojas, who dwelt on the coast of the Sahya mountains, and so had connections with Vidarbha and Māhiṣmati. The other princes all lived apparently on the west side of those mountains; Kṛṣṇa’s capital was Dvārakā, and Yuyudhāna lived in Ānarta.\(^8\)

In reply to the messages for aid, kings hastened in from all quarters. Śalya, king of Madra, set out to join the

\(^1\) v, 70–89.  \(^2\) v, 129.  \(^3\) v, 104, 132.  
\(^4\) v, 133–4.  \(^5\) v, 144–52; vii, 3255; viii, 1077.  
\(^6\) v, 570, 586–7, 2233–4; ix, 1969–84.  
\(^7\) v, 5737; viii, 1070, 4065; ix, 1623.  
\(^8\) ix, 947.
Pāṇḍavas, the two youngest of whom were his sister's sons; but Duryodhana interposed before he reached them and won him over by lavish hospitality and earnest entreaty. The other kings took sides definitely. The leading kings are named, and each came with an aksauhinī of troops. Seven ranged themselves on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and ten on the Kauravas' side; thus the Pāṇḍavas had seven aksauhinīs, and the Kauravas had with their own army eleven aksauhinīs. It is important to note their names, because it seems to be implied that their troops comprised all the miscellaneous races and tribes which are mentioned in the course of the long battle. No fresh combatants appear to have come in afterwards except Rākṣasas and Nāgas. Each of the leading kings must therefore have brought not only his own soldiers but also contingents summoned from surrounding tribes which acknowledged his overlordship. This is stated expressly with reference to certain of the kings, such as Yuyudhāna, Drupada, Virāta, Bhagadatta, and Sudaksina, in the following list; and it would seem from such statements, not only that the kings brought contingents from subordinate tribes, but also that some of them, such as Yuyudhāna and Drupada, had bodies of mercenaries. The leading kings on each side then were these.

Two lists are given of those on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and they name—(1) Yuyudhāna Sātyaki of the Sātvatas, with an army of soldiers, many of whom were from various countries; (2) Cekitāna; (3) Dhṛṣṭakeṭu, king of Cedi;

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1 vi, 3681; i, 3816; v, 199.  
2 v, 172-90; ix, 310-11.  
3 An aksauhinī is stated to comprise 21,870 chariots, 21,870 elephants, 65,610 cavalry, and 109,350 foot-soldiers (i, 293-8). These are impossible numbers, even including camp-followers. Another reckoning is given in v, 5264-7, where it is stated that the term aksauhinī was commonly used as more or less synonymous with the names for smaller bodies of troops.  
4 v, 570-83 and 2233-54.  
5 He was a Vṛṣni, v, 2006, 7045.  
6 He was of the Vṛṣṇis, vi, 3715; and of the Sātvatas, vi, 3718-20.  
7 Son of Śisupāla, v, 5900.
(4) Jayatsena, or rather Sahadeva, son of Jarasandha, king of Magadha; (5) Drupada, king of Pañcāla, whose army comprised soldiers from various countries, with all his princes and sons; (6) Virāṭa, king of Matsya, who brought mountain (pārvatiya) chiefs in his train; and (7) either the king of Pándya with troops of various kinds from the sea-coast countries, or five Kaikeya brother-princes, of whom Vṛhatksattrā was chief (for there is a difference between the two lists).

On the Kauravas’ side were—(1) Bhagadatta, king of Prāgijotisa, with Činas and Kirātas in his force; (2) Bhūriśravas, son of Somadatta; (3) Śalya, king of Madra; (4) Kṛtavarman Hārdikya with Bhojas, Andhas, and Kukuras; (5) Jayadratha and other kings of Sindhu and Sauvira; (6) Sudakṣiṇa, king of Kāmboja, with an army containing Yavanas and Śakas; (7) Nila, king of Māhismatī, with troops called Nilāyudhas from Dakṣināpatha; (8) and (9) the two kings of Avanti, Vinda and Anuvinda, each with an aksauhini; and (10) five brother-princes of the Kaikeyas, of whom Vinda was chief.

Jayatsena is named expressly, vi, 577; but he is placed on the Kauravas’ side, v, 2503, vi, 623, and was killed on that side by Abhimanyu, viii, 120. Jayatsena, therefore, in the first passage would seem to be an error for Sahadeva, see p. 316 below.

Pándya is mentioned in v, 378–9, and the Kaikeya princes in v, 2240. Both were on the Pāndavas’ side and are often mentioned. The former was a reigning king, and the latter were princes ousted from their kingdom, see p. 317 below; yet the Kaikeya prince is said to have led an aksauhini, vii, 3066.

v, 583–95, with 2242–54; vi, 622–4 are corrupt.

vi, 5742; vi, 3730–3.

He was a Bhoja, v, 2352, 5737; vii, 4429; and a Sātvata, vii, 3253.

He was son of Vṛṣadhakṣattrā, king of Sindhu, vii, 6258–63; and was more especially king of Sindhu, v, 2186; vii, 6265–6.

i, 6995; v, 5274–5.

v, 5751.

vi, 3651; vii, 3682–94. They must be distinguished from two of the Kaikeya princes of the same names who were on the same side. The two Avanti kings were killed by Arjuna, vii, 3682–94. The two Kaikeya princes were killed by Sātyaki, viii, 507, 521–2.

v, 594; viii, 492. See last note.
Reasons are given why these various kings took one side or the other, and those which influenced some to side with the Pāṇḍavas may be considered first.

Drupada, king of Pañcāla, was father of Draupadi, and so the Pāṇḍavas' father-in-law. He was therefore deeply interested, and brought with him his ten sons, including Śikhandin,1 and all the Pañcāla princes who were headed by Dhṛṣṭadyumna.2 They belonged to two families called the Śṛṅjayas3 and Somakas,4 which are often mentioned in the course of the battle. Virāṭa, king of Matsya, was, as already mentioned, bound to the Pāṇḍavas by gratitude and intermarriage. Kṛṣṇa was, as already mentioned, attached to the Pāṇḍavas by consanguinity, marriage, and close friendship, yet both parties had been his friends;5 and though he did not take an active part in the fighting he warmly supported the Pāṇḍavas' cause, and advised and encouraged them to the utmost. His kinsmen Yuyudhāna Sātyaki6 and Čekitāna7 were not constrained by any connection with Duryodhāna, and joined the Pāṇḍavas with all their forces. But his brother Balarāma, feeling the difficulty of his position more acutely than Kṛṣṇa, refused to take any part in the contest and withdrew altogether.8 With the other Yādavas there came to the Pāṇḍavas' aid Purujit Kuntibhoja, who was king of Kuntirāṣṭra,9 for he was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa's father, Vasudeva, and had adopted as his daughter Vasudeva's sister Kunti, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas.10

A brief account of political events that are mentioned will explain much of the reasons that influenced other kings. Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, had established

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1 v, 5100, 7397–7407, 7494–5.
2 i, 7174; v, 5100, 5152, 5324, 7598. Draupadi's brother; v, 2891.
3 v, 64, 90. 4 i, 7174; v, 661–2.
5 v, 92, 140–1, 158, 5342.
6 ii, 125; v, 668, 5101, 5882, 7645.
7 v, 5101; vi, 3715.
8 v, 5347–9, 5387; ix, 1969–84. Both Bhīma and Duryodhāna had been his pupils in the art of arms, v, 5346–7.
9 v, 5163, 5992; vi, 834, 1740.
10 i, 4382–3.
a supremacy over the kings in Eastern India, Madhyadeśa, and Central India, and his special adherents were Śiśupāla, king of Cedi, Vakra, king of Karūṣa, the kings of Vaṅga and Paurṇḍra (or Pauṇḍra).

Karna, king of Anga, was his ally, for he had given Karna that kingdom, and Bhagadatta, king of Prāgijotīṣa, was subservient to him. Bhiṣmaka, king of the Bhojas in Bhojakata and called king of Daḵšinātya, submitted to Jarāsandha, and separated from his kinsmen, viz., the other tribes of the Bhojas.

The Kurus under Bhiṣma were Jarāsandha’s allies, and the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis were brought into subjection by skilful policy. Purujit Kuntibhoja, the Pāṇḍavas’ maternal grand-uncle, maintained some independence in the west of the Dekhan. Only eighteen families of Bhojas, who were settled in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, under Kṛṣṇa’s leading stood out against Jarāsandha’s ascendancy.

These political developments unsettled many tribes and nations in Madhyadeśa, and some of them are said to have shifted their position westwards. In the turmoil Kṛṣṇa found full scope for his genius. Kamsa, who was of the Bhoja race, married two daughters of Jarāsandha and became his vassal; and strengthened by the alliance established himself in Mathurā and tyrannized over all his kinsmen. Kṛṣṇa, forming a small combination, killed Kamsa, and placed Kamsa’s father Ugrasena on the throne at Mathurā; and this deed provoked Jarāsandha’s persistent hostility against him.

Jarāsandha took up arms against him, but was foiled for a time. Afterwards, however, Kṛṣṇa and his adherents fled in fear to the extreme west and established themselves at Dvārakā.

1 ii, 571-84.  
2 i, 15052; xii, 134-5.  
3 ii, 579-80.  
4 ii, 585-8, 1115-16; v, 5350-1.  
5 v, 2054-6.  
6 ii, 380-1.  
7 i, 589.  
8 ii, 590-3.  
9 vii, 388.  
10 vii, 387.  
11 xii, 12954.  
12 ii, 594-8; vi, 2609.  
13 v, 1885.  
14 ii, 761.  
When the Pândavas began their reign and aimed at independence and supremacy, they had to reckon first with Jarāsandha, and Bhima with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa killed him. They installed his son Sahadeva in the kingdom of Magadha, and Sahadeva made friendship with Kṛṣṇa and the Pândavas. The confederacy then fell to pieces. The Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, and other nations in Eastern India stood apart under the hegemony of Karna, king of Aṅgā, and Bhagadatta became independent in Prāgijyotīśa. The Cedis and Kārūṣas formed a separate group under the leadership of Śiśūpāla, king of Cedi; and Bhīṣmaka regained his independence, and became friendly to the Pândavas. The most formidable king then was Śiśūpāla, and Kṛṣṇa killed him. Śiśūpāla's son Dhṛṣṭaketu became king of Cedi, and he and the Kārūṣa kings followed Kṛṣṇa's lead; and there was moreover a bond of consanguinity, for Śiśūpāla's mother was sister to Kṛṣṇa's father and the Pândavas' mother Kunti. The Cedis and Kārūṣas therefore sided with the Pândavas in the great war. Bhīṣmaka's son Rukmin, whose sister Kṛṣṇa had married, offered his support first to the Pândavas and afterwards to the Kauravas, but not being appreciated by either at his own estimation withdrew from the contest.

In Magadha itself Jarāsandha's fall produced dissension, and Sahadeva, though placed on the throne, did not apparently acquire more than the western part of the kingdom; for two other kings of Magadha are mentioned, Daṇḍadhāra and Daṇḍa, who reigned in Jarāsandha's

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1 ii, 625-33.  
2 ii, 929-30.  
3 ii, 594-5, 884, 962; v, 2325; xiv, 2436-44.  
4 ii, 962-6.  
5 ii, 1527.  
6 ii, 1166-7.  
7 ii, 1584; v, 660-71.  
8 v, 5900.  
9 ii, 1508; v, 5900. Nakula also married Dhṛṣṭaketu's sister, i, 3831; iii, 898.  
10 v, 660.  
11 v, 1881, 5360.  
12 v, 5366-87. He ruled over Bhojas and Āhukas, two tribes of the Yādavas, v, 5350-1, 5366.  
13 ii, 1090-1; viii, 688-704.
capital, Girivraja\(^1\) (which was in the eastern part of the country), and are distinguished from Jarāsandha's son.\(^2\) Sahadeva had a brother, Jayatsena or Jayasena,\(^3\) who seems to have possessed some sovereignty. Sahadeva sided with his friends Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas,\(^4\) and the two other kings, Daṇḍadēra and Daṇḍa, naturally took the opposite course.\(^5\) So also did another Māgadha prince named Jalasandha,\(^6\) and Jayatsena seems to have done the same.\(^7\)

Similar reasons are apparent why the five Kaikeya princes and the Pāṇḍya king joined the Pāṇḍavas. The former had been ousted from the Kaikeyas,\(^8\) for there was a contest between two families of royal cousins, each consisting of five brothers.\(^9\) They had been worsted, and were therefore in a position similar to that of the Pāṇḍavas. They were also friends of the Pāṇḍavas.\(^10\) The victorious princes were close neighbours of the Sindhus, Sauviras, and Madras, and would naturally have gone with them in supporting the Kauravas;\(^11\) the ousted princes would naturally have sympathized with the Pāṇḍavas, and have joined them in the hope of regaining their own kingdom.

As regards the Pāṇḍya king Śaṅkagadhvaja, there appears to have been some connection between his royal house and Mathurā, and it is said he made friendship with Kṛṣṇa,\(^12\) and was a devoted admirer of the Pāṇḍavas.\(^13\)

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1 viii, 696; and ii, 627-8, 809-10, 1091.
2 ii, 1090-2.
3 v, 2014; viii, 120.
4 v, 2014, 5325.
5 v, 5764.
6 v, 2504, 5793, where read Māgadha for Mādhava; vii, 4573-92.
7 v, 2503; viii, 120, where he is said to have been killed by Abhimanyu. Both Sahadeva and Jayatsena are mentioned in v, 2014. Jayatsena is named in v, 577, 2014 as having joined the Pāṇḍavas, but this seems erroneous. The point, however, is not important; what is important is that the Māgadhhas were divided; the western took the Pāṇḍavas' side and the eastern the Kauravas' side. See p. 313, note 1.
8 Or Kekaya, vi, 3501-3.
9 v, 664, 2248; viii, 168-9.
10 iii, 462.
11 See p. 319.
12 vii, 1016-20.
13 v, 667, 5918.
Turning now to the leading kings who joined the Kauravas, the foregoing explanations show in part why those of them who lived in Eastern and Central India were hostile to the Pāṇḍavas and Krṣṇa; and further reasons are found as follows.

Karna was an intimate friend of Duryodhana and one of his most trusted advisers; in fact, it was his ill advice and that of Śakuni, king of Gāndhāra, that forced on the great contest. He was also a determined rival in arms of Arjuna. He therefore led his own Āṅga troops to Duryodhana’s aid, and brought in the kindred nations of Eastern India, namely, the Vaṅgas, and also the Kalingas under their king Śrutāyudha.

Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotīśa, is said to have cherished the kindliest feelings towards the Pāṇḍavas; yet he may afterwards have been induced by his friendship for Jarāsandha to entertain resentment against them and Krṣṇa, and so to join the Kauravas. It is stated, moreover (though in fabulous form), that there had been hostilities between Krṣṇa and Prāgjyotīśa.

Much of the strength of the Kauravas lay in the assistance which they received from the north-western countries. Jayadratha, king of Sindhu and Sauvira, had married Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s daughter, and had been defeated by the Pāṇḍavas in his attempt to carry off Draupadi. He had, therefore, the strongest reasons for supporting

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1 iii, 1716; vi, 1629; viii, 1275, 1732.  
2 v, 631–8, 2303, 2414–16, 5409–10.  
3 iii, 17171–2.  
4 viii, 863, 877–81. They are also said to have been led by some of their own mleccha kings (vii, 1142–5; viii, 877–80), who would have been Karna’s vassals.  
5 vi, 4102; viii, 863; yet Candrasena, son of Samudrasena, is named on the Pāṇḍavas’ side (v, 5911; vii, 1007); and they appear to have been kings of Vaṅga (ii, 1097–8; vii, 1007).  
6 ii, 121; vi, 623, 657.  
7 ii, 580.  
8 ii, 1507–8; iii, 488; v, 1887–92; xii, 12954–6.  
9 iii, 15618, 15635.  
10 i, 2744–5.  
11 iii, Draupadi-haraṇa-p.
Duryodhana and opposing the Pândavas. He is said to have had the leadership of ten nations.\textsuperscript{1} He would probably have summoned them to accompany him, and it is mentioned he had kings with him.\textsuperscript{2} They are not specified, but, besides the Sindhus and Sauvīras, it appears that among them were the kings of Gândhāra,\textsuperscript{3} Trigarta,\textsuperscript{4} Kulinda,\textsuperscript{5} and Śivi,\textsuperscript{6} and probably also Ambaṣṭha, none of whom are said to have brought in separate ākṣauhinīs or armies to Duryodhana's help. Some of these kings had besides personal reasons swaying them in the same direction. They will be noticed in order further on.

Śakuni Saubala, king of Gândhāra, was uncle of Duryodhana and other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, for his sister Gândhāri was their mother.\textsuperscript{7} He was also one of Duryodhana's most intimate advisers, and was his evil genius.\textsuperscript{8} He beat Yudhiṣṭhīra in the gambling match.\textsuperscript{9} With him came his son Uḷūka.\textsuperscript{10} As he was a practised and unscrupulous gamester, the names of Kitava, Kaitava, and Kaitavya were given to him and his son,\textsuperscript{11} and were also apparently applied to their followers.\textsuperscript{12} Śakunas were no doubt his followers.\textsuperscript{13}

Suśarman, king of Trigarta, had been, as already mentioned, an ally of Duryodhana in the raid on Matsya, and had been beaten by the Pândavas. He was, therefore, a bitter foe to them, and his nobles banded themselves under an oath to slay the Pândavas.\textsuperscript{14}

Śalya, king of Madra, joined the Kauravas in the way already described. That explanation is rather a lame one; but, if he was one of the kings who looked up to Jayadratha, he may have yielded to Duryodhana's solicitation out of policy.

\textsuperscript{1} viii, 100-1. \textsuperscript{2} See p. 313. \textsuperscript{3} iii, 15595-6. \textsuperscript{4} iii, 15593-4. \textsuperscript{5} iii, 15594. \textsuperscript{6} iii, 15612-21. \textsuperscript{7} vi, 748, 1731-2, 3729. \textsuperscript{8} ii, 1718-23, 1762-5, 2510-13 ; v, 2303. \textsuperscript{9} ii, 2051, etc., 2513. \textsuperscript{10} vi, 3166 ; ix, 1528-33. \textsuperscript{11} v, 5412. \textsuperscript{12} vi, 689, 4808, 5648 ; vii, 184. \textsuperscript{13} vii, 802. \textsuperscript{14} vii, 683-700.
The other leading kings from the north-west were Sudakṣina, king of Kāmboja, and the Kaikeya princes. The case of the latter has been explained already. No reason is given why Sudakṣina joined the Kauravas. He does not appear to have had any personal feelings one way or the other; hence it seems probable that he followed Jayadratha's initiative.

Duryodhana obtained great assistance also from the kings of Central India, namely, Kṛtavarman, Nila, and the two kings of Avanti. Kṛtavarman's conduct has been referred to already, but there appear to be no particular reasons why he and they took Duryodhana's part.¹ One possible motive may be conjectured. The Yādavas with their tribes had settled in Western India, and were pushing their way east and south into Central and Southern India. They must have been troublesome and dangerous neighbours, and Nila at Māhiṃmatī and the two kings of Avanti may naturally have opposed the Pāṇḍavas backed by Kṛṣṇa; but this does not explain Kṛtavarman's partisanship, more than suggested above (p. 311).

Only one leading king from Madhyadeśa supported the Kauravas, namely, Bhūriśravas, but it is difficult to make out his position. He was son of Somadatta,² who was son of Vāḥlika,³ who was son of Pratīpa,⁴ brother of Śāntamū⁵ and uncle of Bhīṣma.⁶ All these, therefore, were Kauravas,⁷ and Vāḥlika and Somadatta are said to have been alive at the time of the great war,⁸ though it seems an impossibility. Vāḥlika is said to have resigned the kingdom of the Kurus to his younger brother Śāntamū and to have gone to his maternal uncle's family, where he inherited a very prosperous kingdom.⁹ Now his

¹ It is said Nila had had hostilities with Sahadeva, v, 5752.
² v, 5742; vi, 3730-4.
³ v, 2206, 3402; vii, 6931-2.
⁴ v, 693; vii, 6934.
⁵ i, 3797-8; v, 5055.
⁶ i, 3800, 4425.
⁷ vii, 6006-7, 7230; viii, 106.
⁸ v, 693-4; vii, 6920-34.
⁹ v, 5033-68. Was this an instance of succession through the mother? If so, the story shows both forms of succession existing side by side.
mother was a Śaivyā princess,¹ and he would, therefore, presumably have become king of Śivi; but there appear to be no indications connecting him with the Śivis. Other kings of Śivi are mentioned: thus a king Śivi or Śaivyā is referred to on the Pāndavas' side,² and Govāsana Śaivyā is named on the Kauravas' side.³ There was also a people called Vāhlīkas or Vāhlīkas, as will be noticed further on. The similarity of name is very striking, yet similarity in names is common in the Mahābhārata,⁴ and much stress cannot be laid on it so as to prove that king Vāhlīka was king of the Vāhlīka race. Bhūrīśravas' younger brother Śala dwelt among the Vāhlīkas⁵; yet a Vāhlīka king or Vāhlīka is said to have attended Draupadi's svayamvara.⁶ This could hardly have been Vāhlīka himself, for he was a very old man then, and if it was not he, then the Vāhlīka king was some one else. Further remarks will be offered about the Vāhlīkas, and it seems on the whole that the Vāhlīkas were different from king Vāhlīka and his grandson Bhūrīśravas. Wherever Bhūrīśravas' kingdom may have been, he might, as of Kaurava lineage, naturally take Duryodhana's part;⁷ and throughout the negotiations that preceded the battle Vāhlīka, Somadatta, and Bhūrīśravas are represented as closely connected with the Kaurava Court.

Besides the foregoing leading kings, many other kings and princes and many other peoples are mentioned in the course of hostilities as fighting on one side or the other. It is necessary to examine these particulars in order to complete the list of countries and peoples which were arrayed on each side. This, however, is not always easy,

¹ i, 3797. ² vi, 5707; vi, 834, 2079, 2088; vii, 6698. ³ vi, 655.⁴ E.g. two princes named Vinda and Anuvinda, both among the Avantis and the Kāikeyas; see p. 313.⁵ vi, 730; vii, 5997, 6002.⁶ i, 7001.⁷ See also v, 4350.
because verbal errors have crept into the text as regards both the names of kings and the names of people. Sometimes two kings had the same name or names almost alike; moreover, different peoples had names which might easily be confused. Instances of this will be mentioned in what follows.

The other kings, princes, and people on the Pāṇḍavas' side may be taken first. We may put aside such warriors as Amitaujas,1 Jayanta,2 Kṣattradeva,3 Kṣattradharman,4 Satyajit,5 Yudhāmanyakus and Uttamaujas,6 Suśarman or rather, apparently, Sudhanvan,7 all of whom were Pāṇcāla princes attending on Drupada and Dṛṣṭadyumna; Śatānīka,3 Madirākṣa,9 Śaṅkha,10 and Sūryadatta,11 who were Vīraṭa's relatives; Anādhrṣṭi,12 who appears to have been a Yādava; and other royal relatives of the leading kings. Certain other kings are mentioned of whom it is difficult to assert anything precise, such as Dṛḍhadhanvan,13 who was a Paurava, and brought the Pauravas14; Rocamāna15 (or rather two kings of this name16); Satyadhrṣṭi Saucitti17; Senāvindu Krodhahantr18 and Śrenimat,19 who were of Kuru lineage; and Citrāyudha.20 There remain certain kings who had well-known territories.

Thus, on the Pāṇḍavas' side were Abhībhū,21 king of Kāśi,22 and his son23; Vasudāna, king of Pāṁsurāstra24;
Cirasena, king of Abhisāra; and some Śaivya prince whose position is not clear. No explanations appear to be given as to the motives that swayed these kings, yet something may be suggested by way of conjecture. The king of Kāśi was Jarāsandha's nearest neighbour and must have felt the full power of his arm, and it is possible he may have made his choice out of gratitude to his deliverers, Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, for it is said that Babhrū (Abhībhū ?), king of Kāśi, formed a close friendship with Kṛṣṇa. And Bhūma besides had married a Kāśi princess.

In this connection notice must be taken of the Kosalas. They are mentioned as fighting both on the Pāṇḍavas' side and also on the opposite side. Vṛhadbala or Vṛhadratha is named as king of Kosala at this time, but the Solar dynasty plays a small part in this great contest, and would seem to have suffered an eclipse during this period. This would have been probably caused by Jarāsandha's supremacy. His power would have borne most hardly on the eastern part of Kosala, and it is said that the Eastern Kosalas abandoned their own territory through fear of him, and migrated southward. Eastern Kosalas, moreover, are mentioned in the Southern region, and a Kosala king is referred to in conjunction with a king dwelling on the Venvā (Wainganga). May we not attribute the growth of Mahākosalas or Dakṣiṇakosalas to such causes? And I would further suggest that the connection between the two Kosalas began from Rāma's time, for Rāma spent ten years of his exile at a hermitage, which seems (from such indications as exist) to have been situated somewhere in Chattīśgārh. Kāśi plays a more important part than Kosala in the Mahābhārata, and

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1 viii, 526-7, 540-1.  
2 See p. 327 below.  
3 v, 806-7.  
4 i, 3829.  
5 vii, 877, 1004, 5069; viii, 459.  
6 viii, 864.  
7 ii, 390-2.  
8 ii, 1117.  
would seem to have regained considerable influence after Jarāsandha's downfall, so that it may have acquired supremacy over Eastern Kosala, and it is worthy of notice that where Kosalas are mentioned as fighting on the Pāṇḍavas' side they are sometimes joined with the Kāśis. The king of Kosala went with the Kauravas, but a body of Kosalas, probably from the eastern portion of the country, came to the Pāṇḍavas' help, and probably also did so in connection with the king of Kāśi. They were led by a chief of their own.

A large number of miscellaneous races are also mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and, as no special allusion is made to their kings or chiefs, it would seem that, as already noticed, they consisted merely of contingents summoned to attend their overlords. If so, their appearance at the battle would not have any ethnological significance. They are the following:—

The Prabhadrakas. This word means 'very handsome.' It is used generally by itself or in apposition to Pāṇcālas, but once with Kekayas and once with Kāmbojas; and once again it is used with the word 'youths.' It seems to mean a band of youthful nobles; and where used by itself appears to refer to the Pāṇcālas especially.

Pāṭaccaras. They were connected with the Matsyas, and so would have followed the Matsyas' lead in joining the Pāṇḍavas. The Matsya king is said to have brought mountain chiefs in his train; they must have come from the northern part of the Pārīpātra Mountains (the Aravalli Hills), and such the Pāṭaccaras may have been.

Daśārṇas. They are also mentioned as being on the Kauravas' side, but that is probably erroneous, because

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1 See p. 326 below.  
2 vii, 1004.  
3 v, 7635; vi, 5190; vii, 1026.  
4 v, 2264, 5133, 5385; vi, 2416.  
5 vi, 2022.  
6 vii, 992.  
7 v, 1842.  
8 vi, 2081.  
9 ii, 390-1, 1108; iv, 11-12.  
10 See p. 313.  
11 v, 4749.  
12 vi, 2102; viii, 864.
their king is said to have been on the Pândavas' side, and it would have been natural for him to take that course. Drupada's son Śikhandin married the daughter of the Daśārṇa king, and the Daśārṇas would probably have acknowledged the king of Cedi as their suzerain, and joined his army.

Drāvidas, Colas, Keralas, and Kāñcayas (or people of Kāñci) are also mentioned, and the first and last of these are also mentioned on the opposite side. None of these names are of real significance, because they probably represent mere contingents of troops drawn from such peoples, and any such contingents may have been comprised either in the Pândya king's army or in that of king Nila, or even in both.

Śālveyas also were on the Pândavas' side. They were apparently different from the Śālvas (who will be noticed among the Kauravas' allies), and had been allies of the Matsyas; thus they might naturally follow the Matsyas' lead.

A number of petty tribes are also mentioned on the Pândavas' side, namely, Nākulas, Lādakas and Maḍakas, Huṇḍas, Śaravas, Tittiras, Tumbumas, Vāhikas, and Taṅgaṇas; while others are mentioned on both sides, namely, Dāserakas, Kirātas, Kulindas, Niṣādas, and Kuṇḍivīsas or Kuṇḍivīras. The Taṅgaṇas and Vāhikas came from the outer northern frontiers of India. The
Kulindas and Kirāṭas occupied the southern slopes of the Himālayas, the former from about Kulu eastward to Nepal, and the latter from there to the extreme east. All these tribes may have furnished bands which followed Drupada or the Kaikeya princes to the Pāṇḍavas' side, or bands which attended the kings of Trigarta and Prāgīyotisa on the other side. Tumbumas and Niśādas probably came from the Vindhya Mountains, and may have accompanied the Kārūṣas or the Avantis. The rest of these petty tribes cannot be localized except conjecturally, but may well have owned some allegiance to one or other of the leading kings, and so have been summoned to attend. None of them, however, are of importance in this inquiry.

We may next consider the other kings and peoples on the Kauravas' side. Here also we may put aside Bhīṣma, Drona, Kṛpa, Aśvatthāman, and others, who were Dhṛtarāṣṭra's grand-uncle and ministers, and all his sons.

From Eastern India came the Kaliṅgas, who are often mentioned, under their king Śrutāyudha, who has been referred to already. The Vangas also accompanied Karna, and with them went also contingents from the Pauṇdras (or Pundras), Tāmraliptakas, Utkalas, Munḍas, and Maladas. The Eastern Māgadhas have been mentioned above. All these may be included under the term Prācyas, which appears to be used in its general meaning.

From Madhyadeśa came the Kosalas under their king Vṛhadbala or Vṛhadratha, as mentioned above, and with them were probably associated some Videhas and Vṛkas.

The Vatsas must also be included among the Kauravas' allies. They are mentioned, though Matsyas are more often

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1 vi, 662, 668, 670, 2230–4, 2249–50, 2400, 3132, 5483; viii, 864, 882.
2 See p. 318 above.
3 vii, 802; viii, 863.
4 viii, 863, 882.
5 vi, 2410.
6 viii, 183.
7 vi, 5510, 5555; vi, 664, 689, 2141, 2584, 2646; vii, 863.
9 vi, 5765; vi, 1683–4, 3534, 3855, 5325.
10 vii, 864; vi, 3855.
11 vi, 7612.
12 vii, 184.
13 vi, 2106.
named. Matsya is probably a mistake, because the Matsyas with their king Virāta were deeply pledged to the Pāṇḍavas’ support as explained above. The name Vatsa should no doubt be read in all these passages, and as it is also written Vatsya and Vātsya, the confusion would be easy. The Vatsas and Vatsabhūmi are correctly mentioned; they were an important nation, and their king attended Draupadi’s svayamvara.

The Śūrasenas are a people often named on the Kauravas’ side. They were closely connected with Mathurā, and both Kaṃsa, who reigned in Mathurā, and his younger brother Sunāman, who was king of Śūrasena, were killed by Kṛṣṇa. The Śūrasenas, therefore, had strong grounds for opposing Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.

From the north-west came Ambaśṭhas, Śīvis, Vaśātis, and Vāhlīkas. The Ambaśṭhas were under their king Śrutāyus, and the Śīvis under their king Govāsana Śaivyā. Govāsana had married his daughter to Yudhisṭhira, and might have been expected to support him; indeed, a Śaivyā prince is often referred to on the Pāṇḍavas’ side. But the Śīvis are always mentioned on the Kauravas’ side, and it is difficult to account for that prince on the opposite side. It would seem that the Śīvis and Ambaśṭhas were dominated by Jayadratha and his confederate kings, and followed his lead. With the Śīvis

1 v, 5510, 5555; vi, 688, 752, 2405.
2 Conversely, Vatsas are mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas’ side erroneously for Matsyas, vi, 2084.
3 vii, 396; xiii, 1951.
4 ii, 1084; vi, 2084; viii, 237; xiii, 1946.
5 iii, 15245; v, 7351.
6 i, 7002.
7 vi, 688, 2097, 3294, 5485; vii, 183, 799.
8 viii, 387-9.
9 The Hari-Vaṁśa gives fuller particulars.
10 vi, 688, 750, 2584, 4340, 5485.
11 vi, 2584, 2647; vii, 107.
12 v, 7609; vi, 688, 2104, 4809, 5485, 5648; viii, 1077.
13 vi, 655, 4901; vii, 1789-91, 3528, 3552.
14 i, 3828.
15 v, 5707; vi, 834, 2088, 2079, 2117; vii, 1008, 6698.
16 iii, 15581-7, 15602-5.
are almost always associated the Vaśātis,¹ and the two appear to have been two tribes composing one kingdom.

The Vāhlikas or Vāhlikas are often mentioned.² Their position has been already discussed in part, and on the whole it would seem that they were different from king Vāhlika, who was a Kaurava.³ In addition to what has been said above, it may be noticed that they were closely related to the Madras, so that the two seem to have almost formed one nation.⁴ Being so closely connected with the Madras, they would naturally have accompanied the Madras to help the Kauravas.

Pañcanadas ⁵ would have formed a local contingent from the junction of the five rivers of the Panjab, and would have been included among or have gone with the Sindhus and Sauviras.

Belonging to the same group of nations, no doubt, were the Abhīśāhas or Abhīśāhas.⁶ They are generally linked with Śūrasenas, Śivis, and Vaśātis, and probably came from the eastern border of the Panjab. They were distinct from the Abhīśāras, who sided with the Pāṇḍavas as has been noticed. So also the Vāradhānas or rather Vātadhānas.⁷

From the near west came the Śālvas.⁸ Their king had been a friend or even brother of Śiśupāla, king of Cedi, and took up arms against Kṛṣṇa on Śiśupāla's death.⁹ There was bitter hostility between them, and Kṛṣṇa killed him.¹⁰ It was natural, therefore, that the Śālvas should go against him and the Pāṇḍavas, and under their king Ugrakarman they attended the Kaikeya princes.¹¹

¹ v, 7609 ; vi, 688, 2104, 2584, 4809, 5485, 5648.
² v, 2289, 7607 ; vi, 1707, 3293, 5484 ; vii, 973, 4818 ; viii, 779.
³ See p. 321 above ; but compare v, 2289 ; vi, 3533, 4606.
⁴ i, 2996, 4426-7.
⁵ vi, 750, 2406.
⁶ vi, 688, 5485, 5648 ; vii, 3254, 3339, 7207 ; viii, 127.
⁷ vi, 2405.
⁸ v, 5510 ; vi, 688, 752, 3169, 5485, 5649 ; viii, 1077.
⁹ iii, 615-18, 637.
¹⁰ iii, 619-889.
¹¹ v, 2249 ; viii, 131.
From the south-west of Madhyadeśa came the Mālavas. They are mentioned sometimes simply as such, and sometimes as "Western and Northern Mālavas." Kṣudrakas are also named, and sometimes both are referred to together as Kṣudraka-mālavas; but Kṣudraka-mālavas were apparently distinct from Mālavas, for both are named in one passage. It is difficult to distinguish them further. They and also the Śālvas attended the Kaikeya princes.

From the south came the Andhras or Andhrakas, and also the Andhakas. Andhas are mentioned, but this name is probably a mistake for Andhras or for Andhakas. These would go respectively with the Kukkuras or Kukuras. The Andhakas and Kukuras with the Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, etc., were Yādava tribes, and might have been in Kṛtavarman's army. The Andhras and Kukkuras were Dravidian tribes in Central India, and might have been among the Dākṣiṇātyas whom Nila, king of Māhišmati, brought.

There were besides the Niṣadhas, Vidarbhas, Traipuras, Kuntalas, and Mekalas, all of which may have accompanied the two Avanti kings and Nila. All would be included within the general designation of Dākṣiṇātyas, which are also named separately. The Niṣadhas were not under any king apparently. The Kuntalas may have come from two places, for there were two countries of this name; one was apparently the region between Bellary and Belgaum, and the other near Chunar, south of Benares.

1 vi, 3852; viii, 137.
2 vi, 8308, 5484, 5648; vii, 183.
3 viii, 137.
4 vi, 8325-3.
5 ii, 1175; iii, 12839; vii, 122; viii, 779.
6 ii, 767; iii, 12654; iv, 2360; v, 1885, 5043.
7 vi, 586; read Andhakas.
8 ii, 1872; vi, 2097.
9 ii, 767; v, 586; xii, 8457.
10 vi, 780.
11 vi, 2103.
12 vi, 3855.
13 vii, 1437; viii, 864, 882.
14 vi, 2106, 2844, 2846, 3853.
15 v, 2249.
16 vii, 864, 882; and vi, 2103, 3855 (where the reading is Melakas).
These latter Kuntalas and the Mekalas would have gone with the Andhras.

There remain a number of petty tribes which came from all quarters to the Kauravas, and they may be considered according to their grouping.

Pāradas and Pratīcyas would have come from the western confines of the Panjab, and the Varvaras from there or from the north. From the eastern limits of the Panjab round to Malwa were scattered the aboriginal tribes of Śūdras and Ābhiras, and they would have attended Jayadratha and the king of Śālva. Pratīcyā is used in a general sense.

Prācyas are mentioned generally, and appear to have included all tribes that came from Eastern India. The name is used in a general sense.

From the slopes and valleys of the Himālayas came the Pulindas, Ḥamaspadas, Karnapāravaraṇas, and Vikarṇas. All these would have been comprised within the term Udīcyas, which is also used in a general sense.

Other insignificant tribes named on the Kauravas' side were Āśvātakas, Ćicchilas, Ćulikas, Recakas, Vikuṇjas, Nandas and Upanandakas, Maṇībhadrakas, Simhalas, Vāmanako-salas, Venikas, Māvelakas or Māvelvakas, Tundikeras, and Lalitthas. The first three may have

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1 vi, 3853.  
8 vi, 5510, 5555, 7608; vi, 689.  
3 vii, 183, 798.  
4 vii, 798.  
5 v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.  
7 v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.  
9 v, 5510, 5555; vi, 3853; vii, 779.  
9 vii, 798.  
10 vi, 2103.  
11 vi, 2105.  
12 v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 138, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.  
13 vi, 2105.  
14 vi, 3855.  
15 vi, 3297.  
16 vi, 2097.  
17 vi, 2410.  
18 vi, 2098.  
19 vi, 2099.  
20 vii, 798.  
21 vi, 2105.  
22 vi, 2097.  
23 vii, 692; viii, 138; they may perhaps be connected with Māvella (i, 2364; ii, 1272).  
24 vii, 691; viii, 138.  
25 vii, 692; viii, 137.
come from the northern region, and the last four probably from the neighbourhood of the Vindhya Mountains and the Wainganga. The Vāmana-kosalas may perhaps mean the people of Daksīṇa-kosala, but there are no indications regarding the rest. All those from the south would be included within the general description Daksīṇātyā.¹

From beyond the Himalayas came contingents of Yavanas,² Śakas,³ Khaśas,⁴ Tuśāras,⁵ and Daradas.⁶ None of these appear to have been under kings of their own. The first two accompanied the king of Kāmboja as already mentioned,⁷ and the three others do not doubt attended him or the king of Gāndhāra. All these also might be included under the general designation of Udīcyas.⁸

The only tribes remaining to be noticed are Rākṣasas and Nāgas, and also certain Piśācas, which no doubt accompanied the former. Rākṣasas were arrayed on both sides.

On the Pāṇḍavas’ side was Ghaṭotkaca, a Rākṣasa king,⁹ who is said to have been the son of Bhima by the Rākṣasa princess Hiḍimbā.¹⁰ Her brother Hiḍimbā lived in the forest in the north of Paścāla,¹² and was killed by Bhīma.¹³ Irāvat, a Nāga king,¹⁴ also came to the Pāṇḍavas. He is said to have been the son of Arjuna by a Nāga princess.¹⁵ Certain Piśācas are mentioned on this side.¹⁶

On the Kauravas’ side were Alambuṣa, a Rākṣasa king,¹⁷ and his kinsman Alāyudha.¹⁸ Alambuṣa was brother of

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¹ v, 890, 7608-9; vii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.
² v, 590, 7699; vi, 753, 2097, 3856; vii, 786.
³ v, 590, 5510; vi, 753, 2408, 5649.
⁴ v, 5510, 5555; vii, 4847; viii, 779.
⁵ vi, 3207.
⁶ vi, 2106, 5484; vii, 799; yet some are mentioned erroneously on the Pāṇḍavas’ side (vi, 2083, where Dāradas should probably be Drāvīdas).
⁷ See p. 313 above.
⁸ v, 890, 7608-9; vii, 138, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.
⁹ vi, 2003-9, 3663-70.
¹⁰ 6, 6971-80.
¹¹ i, 5940, 5962.
¹² i, 5874-93, 5927.
¹³ i, 6036-8.
¹⁴ vi, 1737-9, 3288, 3557, 3661.
¹⁵ vi, 3977-80.
¹⁶ vi, 2083.
¹⁷ v, 5802; vi, 1711-13; vii, 7848-81.
¹⁸ vii, 8004-10.
Vaka, whom Bhīma killed near Ehaçakrā, and son of Játa, whom also Bhīma killed in the Himālayas, north of Pañcāla and Kosala. He is also called a descendant of Rayaśrīga, and if that person be the same as the Rayaśrīga who lived in the territory of Lomapāda, king of Ánga, Alambaśa probably came from the forests bordering the River Kauśiki and Nepal. He had, therefore, a double blood-feud with the Pāṇḍavas, and naturally sided with the Kauravas. Piśācas are also mentioned on the Kauravas' side.

In locating the various nations and races in the accompanying map, I have adhered to the views which I ventured to express in my translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, except in a few cases where further consideration has led me to modify them.

We may sum up these results in the following way, leaving out of account all the insignificant tribes which merely furnished contingents to the larger kingdoms, that were near them and that claimed some overlordship over them.

On the Pāṇḍavas' side were these:—

From Madhyadeśa—Pañcālas (with Rākṣasas or forest tribes from their north), Matsyas, Čedis, Kārūṇas, Daśāṃśas, Kāśis, Eastern Kosalas, and Western Māgadhīs, with various tribes dwelling in or near the Vindhyā Mountains and Aravalli Hills.

From the West—all the Yādavas from Gujarāt and from the territory east of Gujarāt.

From the North-West—some Kaikeyas and Abhisāras.

From the South—the Pāṇḍyas, with contingents from the Dravidian races in the Karnatic.

1 vii, 4065-76; i, 6104, 6206, 6291-5. 2 vii, 7855-8; iii, 11519-22.
3 vi, 4552, 4570-5, 4584-5. 4 iii, 9990-10094.
5 Modern belief, as Dr. Grierson tells me, places Rayaśrīga at Singar, in the south-east of the Gaya district, but I know of no authority for it.
6 vi, 3854.
On the Kauravas' side were these:

From the East—the Eastern Māgadhas, Videhas, Prāg- jyotīsas (with Cinas and Kirātas), Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kāliṅgas, and Andhras, with contingents from all the tribes bordering on them.

From Madhyadeśa—Śūrasenas, Vatsas, and Kosalas.

From the North-West—Sindhus, Sauvīras, Madras, Vāhlikas, Kaikēyas, Gāndhāras, Kāmbojas, Trigartas, Ambaśṭhas, and Śivis, with contingents from the tribes all around them.

From the North—hill tribes from all along the Himālayas, except from the north of Pañcāla.

From the West—Śālvas and Mālava.

From Central India—the Yādavas from the country south and south-east of Baroda, Avantis, Māhiṃmakas, Vidarbhas, Niṣadhas, and Kuntalas, and contingents from the races bordering them in the Dekhan.

We may summarize these conclusions further by confining our attention to the leading nations. Those on the Pāṇḍavas side were the Pāṇcālas, Matsyas, Cedis, Kāruṣas, Kāsīs, and Western Māgadhas from Madhyadeśa; all the Yādavas from Gujarat and the country east of it; and the Pāṇḍyas. On the Kauravas' side were all the nations from North and South-Eastern Behar, all Bengal and West Assam, and all the region south of Bengal as far as the River Godāvari; the Śūrasenas, Vatsas, and Kosalas in Madhyadeśa; all the nations in the north and north-west with the Śālvas and Mālava; and the Avantis and all the nations of Central India.

Stating these conclusions more generally still, we may say that the Pāṇḍavas' cause combined the Pāṇcālas and all the kingdoms of South Madhyadeśa (except the Śūrasenas and Vatsas) together with the Yādavas of Gujarat against the rest of Northern, Central, and Eastern India. Now the Yādavas of Gujarat are said to have been
an offshoot from those who dwelt in the country near Mathurā; and the division of the contending parties may be broadly said to be South Madhyadeśa and Pāṇcāla against the rest of India. This is a striking generalization, and it may not be without some significance, although reasons have been given why almost every individual nation made its particular choice of sides. But the ethnological value of this general statement is diminished by three factors: first, the nations arranged on either side were certainly not all of the same stock; secondly, it must be remembered that it was kings which brought their armies of subjects, and there are indications that kings were not always of the same race as the majority of their subjects, but that they belonged sometimes to dynasties which had conquered the countries and established themselves in the sovereignty; and thirdly, a powerful king commandeered contingents from neighbouring kingdoms and tribes which acknowledged his overlordship.

Instances of the last factor have been noticed in dealing with the smaller nations and tribes. As an instance of the first factor it is stated in genealogical chapters that the Kārūṣas (to whatever race their king may have belonged) were of very different stock from their allied nations of Madhyadeśa. And on the Kauravas' side it is certain that the nations of Bengal and Orissa were considered to be mlecchas, and were therefore wholly different from their allies of Madhyadeśa and the northwest. As an instance of the second factor we may note that Krṣṇa and the tribes of Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, etc., had established themselves in Gujarat only a short time before the war, so that Yuyudhāna and Cekitāna must have brought alien subjects in their armies, and something of this kind is distinctly stated about the former's troops. Similarly, on the Kauravas' side it is clear that Karṇa,

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1 ii, 589-616.  
2 ii, 589-616.  
3 See p. 312.
though king of Aṅga, was not an Aṅga, and yet, as Aṅga had the hegemony of the kindred nations of Vāngas, Kalingas, Pundras, etc., he brought all those alien nations to join in a war which did not concern them in the least.

One further instance may be cited here as asserting a connection between several of the kingdoms that supported the Pāṇḍavas. Vasu, who was a Paurava, conquered Cedi and reigned over it, and also subdued the neighbouring countries. He had five sons and established them as separate rulers in those countries, and two of them founded the dynasties of Cedi and Magadha.² By a fable, which is full of absurdities and chronological inconsistencies, it is further alleged that another son, whose sister was Satyavatī, the grandmother of Dhrītarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, established a dynasty in Matsya.³

The way in which each side marshalled its forces may be noticed. The Pāṇḍavas’ centre was Upaplavya, the capital of Matsya, and the Kauravas’ centre was their own capital, Hastināpura. The hosts that assembled on the Kauravas’ side are said to have been so vast that they could not concentrate at Hastināpura, and they stretched in a curve from the southern portion of the Panjāb round the north of Kurukṣetra to the north of Pañcāla.⁵ The Pāṇḍavas’ allies concentrated in and around Matsya.⁶ The remarks made about each nation and an inspection of the blue and red tracts in the map will readily show how each probably reached its position in these two conformations. When the negotiations failed the Pāṇḍavas marched north, driving in Duryodhana’s outposts, and took up a position on the west of Kurukṣetra.⁷

¹ Jarāsandha gave Karna the kingdom of Aṅga, see p. 315; and, whatever we may think of Karna’s alleged parentage, it is certain that he is always treated as being of the same stock as the other actors. He had mleccha kings under him in Aṅga, see p. 318, note 4.
⁵ v, 596–601. ⁶ v, 2241, 4936, 5147–51. ⁷ v, 5165–6, 5174–7; vi, 645.
Kaurava hosts closed in around the east of that region,\textsuperscript{1} and the battle was fought on the plain of Kurukṣetra.\textsuperscript{2}

Some concluding remarks may be permitted by way of comment on the great war. The nations in and around the Panjab formed a very strong portion of the Kaurava confederacy, and the great battle by destroying their monarchs and armies would have seriously weakened their strength and gravely imperilled their stability. Now it is worthy of notice that the introductory part of the Mahābhārata describes how Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit was killed by the Nāga Takṣaka who reigned at Takṣaśilā in the Panjab, and how Parikṣit's son Janamejaya vanquished Takṣaka and Takṣaśilā. This is narrated in ridiculously fabulous form, yet there is one feature noteworthy in it, namely, that the Panjab kingdoms, which constituted so strong a bulwark in the great war, have all disappeared; the Nāga Takṣaka reigned over the Panjab, and came into direct conflict with Arjuna's grandson and great-grandson who reigned on the Jumna. If one may hazard a conjecture on such a flimsy story, it is that the Nāgas must have risen to power during the interval of weakness which followed the great battle and have conquered the kingdoms of the Panjab.

\textsuperscript{1} vi, 5310-11, 5407, 7613; vi, 645. \textsuperscript{2} vi, 3.
XI.

THE MODERN HINDU DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., M.R.A.S.

The great mass of Hindus of the present day follow, and for nearly five centuries have followed, the religious doctrine of salvation by bhakti, or loving faith. This, although nominally based on the Vêdas and Upanisads, is strongly opposed both to the advaita Vedantist doctrine of salvation by knowledge and to the Mîmâṃsâ doctrine of salvation by works. Its very idea of salvation, a life of never-ending bliss near the Holy One, is radically different from that offered by these two schools.

The bhakti-school of religion is really, as is well known, a descendant of the noble thoughts found in the Bhagavad Gitâ, and this is more particularly true as regards that part of the doctrine which treats of what we, in discussions on Christianity, should call 'works.' As it is assumed as the basis of belief that faith, and faith alone, can save a man, the question naturally arises as to what relation his good or evil works bear to his salvation.

The controversy on this point has divided the Western Church since the dawn of Christianity, and it is interesting to note that the bhakti-church of India has been troubled by exactly the same difficulty, mixed up, too, as with us, with the puzzle of predestination. In India, in this cult, we find two sharply opposed systems of belief, one known
as the 'cat' and the other as the 'monkey' school. The 'cat'-school, which holds the truth of what we should call the doctrine of 'irresistible grace,' teaches that Bhagavat, the Holy One, saves the soul as a cat takes up its kitten, without free-will on the part of the latter. The 'monkey'-school, which holds to the doctrine of 'co-operative grace,' teaches that the soul, in order to be saved, must reach out and embrace the Holy One, as a young monkey clings to its mother. Nearly all the North Indian sects of the bhakti-church are followers of the latter school, and it is natural that its adherents should investigate the question of works, and discuss how far they are involved in the 'clinging' which they believe to be necessary to salvation. We are familiar with the importance given to works in the Bhagavad Gītā, and the subject is still treated in Northern India very much on the lines laid down by that poem, and, indeed, the modern teaching professes to be derived from it.

As the subject is of interest alike for the comparative study of religions and for the comprehension of modern Hindū belief, I give in the following pages a translation of two sections from the Bhakta-kalpadruma of Pratāpa Simha (written in 1866). Although the original has been printed more than once, I think it is better to offer a translation rather than a summary in my own words; for so little is known about the bhakti-cult in this country that it is important that those who read the following pages may be certain that they have before them what the author actually said, and not a picture coloured by my own prepossessions. I think that it is worth translating, for it gives very complete, if rather long-winded, explanations, and, although written in Hindi, is by no means easy for the foreigner to understand unless he has made a special study of this side of India's religious speculation.

The Bhakta-kalpadruma is a version in modern language and a rearrangement of the famous Bhakta-māla
of Nābhā-dāsa (circ. 1600 A.D.). Pratāpa Siṁha gives the lives of the various saints referred to in that work, and groups them, not in Nābhā's order, but according to their niśṭhās. A niśṭhā is literally 'a position' or 'attitude,' and in the bhakti-cult it is a technical term, meaning the heading under which a saint is to be classed. Some saints are classed as being distinguished for a sense of duty, others as preachers, others for their devotion, others for their hymn-writing, others for their holy love, and so on. Each of these classes is a niśṭhā. A saint may belong to several niśṭhās—a perfect saint belongs to all—but his classification depends on that characteristic which is most prominent from the point of view of the observer.

There are twenty-four of these niśṭhās, and Pratāpa Siṁha devotes a section of his work to the saints of each. To each section he prefixes an introduction describing the particular characteristic on which the niśṭhā is founded. What are here translated are—

(1) The introduction to the Dharma niśṭhā, or that of which the characteristic is bhāgavata-dharma, literally "the morality of those devoted to the Holy One," i.e. what we should call "a State of Grace."

(2) The introduction to the Dharma-pracāraka niśṭhā, or that of Preachers of the Gospel of Grace.

The introduction to the Dharma niśṭhā deals directly with the question of works. It divides good works into two classes, viz., those that are done in the hope of a reward, and those that are done simply to be dedicated to the Holy One. The latter must be entirely free from self-interest, and are then the only works that are of any account towards salvation. This distinction between works which are interested (sakāma) and those which are disinterested (niskāma) fully agrees with the teaching of the Bhagavad Gītā.
But, to the believer in one and only means of salvation—bhakti, or faith—the question arises how works, which are the antithesis of faith, can be a means of salvation. The answer is that they act only indirectly. Good works, which are disinterested, produce bhakti, and it is this bhakti, so produced, that wins release from the weary round of continual births and rebirths.

This idea is further developed in the introduction to the Dharma-pracāraka viṣṭhā. Here special stress is laid on the value, both to the doer and to the hearer, of preaching. If the bhakti-cult is to be counted as a form of Hinduism (and if it is not, there would be very few Hindūs in India), few statements so inaccurate have been made as that Hinduism is not a missionary religion. Here we have a form of belief which actually lives upon its missionary work. It ignores all caste and condemns no religion as utterly useless, and ever since its foundation its converts have increased in geometrical progression. Every follower of the cult is, and if he is genuine must be, a missionary. Nor is the missionary field confined to existing forms of Hindū belief. The common statement that no Musalmān can become a Hindū is disproved by the fact that some of the greatest saints of the cult, men whose hymns are household words and are printed and sold by thousands, were converts from Islām. Others, such as Kabīr and Prāṇanātha, succeeded in forming important sects which absorbed many of the actual doctrines of that belief. As in Buddhism, what we may name the laity was not called upon to abandon caste or its old household worship. Kabīr’s famous couplet—

\[
\text{saba-sē hiliyē, saba-sē miliyē} \quad \text{saba-kē lījiyē nāū,}
\]
\[
\text{‘hā-jī,’ ‘hā-jī’ saba-sē kahiyē} \quad \text{basiyē apanē gāū—}
\]

teaches universal tolerance, and similarly, in the translation below, we have Pratāpa Simha urging us to encourage
our neighbour to study his own scriptures, whether they be those of our belief or not. And then, on the top of this great tolerance, there comes the missionary zeal for preaching faith in a personal God—a God whose name is of small import, whether it be Allāh, or Rāma, or Kṛṣṇa, but always a God who has been incarnate as a man, who loves mankind and calls for mankind's love. So long as this is believed and acted upon, to the bhakti reformer, a man might believe what else he liked.

No one, whether he admits the influence of early Christianity upon Indian thought or not, can fail to be struck by the great similarity to Christian teaching presented by much of what follows. We come over and over again upon arguments which for centuries have been familiar to the West. They are seen amidst strange surroundings. Over all there hangs, like a pall, the Indian belief in transmigration, and, in other ways too, the light thrown by Eastern meditation gives us views which may seem to us to be distorted or strange. But it is a matter of illumination, not of substance, and it is good for us to learn that the conventional laws of perspective are not always the same in the Orient and in the Occident.

Save for a few places where compression seemed desirable, my translation is as literal as is consistent with the genius of the English language. My aim, nevertheless, has throughout been to give the sense rather than to strive for verbal reproduction. I have endeavoured to represent the numerous technical terms by the same English words throughout, and have in each case given the original as well when there could be any doubt. In one instance I have not been literal; the words bhāgvata-dharma have been translated 'state of grace' or 'gospel of grace,' as the context required. The literal meaning has been given above, but I think that the English technical term represents the force of the original more nearly than any verbal translation. The word Bhagavat,
by itself, I have throughout translated by 'the Holy One,' while, as in previous writing on the same subject, I have given 'the LORD' as the equivalent of Hari. According to the bhakti-doctrine, the Hari-incarnation of Viṣṇu has a very definite and special position in the theology of those who profess it. It is the thirteenth of the twenty-four (not ten) avatāras of the school.

The First nisṭhā: that of Morality and the State of Grace.

I bow, first of all, to the mark of the elephant-goad on the foot of the Lord Krṣṇa, inasmuch as through meditation thereon that infuriate elephant, the mind, is speedily brought under control. Then bow I to the Fish incarnation of the Holy One, which for the instruction of the world taught religion to King Śrutadēva and protected him by manifesting His own illusion.

Morality (dharma) consisteth of the conduct and of those good works (śubha karma) which are consonant with the Veda and with the Sūtras. Its opposite is adharma, or unmorality. To adopt conduct that is righteous and to abandon blameworthy deeds, is therefore

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1 The aṅkuśa, or elephant-goad, is one of the forty-eight marks said to be on the feet of Viṣṇu, each of which has a mystic meaning. These marks are the lines on the sole of the foot, and correspond to the lines on the hand that are still employed in this country for palmistry.

2 The Fish is the first of the ten well-known incarnations of Viṣṇu. According to the legend as preserved in Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii, 24, in this incarnation Viṣṇu rescued the Veda from the demon Hayagriva and saved Vaivasvata Manu in the Deluge. He also instructed Vaivasvata in religion. See the next note.

3 Vaivasvata Manu was a royal sage, and was also called Satyavrata and Śrāddhadeva (see Bhāg. Pu., as above quoted). Śrutadēva in the text seems to be a slip for Śrāddhadeva.
entirely proper and in accordance with the commands of the Veda, while the man that doeth works (karma) that are opposed to these commands goeth to Hell (naraka) and suffereth the pangs of the severest torture. Moreover, he undergoeth the ineffably terrible punishment of being subject to rebirths in eighty-four hundreds of thousands of bodies. From the pangs of Hell there may be release by efflux of time, but in the sorrows of return and departure in birth and death there is no cessation. For the return and departure are like unto the motion of the cups on the Persian wheel ever rising and sinking in their turns. So, under the influence of cause and effect, each time that a man receiveth a human body, it is to him as it were a boat for crossing the ocean of existence to the haven of eternal rest, and he maketh an effort for his release from the bonds of his former actions; but the skiff faileth to make the voyage, and he becometh once more bound in the same woe of further births.

If, however, he remain devoted to the commands of the Gospel of Works (karma-śāstra, i.e. the Veda and Sūtras), these works are like unto steps by the which he riseth quickly and easily to the highest station. If a man be without hope from this, then verily is he without hope of salvation. It is true that some are of opinion that in doing works there is no love (priti), and invent false tales about the highest station,¹ but such will themselves never reach perfection. Consider that the Holy One Himself becometh on occasions incarnate that He may reveal the Vedas or the Gospel of Works, and secure action (pravṛtti). No man can succeed in gaining salvation without performing works. Doth He not say in the Gita, "I myself perform works. If I perform them not, others also would abandon them, and I myself should become the

¹ A reference to the 'cat'-school.
cause of the destruction of the world and of caste-inter-
minglings"? The holy Lord Raghunandana (i.e. Rāmacandra, an incarnation of the Holy One), after He had
conquered Rāvana, learned that that demon was by birth
a Brāhmaṇa. Therefore, in order to expiate the sin of
killing a Brāhmaṇa, He performed the āśvamedha sacrifice,
and thus set not His foot beyond the lines laid down by
the Gospel of Works. If the Holy One acted thus, then
what is man that he should obtain release from this
departure and return without performing works?

If it be objected that works are material, while the soul
of man is a spirit, and how can the material release the
spiritual? the answer is, just as a boat is a material thing,
and yet, with the aid of the hands of the boatman, carrieth
thousands across the stream; or as a flight of steps is
material, and yet without it no man can ever reach
the upper story; so are works. They are a help-means for
crossing the ocean of existence.

Again, let it be objected that if a man doeth good works
and would enjoy their fruits, he must have a body where-
with to enjoy them, and that, as a body is mortal and
one day death must come, there will thus continue to be
births and rebirths with no release. To this I reply that
good works are of two kinds, interested (sākāma) and
disinterested (nīskāma). Interested works are those which
are performed for the accomplishment of some wish.
These certainly are the cause of departure and return,
because as soon as the word finis is written upon the
fruits of these good works the man leaveth that heaven
which he had earned by them, and returneth to be born

1 Bhagavav Gītā, iii, 22-4:—

yadi hy aham na varteyam
mama vartamānumvarantā
tsiddhyur ime lōkā
maṃkarasya ca kartā syām
carta eva ca karmani
jātu karmay utandritaḥ
mānasyāḥ, Pārtha, sarvahāḥ
na kuryāṁ karma cet aham
upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ
again upon the earth. Disinterested good works, on the other hand, are a cause of release and of ultimate salvation. They are those which are performed without any wish: that is to say, the man who performeth them never in any way desireth their fruits, but dedicateth these fruits to, and layeth them before the feet of, the Holy One. Now, the Holy One is imperishable, everlasting, and indestructible, and for this reason those fruits which have been dedicated to Him without any ulterior object also become themselves imperishable, everlasting, and indestructible. Then, in His mercy, the Holy One manifesteth His nature in the heart of the man, or, in other words, begetteth therein a love and devotion for His gracious feet. Just as, when some poor man offereth to a mighty king a gift worth but a few farthings, the king considereth not the value of the gift or the person of the giver, nor giveth in return something merely of the like value, but of his own bounty bestoweth liberally and removeth the poor man's poverty for ever; or again, just as in this world a man giveth a present freely, nor asketh for its price, and the man who receiveth it feelleth gratitude within his heart; so the Holy One, who is the diadem-jewel of those who know the value of gratitude, showeth His full recognition of that which is offered to Him. For when love for the Holy One hath thus entered

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1 It is hardly necessary to point out that the whole of the above is written with a belief in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Every work, good or bad, has its fruits. Bad works consign the performer, for a longer or shorter period, to one or other of the numerous hells, while good works exalt him to one or other of the numerous heavens under similar conditions. A man's fate after death (so far as it is dependent upon works) is settled by the balance of the fruits of his good and bad works. These fruits, in course of time, become exhausted, and then he has to begin over again. When salvation is gained (in this system of belief) by faith (bhakti), the chain of cause and effect is broken, and there is no more rebirth.

2 'Disinterested' (niṣkāma) corresponds to what Bhag. Gītā, iii, 19, calls asakta.
into the man's heart and is fostered by the due performance of the daily holy ceremonies, that love increaseth day by day until it hath no bounds, so that the heart becometh pure and in it is established a sure and certain Faith (bhakti) in the Holy One. Then, by the blessing of that Faith, he reacheth the feet of the Holy One (Bhagavatpada), and is never born again.

Moreover, the Gospel of Works is the command of the Holy One, and it is a well-known experience that if any servant be continually devoted to carrying out his lord's orders, then that lord is pleased with his man and fulfilleth all his desires. So, wherefore should not the Holy One, who is the Lord of lords, show delight in that servant who obeyeth His commands? Wherefore should He not therefore grant accomplishment to all his efforts, and wherefore should He not release him from the woes of perpetual rebirth? Nay, wondrous in His grace; for, on account of these disinterested works, the Holy One doth Himself grant the earthly wishes of His servants in addition to accepting the offerings made to Him, whereof Prahlāda, Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira, Dhruva, and other saints are witnesses.¹

But this serious doubt may arise that, granted that these good works lose themselves by becoming merged into the Holy One, there are on the other hand evil works committed by the same man, and how can these be caused to disappear without fruit?² The fact is that works can

¹ The stories of these are all well known, and I need not repeat them here.

² It is of course to be understood that, as has been said in a preceding note, all works have fruits, and unless these fruits are destroyed there must be this 'departure and return' for ever. The fruits of good works are destroyed by being accepted by and merged into the Holy One, but this cannot be expected of the fruits of bad works. These therefore remain, and prevent by their mere existence, irrespectively of the punishment due for them, the salvation of their doer.
also be classed under two other divisions—those that are involuntary (ajñāta) and those that are wilful (jñāta). Involuntary works (or sins) are those which are expiated by ceremonials such as the daily religious rites (nitya-saṅdhya), offerings (balī), the morning and evening homage (varṣa-dēva), oblations to the Manes (śrāddha), hospitality (abhyāgata-pūjana), or the like. These expiatory works, when they are disinterested, reach the Holy One, and give the everlasting fruit. As for wilful works (i.e. wilful sins), when a man is devoted to works of the disinterested class, then he committeth not great sins, and if perchance he do commit such, then the Holy One, who is the Lord of good works, Himself forgiveth the sin of the evil works. This is plainly written in the Vēda and other scriptures (śruti), and it is verily in accord with justice that when a man hath given the fruit of his good works to the Holy One, his evil works should, for him, no longer remain in existence. As for this question of interested and disinterested works a parable cometh to my mind. If a man have a paid servant or workman, and through him incur any loss, then the servant or the workman, who is paid for his labour and who therefore worketh for reward, will have to make it good. But if the loss be incurred through a slave born in the house, who worketh not for reward, then the master beareth the loss and none thereof falleth upon the slave. Here, the doer of interested works is like the paid servant who worketh for reward, while the doer of disinterested works is like the son of the slave-girl.

The sum of all this is that in accord with the command of the Vēda it is most proper to perform works, provided they are disinterested. The wise men (jñānī) and the faithful (bhakta) of old, as well as those who are now and those who will be, reached the highest stage through the power of their works alone; as it is written in the Gītā that only so did the resolute devotion (sthiratā) of heart
in Janaka and other old saints reach perfection,¹ and again that without works there is never emancipation ²; in short, all the scriptures are at one that without works there is no salvation.

Moreover, it is forbidden by the law-books (smṛti) to apply one’s reason to the commands of the Veda, and to argue that such and such is one of these commands, and is therefore of necessity intended only for such and such a benefit. Opportunity is here taken to show that these commands are not only directed to the future life but are also for earthly benefits. For instance, rising at dawn, bathing, reverence to parents and preceptors, truth-speaking friendship, kindly words, associating with the intelligent, study, avoidance of calumny, being true to salt, common honesty, faithfulness to friends, honouring as a spiritual preceptor (guru) him who teacheth wisdom or who leadeth to the Holy One, and undertaking the thousands of holy works, such as lauding the Holy One and the like; or abstaining from falsehood, theft, adultery, taking of life, gambling, winebibbing, association with the wicked, deception, treachery, stupidity, ingratitude, and the like; or not allowing one’s attention to be distracted when bathing in a river, or when walking in a rain-storm, or when being shaved; or not eating tainted or very indigestible food, or another’s leavings, or anything pungent, sour, or salt, and on the contrary making

¹ Bhagavad Gītā, iii, 20:—

karmaṇaiva hi saṃsiddhim

āsthitā Janakādayah |

By works alone did Janaka and the rest work for complete accomplishment.

Cf. iv, 15:—

ēvaṁ jñātavā kṛtaṁ karma

kuru karmaṇaiva tasmāt tevām

pūrvair api munukṣubhiḥ |

pūrvaiḥ pūrvataraṁ kṛtaṁ ||

² As suggested to me by Dr. Barnett, the passage referred to is evidently Bhagavad Gītā, iii, 4:—

na karmadārām andāvamabhān

naiṣkarmyam puruṣō 'ivaṅceti |

Without undertaking works no one attains to worklessness.
one's food of digestible, palatable, sweet, and tender substances; or not going by night upon a mountain,—there are commands for thousands of such works, and they should be obeyed, for what benefits do they not confer even in this life! Nay, there are some works of this kind which are such that if a man do not perform them he is even expelled from his caste.

Nevertheless, evil fortune hath entangled some so that they never turn their thoughts towards the commands of the Vēda, and many even say: "Sir, how is it possible for any man to perform works as they are ordained in the Scriptures? There is no place where you can put down your foot with certainty. There is no knowing where you are among them." Here we see the real cause for these people abstaining from the commands of the Scriptures, namely, that they have never had an opportunity of hearing them. For the commands, both orders and prohibitions, are so simple that any man can follow them. Even if some procedure be enjoined that is extremely difficult of accomplishment, beside it another kind of command is also written by which all difficulty is done away with. Thus, if the oil of a lamp fall upon the hand, so large a quantity of earth is prescribed for cleansing the hand that great difficulty would be experienced in carrying out the direction; but in the same passage it is explained that this means that the hand is rendered clean by rubbing it upon the ground. Again, in many places the extremely difficult cāndrāyana ¹ fast is enjoined as a penance for certain sins, yet in the same places it is written that if it be found too difficult, then a fast for three days, or even for one day, may be

¹ The name of a fast regulated by the moon, the food being diminished every day by one mouthful during the dark fortnight, and increased in like manner during the light fortnight. I regret that I have failed to identify the passages referred to.
substituted. This showeth how all the commands of the Scriptures are in truth easy of accomplishment, and that the only difficulty is to understand them, and to gird up the loins in the resolve to perform them.

This also should be considered that, if it were not intended that men should carry out these commands, why then were they ever written in the Scriptures? There are many classes of people who are called infidels (nāstika) or barbarians (mlēccha), and they are so called because they obey not the command of the Vēda, but the rather conduct themselves in opposition to it. It followeth therefore that whosoever conduct (pravṛtti) be not based upon these commands is, for this account only, an infidel and a barbarian; while if a man venture to call the Scriptures false, or to consider them merely to be like any other knowledge, or to speak of Heaven and Hell as old wives' fables, without doubt his lot will be damnation (durgati).

THE SECOND niṣṭhā: THAT OF PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL OF GRACE.

I bow to the Vyāsa, incarnation of the Holy Lord Kṛṣṇa, that incarnation by which He revealed the Vēdas for the salvation of the world, and in the which He spread abroad the Gospel of Grace by composing the Brahma-sūtras, the Mahābhārata, the eighteen Purāṇas, and the Books of the Law (Śmṛti). Then bow I to the mark of the Thunderbolt upon His lotus-feet, the destroyer of the terrible Vṛtrāsura and of the mountains of sin.

1 Including the well-known ten, followers of the bhakti-religion count no less than twenty-four incarnations of Viṣṇu. Of these twenty-four the Vyāsa is the eleventh.
2 Regarding the marks on the feet see note 1 on p. 342. Indra with his thunderbolt slew Vṛtra, and cut off the wings of mountains. Similarly, meditation on the thunderbolt mark on Viṣṇu's foot crumbles the mountain of sin to dust.
[Having dealt in the preceding section with the question of morality (dharma) and works (karma) generally, the author now proceeds to distinguish between morality and a state of grace (bhāgavata-dharma). The latter he defines as resulting from all those disinterested (niskāma) works which, whether in this or in any future life, are dedicated to the Holy One and are concerned with faith (bhakti) in Him. Morality, he explains, includes all good works, whether interested (sakāma) or disinterested, while the works which constitute a state of grace must be disinterested. All this involves a great deal of repetition of what has been already said above, and I do not translate it. He then proceeds:—]

Although the heart of a faithful one (bhakta) devoted to the observance of the Gospel of Grace, and with his thoughts at each moment turned only to Him, is independent of the necessity of doing or of abstaining from any other works, still many teachers have said that it is by the power of works that faith in the Holy One cometh into existence, and that until he hath forgotten every bodily fetter, and hath become totally absorbed (magna) (in his faith), he must continue performing the obligatory ceremonies, such as the daily rites (sandhyā) and the like. The contradiction here is only apparent, for if a man be devoted with a single mind to the Gospel of Grace, then every work that he may do is concerned with faith, and cannot be considered as a work, but as an act of faith.

Whoever be a preacher of this Gospel of Grace, as it hath been above declared, he is as it were its boat, which not only crosseth itself, but also carrieth others across. The saying tarana-tārana, or the ferrier of the ferried, is well known, and was invented to be said of such faithful saints (bhakta). Although the Holy One Himself is a preacher of the Gospel of Grace, inasmuch as He taught the Veda unto Brahmā, and the state of grace hath
been spread abroad through being in accordance with the Veda, nevertheless, in His special mercy, He showed such unceasing graciousness towards this currency that He threw not the entire weight even upon Brahmā, but also employed other means for its further diffusion.

Firstly, He caused faithful ones and mighty saints to prepare and utter sūtras, tantras, law-books (smṛti), the six systems of philosophy, the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, the Mahābhārata, and other itihāsas and purāṇas, so that, being in accordance with them, the currency was fostered, and at the same time mankind received benefit from hearing them read and from reciting them. Afterwards, when the Holy One perceived that the tastes of men had become directed towards the art of poetry, He taught them by means of dramas, campūs, epics (kavyas), and poetics (sāhitya), and when He saw that, in studying these, people’s intellects became wearied and confused, He moved men to write commentaries. When mankind did not perfectly understand even these, in the Kali age He made manifest Sūra-dāsa, Tulasi-Dāsa, Nābhā (the author of the Bhakta-māla), Agra-dāsa, Nanda-dāsa, and others, to narrate in their own tongue His deeds and the Gospel of Grace, and this again gave them currency in the world.

As a second means, He Himself, with His own lotus-mouth, clearly explained it, and having caused Lakṣmi, His attendants (pārsada), Brahmā, Śiva, Sanaka and his brethren, Nārada, Śukra, Brhaspati, Vasiṣṭha, the Vyāsa, and thousands of others to become spiritual guides (guru),

1 These are the names of famous poets of the bhakti-school. They all wrote in the vernacular.

2 All the persons named above are well known to students of Sanskrit literature. According to the bhakti-system they were energetic proclaimers of the gospel. One important tradition may be mentioned. Nārāyaṇa himself taught Lakṣmi. She taught the Pārsadas. These Pārsadas, or attendants on the Holy One, occupy a very prominent place in the theology of the school. Their leader was Visvak-sena. He taught Saṭha-kopa, who taught Vopadēva, who taught Srinātha, who taught
through them He gave instruction in this Gospel of Grace. In the Kali age, manifesting Himself by partial incarnations of various kinds as Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Mādhava, Viṣṇusvāmī, Vallabha, Hita Harivamśa, and hundreds of other teachers (ucārya), He even now, in His mercy, giveth salvation to millions of sinful men.

Pundarikākṣa, who taught Rāma-miśra, who taught Parāṁkuśa, who taught Yamanacārya, who taught Pūrnācārya, who taught Rāmānuja. It is thus claimed that Rāmānuja, the great founder of the modern Rāma-bhakti religion, was twelfth in spiritual descent from Narāyaṇa himself, through Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu-vak-śeṇa.

1 These are all famous religious teachers. Śaṅkara was the great Vedaṇṭa apostle. He cannot, by any stretch, be looked upon as a teacher of bhakti. His followers make him an incarnation of Śiva. To a Vaiṣṇava, that deity was one of Viṣṇu’s pupils in bhakti (see below). The ordinary Vaiṣṇava explanation (see, e.g., Haridēśandra’s Vaiṣṇava Sūrṣuṇa, p. 5) of Śiva’s connexion with Śaṅkara is that when the world was filled with Buddhism and other heresies, the Holy One directed Śiva to become incarnate and to preach a doctrine invented by himself (Śiva), so as to turn people from the Holy One and to manifest his glory by the consequent destruction of unbelievers. Wilson (Religious Sects, p. 11) quotes a similar legend from the Purāṇa, a Vaiṣṇava work, according to which Namuci and other Daityas had become so powerful by the purity of their devotions that Indra and the other gods were unable to oppose them. The gods had recourse to Viṣṇu, who ordered Śiva to introduce Śaiva tenets, by which the Daityas were beguiled and rendered “wicked and thence weak.” The idea of the Supreme Being Himself being the motive cause of the invention of heretical doctrines, in order to consign their believers to damnation, conveys quite a refreshing whiff of Western odio theologicum.

Rāmānuja, the founder of the Śrī-maṇḍradāya, which directed its faith more especially to Rāma, is said by his followers to be an incarnation of Śeṣa, the serpent of eternity. The name of the sect is derived from Śrī, or Lakṣmī, through whom, as explained in the preceding note, Rāmānuja is believed to have had spiritual descent.

Nimbārka, the founder of the second, or Sanakādi-, maṇḍradāya, is said to have been an incarnation of Śūrya, or the sun. The Holy One, in his incarnation as a Hasa, or sun (the fourteenth in the bhakti list of incarnations), taught Sanaka and his brethren, who taught Nārada, who taught Nimbārka or Nimbāditya. The followers of this sect worship Rāma and Kṛṣṇa conjointly.

Mādhava or Madhvācārya, the founder of the third, or Brahma-, maṇḍradāya, is said to have been an incarnation of Vāyu, or the air, and had been previously incarnate as Hanumān and as Bhima. He also had spiritual descent from the Hasa incarnation of the Holy One. Hamsa
Thirdly, He manifested temples and images, places for adoration and austerities, such as Badarikāśrama,\(^1\) His own abodes on this earth, such as Mathurā\(^2\) and Ayodhya,\(^3\) and bathing-places, such as the Ganges, the Yamunā, or Puṣkara, that by their power faith might be spread abroad.

The sum of the whole is this, that so desirous is the Holy One for the spread and for the confirmation of His Gospel of Grace, that whenever even the smallest

taught Brahmā, who taught Nārada, who taught the Vyāsa, who taught Subuddha, who taught Narahari, who taught Mādhava. The sect is a Vaishnava one, and its distinguishing point is that it teaches duality, or the distinctness of the principle of life from the Supreme Being. Although a bhakti-sect, it does not single out any special incarnation of the Holy One for worship. For further particulars of his teaching see R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883–84, p. 74.

Viṣṇusvāmi, the founder of the fourth, or Rudra-, sambpradāya, is said to have been an incarnation of the Vyāsa. His spiritual descent is derived from the Varada-rāja form of the Holy One, who taught Śiva, who taught Prēmananda. From the last-named, Viṣṇusvāmi was forty-eighth in spiritual descent. The sect is considered to have been derived from Śiva or Rudra, whence its name. It is devoted mainly to the worship of the Holy One under the form of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

These four, the Śrī-, the Sanakādī-, the Brahma-, and the Rudra-, are the four great sambpradāyas, or Churches of the bhakti-school. Every sect claims to be a member or branch of one or other of them. The first and the last are the two which are current in Northern India, and with which I am best acquainted. The Śrī-sambpradāya includes all those sects which specially worship Rāma, and the Rudra-sambpradāya those that worship Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. According to Wilson the dates of the four masters are as follows:—Rāmānuja, middle of the twelfth century; Nimbārka, date unknown (tradition makes him very ancient); Mādhava, early in thirteenth century; Viṣṇusvāmi, date unknown (tradition puts him as living during the war of the Mahābhārata).

Vallabha, or Vallabhācārya, was a teacher of the Rudra-sambpradāya, born in 1479 a.d., who founded the Vallabhācārī sect, and introduced the now very popular worship of the infant Kṛṣṇa.

Hita Harivaṃśa (born 1559 a.d.) was the founder of the well-known Rādhā-vallabhi sect, and a famous poet. According to some he belonged to the Brahma-, and according to others to the Sanakādī-sambpradāya.

\(^1\) I.e., Badrināth in Garhwāl, a famous place of pilgrimage. One of the sources of the Ganges.
\(^2\) The abode of Kṛṣṇa.
\(^3\) The abode of Rāma.
impediment thereto appeareth, then He Himself, the Holy One, becometh incarnate to slay the offender and to make steadfast His own people. In the Gītā,\(^1\) saith the Holy One, “Arjuna, when piety (dharma) minisheth and impiety waxeth strong, then do I myself become incarnate to protect my Faithful (bhakta), to destroy the wicked, and to establish my Gospel of Grace.”

It therefore followeth of necessity, and is most urgent, that everyone should labour and endeavour to spread abroad the Gospel of Grace; for not only doth this please the Holy One, but also he that spreadeth it abroad is counted as forming a part of His vibhūta avatāra, or ‘transcendent’ incarnation. Somewhere is it written in the Scriptures that he who taketh one that is averse and turneth him towards the Holy One, hath earned the fruits of ten thousand horse-sacrifices. Now these are among the means of spreading the Gospel of Grace,—telling the Gospel of the Lord: erecting temples, choirs (bhajana-kruti), rest-houses, gardens, wells, tanks, schools, and buildings where they who hymn the Holy One and where the world at large may find rest; composing narratives of His deeds and commentaries on ancient works; encouraging the Gospel of the Holy One and putting aside that which is opposed to it; the distribution of daily alms (sadā-vrata), especially at holy places such as Badarikāśrama, Ayodhya, or Haridvāra; vigils and attendance at litanies (kīrtana) on the eleventh\(^2\) of each

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\(^{1}\) Bhagavad Gītā, iv, 7, 8:

\begin{align*}
\text{yuddā yuddā hi dharmasya} & \quad \text{glānir bhavati, Bhūrata} \\
\text{abhuyutthānam adharmasya} & \quad \text{tadbāmānām arjamy abhām} \\
\text{paritṛṣṇāya sādhūnām} & \quad \text{vināśāya ca duṣṭrām} \\
\text{dharma-samsthāpātārthāya} & \quad \text{sambhavāmi yugē yugē} \\
\end{align*}

It will be observed that the people preserved are called sādhu, not bhakta. Strictly speaking, in technical language, the two words do not connote the same thing.

\(^{2}\) The eleventh tithi of each lunar fortnight is sacred to Viṣṇu. It is known as the Hari-vāsara, the Lord’s day.
fortnight and on other fast days dedicated to the Holy One; considering as days sacred to the Holy One the festivals of His various incarnations and other occasions dedicated to His memory, rejoicing on them openly and with affection; doing a man's best to learn and to teach; and all other such actions as shall turn men's hearts to the Holy One.

Who can worthily describe or fitly extol him who is a faithful servant of the Holy One, and the man whose heart and soul are directed only towards the welfare and salvation of his neighbours? He hath achieved the Great Success. Nay, even he is dear unto the Holy One who preacheth the Gospel of Grace only for his own glory and to be seen of men; for through such a man thousands may be put upon the way of salvation, and by virtue of the morality which he must needs practise, or by the prayer of some Faithful one, his own heart may perchance turn really to the Holy One. The Scriptures never weary in celebrating the favour shown by Him unto those that preach the Gospel. I call to mind one story from the Prapannāmyaṭa about Anantācārya. A breach became formed in the road between the temple and the town in which he preached, so that the way became obstructed. In order that the people might have no difficulty in going backwards and forwards, Anantācārya himself took a basket and mattock, and began to fill up the hollow. He asked his wife, who was then far gone in pregnancy, to help him in his work. When the time of her labour drew nigh and she carried hardly the basket of earth, the Holy One, Himself, in His graciousness, took the form of a coolie, and bade her rest while He carried the basket for her. After a while Anantācārya beheld a coolie

1 An anonymous life of Rāmānuja. Anantācārya was one of the most eminent of Rāmānuja's successors as a preacher of bhakti. See Hariścandra's Caritāvali, p. 25.
doing his wife's work, and running up to him with a stick cried angrily to him: "Who art thou that, without permission given, takest a share in my labour?" As he approached, the Holy One fled (for there was naught else for him to do) and took refuge within the temple. Anantācārya ran in after him cudgel in hand, and when he had entered, lo! the image of the Holy One therein had its body smeared with mud, and was all covered with the dust of the road. Then Anantācārya understood that the Holy One, in His graciousness to one who preached His Gospel, had taken compassion on his wife and had Himself carried her basket. Folding his hands in supplication, and drowned in a sea of love, he cried: "Lord, have compassion on me! Such a deed was the labour of a slave, and yet it hath been done unto me by my Master!"

In this way we see that it is incumbent on every man, with all his heart and soul and strength, to preach as best he can this supreme Gospel. If a man be skilled in words and learned, let him compose histories of the Holy One; and let him remember that there have been hundreds of poets who have chattered without measure, but all the time have not once thought of writing one line about Him or His glorious deeds. Often hath it been said unto such an one, "Cleanse thy voice and thy heart by telling of the glory of the Holy One," and this one will give answer, "Sir, I am busy describing the doctrine of the identity of the universe with the Deity," and that one replieth, "I must suit my rhymes to the times," and yet another saith, "A poet hath no leisure for heeding anything but metre and diction. Laborare est orare. This is an effectual way of serving the Holy One." ¹ Such answers are bootless, and such work hath no profit in it; for the long and short of

¹ The first reply is supposed to be given by a professor of the pantheism of the advaita Vedānta, to which the bhakti-belief is in the strongest opposition. "Laborare est orare" is a free translation of yah bhī tō Bhagavat-bhujān hai.

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it is that the poem, or any composition with all the graces possible of style, that doth not tell of the acts of the Holy One, is altogether fruitless and most base. Odious is it as a fair moon-faced damsel who goeth about naked and unashamed.

Moreover, most of the business of this world hath its foundation on wealth and on great possessions, and well know the rich that no one had wealth in the beginning nor will he keep it to the end. Empty-handed did he come, and empty-handed will he go. This wealth is named māya, or illusion, and Lakṣmi, who is its guardian goddess, is the faithful spouse of the Holy One. Where her Lord is not, there will she not remain, but instantly departeth. Therefore let him, who would make his wealth to be eternal, lay it upon the path of the Holy One, and pass his time in service and in worship. Thousands have there been of opulent bankers and men of great possessions. Yet their very names are now forgotten. But the name of every man who hath built a temple or a choir, or who hath dug a tank, endureth to this day. The pity of it is that so many who gain wealth spend not more of it upon the spreading abroad of the Gospel of Grace. The knowledge of God, of the soul, of the world, of heaven, of hell, of faith, of knowledge itself, of freedom from the passions, and of the churches and their teachings, all dependeth upon means of learning. Now that the four castes, Brāhmaṇs, Kṣattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, have all given up the habit of searching the scriptures, all moralities have become destroyed. In the Deccan—in Cināpaṭṭana (i.e. Madras), Telinga, Drāvida, and the twelve Malhārs—there is a law that if any boy be disobedient in applying himself to the

1 Dr. Fleet, to whom I am also indebted for the reference to Cināpaṭṭana, suggests that ‘the twelve Malhārs’ means ‘the Mallād,’ a Kanarese corruption of Mallād, Malanāḍu, and a well-known name for the Ghāṭ regions of the Kanarese country. Why the writer numbers them as twelve is not clear.
scriptures, his elders take the order of the ruler of the land, and send him to school with fetters on his legs; nor are these taken off until he study the scriptures through and through. For this cause is every man in that land steadfast in morals. From the Brāhmans down to the lowest castes, no one is ignorant of the doctrines of his own religion, and but few become entangled in the meshes of the words of the ungodly. Therefore, let every man, so far as in him lieth, help the reading of the scriptures, whether those of his own church or those of another. If he know not Sanskrit, then the reading of them in his mother-tongue will accomplish all that he desireth. Such glory hath the Holy One given unto the Śūra-sāgara ¹ and to the Rāmāyāna of Tulasī-dāsa ² that they who study them from day to day, of a surety become dear unto Him. So also is the glory of the words of Nanda-dāsa, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa, Agra-dāsa, and Chita-svāmi; ³ and in the commencement of the commentary to the Bhakta-māla ⁴ it is written how it is all-important that a man should have the story of the Holy One recited and should teach others to hear it, and that, just as he bringeth up his retainers and his children and his children's children in the conduct of this world, so should he turn others to the Holy One, and teach them His Thousand names, the Gītā, ⁵ the Stava-rāja, ⁶ and such

¹ The work of Śūra-dāsa. The vernacular Bible of the Kṛṣṇa-worshippers.
² The famous Rāma-carita-mānas. The vernacular Bible of the Rāma-worshippers. These two works are between them said to exhaust all possibilities of the poet's art.
³ These are all poet saints of the northern Bhakti-school.
⁴ The famous work of Nābhā-dāsa, the Acta Sanctorum of the Bhakti-school. I have failed to trace the passage referred to.
⁵ A section of the Amsāsana Parvan of the Mahābhārata, cataloguing the thousand names of Viṣṇu. Its repetition is over and over again enjoined on Bhaktas.
⁶ The Bhagavad Gītā.
⁷ The name of Bhīma's hymn in honour of Kṛṣṇa, in the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata. The title means the 'King of Hymns of Praise.'
scriptures. For if a man turn not his family and his household towards the Gospel of Grace, and teach not the knowledge that holdeth thereunto, then the sin, lasting his life long, lieth upon the heads of his parents, who trained him not up to teach, and showed him not its necessity. Contrariwise, if a man hath in his family those who are faithful to the Holy One, he releaseth from hell not only himself, but also them that went before him. Prahlāda and others are witnesses of this.

O Thou Ocean of Mercy! O Thou Friend of the lowly! O Thou Royal Moon of Vraja! deign Thou to come for a while unto this house, and to cast a glance upon Thy slave. For, save at thy lotus-feet, there is no other refuge, no other guardian. If Thou wilt but look upon the works which I have dedicated unto Thee, no longer shall I be compelled to linger here through the round of countless births and rebirths. Therefore, in Thy mercy and in Thy compassion alone do I take refuge; and though I know full well that I offer praise and honour and devotion and adulation to the worldly, who have turned aside from Thee, a thousand times more than I pass my time in reverential devotion and meditation upon Thee, still the bark of faith will bear me across in but a moment of time. But, so luckless, so vile, so sinful, is this heart of mine, that even by mistake it turneth not willingly to Thee, and, therefore, in order that this heart, foolish, and dull of comprehension, may ever bear Thee in mind and thus may speedily gain its highest wish, have I laid out a fair garden on the bank of the holy Yamunā.

(The writer concludes with a poetical description of this garden in which he has built a shrine for the due worship of the Holy One. It is not necessary for our present purpose to translate it.)

* * * * *

So ends the Bhakta-kalpadruma account of the doctrine of works. One important point has been obscured by my
method of translation. I have given the "Gospel of Grace" as the equivalent of the vernacular Bhāgavata Dharma, but the original words link the modern bhaktas in an unmistakable manner with a past far older than Christianity. Some months ago, in a discussion held in this room on the influence of early Christianity upon modern Hinduism, I hesitated to ascribe so ancient an origin to the modern bhakti-doctrine. That that doctrine, as it now stands, has been deeply influenced by Christianity I am still as convinced as ever, but further study in the direction suggested by Professor Keith has led me to give more weight than I had hitherto done to the importance of its descent from the old Bhāgavata monotheistic religion dating from an age perhaps contemporary with the early Upaniṣads, introduced and spread abroad not by Brāhmans but by men of other castes in opposition to Brahmānic pantheism, and ultimately absorbed, like many other Indian religions, by Brahmānism itself. That the ancient Bhāgavata faith was originally a rival of the Vedic religion is, I think, admitted by all scholars, whether Indian or European, who have studied the subject. As adopted by Brāhmans, and given a superficial Vedic coating, we have it in the Bhagavad Gītā, and even here the loose connexion with orthodox Brahmānism is patent in every line. As Mr. Telang shows, all that we can say of the author of the poem as we have it now is that he does not throw the Vēdas absolutely overboard. He even contends that acting upon the ordinances of the Vēda is an obstacle to the attainment of the summum bonum. But the Brāhmans, compelled by the exigencies of their struggle against Buddhism, had been forced to make terms with this hostile teaching, and to endeavour to show that it was consonant with their own. Having once drawn the followers of the Bhāgavata religion within their fold,

1 See Journal of the Society for 1907, p. 493.
they have, with characteristic astuteness, infected it more and more with their own ideas, till we see it as presented in what has been here translated. The supernatural holiness of everything touched upon by the Vêdas is now insisted upon, and has given rise to the controversy regarding faith and works that has divided the Bhâgavata churches as sharply as it has the Christian Churches of the West. Going back to the origins, we see that, as all the world over, it is to the priestly caste that we owe the emphasis laid upon works and ceremonial, while it is the laity,—the Kşattriyas and Vaiśyas of ancient India,—who first laid down the law of the necessity of devotion and faith that in the course of centuries has developed into the modern Hindû doctrine of bhakti.
THE SANKHYAYANA ARANYAKA.

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Now that the complete text\(^1\) of the Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka will shortly be available, it may be of interest to give a brief account of that comparatively little-known\(^2\) work, and in particular of the part hitherto unpublished, on the basis of the excellent and old manuscript of the text in the Bodleian Library\(^3\) at Oxford.

In the first place the name of the book is a little doubtful. In favour of the title Kauśitaki Āranyaka may be set the fact that nowhere in the book is a Śāṅkhāyana cited as an authority for any doctrine, whereas Kauśitaki is so cited in several passages.\(^4\) For a similar cause Lindner, in his edition of the Brāhmaṇa,\(^5\) has adopted the title Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa. On the other hand, the name found in the two complete MSS.\(^6\) in Berlin and in Oxford is Śāṅkhāyana, though Kauśitaki does occur as the title in a MS. mentioned by Cowell.\(^7\) More important,
however, is the fact that in the Vamsa which forms Adhyaya xv we find as the first teacher Gunakhya Sankhayana, who derived his information from Kahola Kausitaki. The title may, therefore, be either Kausitaki or Sankhayana, but the latter is more precisely correct.

The next point is the extent of the work. In the Berlin MS., and with some variation in the Bodleian MS., the Aranyaka is divided into fifteen chapters. Adhyayas i and ii deal with the Mahavrata, iii to vi form the Kausitaki Brhma Upanisad, vii and viii the Samhit Upanisad, ix–xi contain miscellaneous Upanisads, xii a hymn, xiii and xiv a short Upanisad, and xv the Vamsa. With this arrangement agrees the reckoning found in some MSS. of the Kausitaki Brhma Upanisad as Adhyayas iii to vi of the Aranyaka. Another reckoning treated the Upanisad by itself as Adhyayas i to iv, just as was done in the case of the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, the Chandogya Upanisad, and the Aitareya Upanisad. More difficulty is caused by the reckoning in one MS. of the Upanisad by which the Adhyayas were counted as vi–ix, but it may be suggested that in this case the Aranyaka was reckoned as consisting of Adhyayas vii, viii, ix–xi, iii–vi. This is not impossible, because the first two Adhyayas were in fact sometimes omitted, as is shown by the fact that in one MS. the Adhyayas vii–xi are found numbered v–ix, and the Adhyayas vii–xi can naturally be separated from xii, and placed before, just as well as after, iii–vi. This leaves unexplained only Poleys statement that

1 For the exact title, see Cowell's ed., pp. vii, viii; Max Muller, S.B.E., i, p. xcviii.
2 Cowell, p. vii (MS. F); Berliu Catalogue, i, p. 19.
3 Ibid., p. vii (MS. A).
4 Ibid., p. iii (MS. B). This MS. was imperfect, ending abruptly before the conclusion of Adhyaya ix (xi).
5 Indische Studien, i, p. 392. It is not at all likely that he had another MS. with this division, and the four books of the Upanisad would hardly have been separated.
the Upaniṣad formed in one MS. the first, seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the Kaṇśitaki Brāhmaṇa (presumably Āranyaka is meant), but as this statement is not confirmed by any evidence I do not think we need hesitate to regard 'first' as a mere slip for 'sixth.'

As this variance of MSS. indicates, the Āranyaka forms a very loose mass of fragments of philosophy and ritual. It is, however, possible to divide it into six or seven parts, not at all intimately related. The first of these is the Mahāvrata section, Adhyāyas i and ii, corresponding to Aitareya Āranyaka, book i, while to book v of the Aitareya, which contains the Sūtra treatment of the ritual as contrasted with the Brāhmaṇa, correspond books xvii and xviii of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, which, as has been pointed out elsewhere,1 were once, in all probability, part of the Āranyaka. The Śāṅkhāyana treatment is probably later than that of the Aitareya, as is indicated by its greater conciseness and clearness on the one hand, and by the more elaborate and artificial character of the ritual on the other, but it seems to be anterior to the treatment of the same topic in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, especially if, as seems most likely, Eggeling2 is right in finding a reference to the Śāṅkhāyana use of seventeen priests in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x, 2, 1, 19.3 This view is confirmed on the whole by linguistic evidence.4 But the treatment is probably early in date, as in indicated by the close connection between the Āranyaka i and ii, and the Kaṇśitaki Brāhmaṇa, which is frequently referred to as tasyoktaṃ brāhmaṇam.5 The two works are similar in style and ideas, and both belong to the period of the

1 See J. R. A. S., 1907, pp. 408 seq.
2 S. B. E., xiii, p. 348, n. 1.
3 See also Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 35 seq., where details are given.
4 Ibid., p. 65.
5 Friedländer, p. 7. Brāhmaṇam is not, of course, so used a proper name; cf. Weber, Indische Studien, xvii, p. 373.
mystic interpretation of ritual, but show no trace of later philosophic conceptions. It is characteristic that the masculine Brahman does not occur, though brahma contrasted with brahmaṇī is found, and that the ideal seems to be long life in this world, to be followed by amṛtatva and aksīti in the svarga loka. No doubt these views persist long after the new doctrine of Mukti comes into being, but the case here is different, for Mukti is still unknown.

The second part of the Āranyaka, Adhyāyas iii–vi, forms the famous Upaniṣad. Unlike the two preceding Adhyāyas, these chapters have no real parallel in the Aitareya Āranyaka, for the latter in its treatment adheres to the Mahāvṛata as a basis, while the former is an independent work, which agrees in little even with the portion of the Aitareya (ii, 4–6) which forms the Upaniṣad in the narrower sense. That the Kausitaki is not one of the very oldest Upaniṣads is now generally admitted. Its philosophic doctrine goes far beyond the Aitareya, while

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1 i, 5; 6. I am not sure how Friedländer takes these passages.
2 ii, 17.
3 These Adhyāyas seem to be reckoned as making up only one Upaniṣad, unlike books ii and iii of the Aitareya Āranyaka, of which Adhyāyas iv–vi of book ii are reckoned as constituting the Upaniṣad par excellence. This double reckoning vindicates Sāyāna’s accuracy in citing from the Aitareya Upaniṣad (viz. iii, 2, 2) na ha vā ṛte prāṇād retah sicyate, etc., in his commentary on Taṅtiriya Sāṁhitā, ii, 1, 1, 2, 3, against Geldner, Vediche Studien, ii, p. 306. The Sāṅkhāyana version (viii, 2) is slightly different in wording.
4 Deussen: Philosophy of the Upanishads, p. 24.
5 Aitareya Āranyaka, p. 41. Brahman (m.) is found in iii, 5, and cf. brahmaṇaloka, iii, 3, which word, found also in the Brhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya, almost postulates a personal Brahman: Weber, Indische Studien, i, p. 396, n. Böhtlingk, wrongly in my opinion, finds him in Aitareya, ii, 6. None of the passages in Muir, Texts, v, pp. 320–1; Maclennel, Vedic Mythology, p. 168, or BR. s.v., are cogent, and I doubt if he is found before the Brhadāraṇyaka, and the later part of the Atharva. He is not in the Taṅtiriya, Aitareya, Satapatha, Kausitaki, or Pañceavimśa Brāhmaṇas.
its account\(^1\) of the paths after death is clearly later than either that of the Brhadāranyaka or the Chāndogya.\(^2\) The twelve questions of Bālāki in the Brhadāranyaka\(^3\) have increased to sixteen in the Kauśitaki.\(^4\) The linguistic evidence tells the same tale. The narrative tense of the Kauśitaki is throughout the perfect, some eighty-three cases of which occur. The narrative imperfects, on the other hand, are almost unknown. There are four examples in a speech attributed to Indra (v, 1), and there the perfect would be almost impossible. Another occurs in a Mantra (iv, 11), and in iv, 7, the imperfect is used in a curious way with a present following (yad ahorātrābhīyāṁ pāpan akarot saṁ tad vrñkте). The next clause actually has karoti. In vi, 1, so 'vasad Uśinareṣu savasamatsyeṣu seems, if the much disputed reading\(^5\) is correct, deliberately used to contrast Bālāki's temporary but continuous acts with his permanent character (anuvācanaḥ saṁspasta āśo) on the one hand, and his single actions (uvāca) on the other. In vi, 20, paryait is not only strange, but there is in the other recension a well-attested variant, pariyāya. The periphrastic perfect occurs twice (juhavām cakruṁ, iv, 5; āmantrayāṁ cakre, vi, 19). The aorist in some, twenty-five cases has its precise sense, so that it is impossible to overlook the significance of the narrative use of the perfect, which in the Aitareya is almost unknown save in two sections which are not connected with the main context of the work and are clearly derived from another source.\(^6\) Though both the Brhadāranyaka and the Chāndogya prefer the perfect the imperfect remains in use.

On the other hand the Kauśitaki is probably an early work.\(^7\) Its connection with the main stream of Kauśitaki tradition is seen in the occurrence of the names of Kauśitaki

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\(^1\) iii, 1.  
\(^2\) Deussen, *l.c.*  
\(^3\) ii, 1.  
\(^4\) vi, 1.  
\(^6\) Viz., ii, 2, 3, and 4. See *Aitareya Aranyaka*, p. 60.  
\(^7\) It shows no Sāmkhya traits, Garbe, *Sāmkhya Philosophie*, p. 20.
and Paṅga as authorities, and both its form and its matter differentiate it entirely from works like the Kāṭhaka and Īsā Upaniṣads. For an absolute date we have no cogent evidence; it most probably belongs to the fifth century at latest, and very likely it may be earlier. For it contains no reference to Buddhism, and we know that Upaniṣads like the Maitrāyaṇīya, which at any rate was definitely a product of a Vedic school, refer clearly to Buddhist views, so that 600–550 B.C. may have seen the production of the Kaśitaki. This date would consist well with all the historical data and names mentioned in the Upaniṣad. They are Citra Gaṅgayanī (or Gārgyaṇī), iii, 1; the Gautamas Uddālaka Ārṇi, iii, 1, and Śvetaketu, iii, 1; Kaśitaki, iv, 1 and 7; Paṅga, iv, 1; Gārgya Bālāki and Ajātaśatru, vi, 1; and Śuskaḥṛāgāra, iv, 6; besides the Uṣīnāras, the Vaśamatsyas, the Kurupaṅcālās and the Kaśīvidehas, vi, 1. Śvetaketu was, in the opinion of Āpastamba, who cannot well be later than 300 B.C. and may be earlier, an avara, and belongs probably to the seventh or early sixth century B.C. Of course a later date would be essential if we could accept the view that in the Ajātaśatru of the Upaniṣads we must see the Buddhist prince, king of Magadha about 491 B.C. But this view appears to us to lack all probability. The Ajātaśatru of the Upaniṣad is of Kaśī; the Ajatāsattu of the Pāli canon is of Magadha and is not lord of Kaśī.

1 Lindner, Kaśitaki Brāhmaṇa, p. ix; Weber, Indian Literature, p. 46.
2 Indische Studien, i, p. 404.
3 Max Müller, op. cit., xv, p. lii.
4 See Bühler, SBE, ii, p. xiii.
5 Supported by no less an authority than Dr. Hoernle in his admirable Osteology (pp. 106–7). Cf. also Ludwig, Ryveda, iii, p. 13; Gough, Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, p. 185.
6 Rhys Davids: Buddhist India, pp. 12–16. Pasenadi held it (Dīgha Nikāya); see Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 393, n. †. The Buddhist period knows the Kaśikosallas (cf. Weber, Indische Studien, i, p. 212); the Brāhmaṇas, the Kaśīvidehas, and Kosalavidehas.
Further, as Yājñavalkya, Janaka of Videha, and Ajāta-
śatru are all according to the Upaniṣads¹ contemporaries,
we would be forced to date even the Brhadāraṇyaka
Upaniṣad at a date considerably subsequent to Buddha,
for in the Brhadāraṇyaka Yājñavalkya is so clearly
a figure of somewhat ancient fame and not a recent sage,
that we must suppose that he lived a long time—say
a century—before the writer of the Upaniṣad. But the
Brhadāraṇyaka is normally assumed on good grounds to
be earlier than Buddhism,² and indeed it would be strange
if Buddha has really been a contemporary of Yājñavalkya
without any trace of him being found in the Upaniṣads
dealing with that sage.

Further, the existence of two recensions of the Upaniṣad
is in favour of its early date, as is the extremely obscure
and probably corrupt nature of the text. The Bodleian
and the Berlin MSS. undoubtedly belong to the recension
contained in Cowell’s MSS. A and D, which apparently
was before Śāṅkara,³ and contain no variant of much
consequence.

The third part of the Āraṇyaka, Adhyāyas vii and
viii, corresponds very closely to Aitareya Āraṇyaka iii, the

¹ This follows from Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, ii, 1; Kauśitaki
Upaniṣad, vi, 1, where Ajātaśatru refers to Janaka as a contemporary
prince. For the contemporaneity of Janaka and Yājñavalkya there is
abundant evidence; see Jacob’s Concordance, pp. 369, 771.

² See e.g. Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 162; Garbe, Philosophy of India,
p. 69; Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 226; Winternitz, Geschichte
der indischen Litteratur, i, pp. 257–8; Deussen, Philosophy of the
Upaniṣhads, p. 51; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 18, 31.

³ See Cowell’s ed., p. v; Max Müller, S.B.E., i, p. xxix. I do not
think Cowell (p. viii) is right in conjecturing that there were two
recensions of the Āraṇyaka, and that the different recensions of the
Upaniṣad are thence derived. There is no evidence of any such
recensions of the Āraṇyaka. What is much more probable is that the
Upaniṣad, which was most studied, was handed down in slightly different
texts. That preserved in Śāṅkarananda’s commentary has every
appearance of being an attempt at an improved version of the text,
and its claim to any great age is not clear.
Saṃhitā Upaniṣad, dealing with the mystic significance of the Saṃhitā text. The exact relationship of the versions may be seen from the following table, in which the parallel, not necessarily identical passages, are set opposite each other:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ŚĀNKHYĀNA ĀRANYAKA.</th>
<th>AITAREYA ĀRANYAKA.</th>
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<tr>
<td>vii, 1.</td>
<td>Śānti verses (my ed., pp. 75, 76).</td>
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<td>vii, 4–7.</td>
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<td>vii, 8; 9.</td>
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<td>vii, 10.</td>
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<td>vii, 11–13.</td>
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<td>vii, 14–16.</td>
<td>iii, 1, 6.</td>
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<td>vii, 17.</td>
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<td>vii, 18; 19.</td>
<td>iii, 1, 6.</td>
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<td>vii, 20.</td>
<td>(Cf. ii, 6.)</td>
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<td>vii, 21.</td>
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<td>vii, 22.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 1.</td>
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<td>viii, 1.</td>
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<td>viii, 2.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 3.</td>
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<td>viii, 3; 4.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 3; 4.</td>
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<td>viii, 5.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 4.</td>
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<td>viii, 6.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 4; 5.</td>
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<td>viii, 7.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 5.</td>
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<td>viii, 8; 9.</td>
<td>iii, 2, 6.</td>
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<td>viii, 10; 11.</td>
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On the whole, the version of the Śānkhyāyana substantially follows the version of the Aitareya; the wording of the corresponding sections is quite often identical. In both cases the division of the Khandas is absurd. In all probability the Śānkhyāyana version is not independent of or parallel with the Aitareya recension. The former appears to be based on and an extension of the latter. In every case it is much more full than the Aitareya. For instance, the imprecations of the Aitareya Āranyaka (iii, 1, 4) are confined to the case of cursing a man.
who attacks one who holds the doctrine that prāna is vamśa. But in the Śāṅkhāyana, vii, 8 and 9, the curses are divided into two groups, one set apparently to curse with when not attacked, and one set wherewith to retaliate against an attack. In the second place, besides the names common to both versions, the Śāṅkhāyana records in short paragraphs, made up mainly of repetitions and amplifications of what has preceded, the views of Viśvāmitra (vii, 4), Sūryadatta (vii, 5), Rādheya (vii, 6), Pauṣkarasādī (vii, 7), Bhārgava (vii, 15), Kāśyapa (vii, 17), Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga (vii, 20), Vālīśikhāyani (vii, 21), Lauhikya (vii, 22), Aruṇīkeya (vii, 1), Punardatta (vii, 8), Tāṇḍavinda (va) (vii, 10), and Jātākarnya Kātyāyaniputra (viii, 10). Now it should be said at once that no argument for or against an early date can certainly be drawn from a large mass of names. Weber has pointed out that the occurrence of many authorities is consistent with either a late or an early author. But the evidence for a late date in this case is overwhelming, for the sages we hear of in these passages are either quasi-mythical like Viśvāmitra, or at any rate quite unknown elsewhere in the Upaniṣads. Jāratkārava is indeed found in the Brhadāranyaka (iii, 2, 1); the name Aruṇīkeya has connections with the Āruṇī; and Bhārgava of Vidarbha is known to the late Praśna Upaniṣad. But Pauṣkarasādī is elsewhere only a grammarian; Sūryadatta and Punardatta are unknown; Tāṇḍavinda merely is reminiscent of the Tāṇḍins;

1 Śākalya (vii, 3), Sthavirah Śākalya (vii, 16; viii, 1; 11), Kauṇḍharavya (vii, 14; viii, 2), Pañcālaśaṇḍa (vii, 18), Tārkeya (śic, vii, 19), Vātasya (Aitareya, Bādhya; vii, 3; 4), Kṛṣṇa Hārita (Aitareya, Kṛṣṇa Hārita; vii, 10), Kāvaṣeyas (vii, 11), Āgastyā (vii, 2), and the Māṇḍūkeyas, Sauravīra (Śūraśīra in Aitareya; vii, 2; 8; 9; 10), Hrasva (vii, 12; vii, 11), Dirgha (not in Aitareya; vii, 2), and Madhyama, Prātibodhiputra Magadhavāsin (vii, 13), while Mākṣavya in the Aitareya is replaced by Māṇḍavya (vii, 2).

2 Indian Literature, p. 50, n. 36.

Lauhikya's very name is uncertain (it may be Lauhitya, a name apparently known to Pāṇini and found in the Harivamśa); and Rādhēya and Vālīśikhāyani have parallels only in the Epic, while the former suggests several questions. This strange collection must mean that the ingenious reviser of the Aitareya desired to append new names to doctrines which he wished to expound. But the work need not have been done at a late date, for no new grammatical terms are introduced and the Aitareya text was probably earlier than Yāska and the real study of grammar.

The impression of a copy and a working over is borne out by the language. In vii, 3, the phrase dyāvāpyāthivyau samadhātām ity adhikaivatam can only be understood as a short cut for dyāvāpyāthivyau samadhātām ity utōpy āhur itī nu adhikaivatam of Aitareya Aranyaka, iii, 1, 2, and the readings so hāpi parihṛto mene and parihṛto mena ity Āgastyaḥ in vii, 2, seem no more than an attempt to amend the very obscure parihṛto of the Aitareya, iii, 1, 1. The form divyāyatanam in vii, 10, seems to be an effort to make a compound of dyu-āyatanam parallel to antarīksāyatanam as against the divyāyatanam of Aitareya, iii, 1, 3. The obvious abhivyāharan, vii, 14, replaces the obscure abhivyāhārson of Aitareya, iii, 1, 6. The insertion of an iti in vii, 19, after raksayata deprives us of the picturesque conception of the patient guardianship of Tārksya (or Tārukṣya) over

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1 iv, 1, 18; Harivamśa, 1771. Cf. the Lohicca Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.
2 Probably it is a Nakṣatra name and need have no connection with the hero of the Epic or with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. But Rādhā as a Nakṣatra is late, Whitney, Atharvaveda, p. 908; Ludwig, Rgveda, iii, p. 185.
3 See Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 51, 52. The Rgveda Prātiṣākhyay copies iii, 1, 1, of that work.
4 For the construction, cf. Śaṅkhāyana Aranyaka, i, 5; Mantra Brāhmaṇa, ii, 1, 7; Friedländer, p. 41, n. 2.
5 Cf. Max Müller, Rgveda Prātiṣākhyay, pp. v, vi.
6 Cf. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, ii, i, p. 127.
his master's cows for a year, a primitive idea probably not understood by the redactor of the Upaniṣad. The expression kāmarūpi kāmacārī in vii, 22, is comparatively modern. In viii, 1, the fourth element, lohita, is made to be merely aksara-rūpa, instead of antasthārūpa, and the phrase saḥhaksatām aśnute is new. In viii, 9, the curious error in the Aitareya, iii, 2, 6, by which aṅgulayāḥ and tantrayāḥ have been misplaced in the text, is undone. In viii, 11, the use of brāyāt, though natural, is bad grammar, and is probably due to copying the original carelessly. And so on.

While there is a good deal of mere copying, there is a certain amount of originality in the Śāṅkhāyana version. In vii, 20, there is an enumeration of the parts of time not found earlier in this form, viz., āhvaṁsayaḥ nimeśāḥ kāsthāḥ kalāḥ ksaṇāḥ mukūrtaḥ ahorātra ardhamāsā māsāḥ rtavaḥ saṃvatsaraś ca, and we find the three forms of action, gatiṇivṛtti-sthiti. Finally, Vālīśikhāyani is credited (vii, 21) with a doctrine of the bhūtas, which is a decided advance in clearness 1 on Aitareya, ii, 6. The grammatical form, on the other hand, follows strictly the original, and the only past tense in frequent use is the aorist (twenty-three cases), with three cases of the narrative imperfect, two of the ordinary perfect, and two of the periphrastic perfect.

The fourth part of the Aranyakā, Adhyāyas ix–xi, falls naturally into three subdivisions, which are not necessarily to be attributed to one author, and indeed may possibly represent independent Upaniṣads. Adhyāya ix is nothing more or less than an abbreviated and simplified version of Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 1; 2 (cf. Brhadāranyakā

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1 Cf. Manu, i, 64: āhvaṁsi seems peculiar to the Śāṅkhāyanas; cf. Śrauta Sūtra, xiv, 82, 1.
2 Tāṇy aṇgāni kṣatrdāni mahābhūtāḥ savadhiyante is a good deal more intelligible than kṣetramiśārdaṁ.
Upaniṣad, vi, 1; 3), for in abbreviating it the redactor has so curtailed it that it could not be clearly followed save for the original, as the evam iti of sections 3 et seq. would have no sense. The first seven sections deal with the praṇasamvāda, the eighth with the rite for greatness. Two points may be noted. In the first place the redactor had before him the Kausitaki Upaniṣad, for he uses the word mukāḥ as ‘dumb,’ while the Brhadāranyaka has kadāḥ, and the Chāndogya has kalāḥ. Secondly, the redactor used the text of the Brhadāranyaka, for he describes the suhāya with which prāya is compared as saṁindhava, an epithet known to both versions of the Brhadāranyaka, but not to the Chāndogya. Again, however, there is a small piece of original matter. The end of the seventh section contains a reference to Yājñavalkya, besides that to Jābāla Satyakāma and Gosṛnta Vaiyāgrapadaya borrowed from the Chāndogya (the latter is not in the Brhadāranyaka), and the passage cited (vanaspate satavalo viroha | dyām mā leśir antarikṣam mā mā kimsīh) is clearly a reminiscence of Vājasaneyī Samhitā, v, 43. In the latter is read, as also in the parallel passages, lekhīḥ, and of course palaeographically s and kh are interchangeable. But leśīḥ from vṛis for vṛis would be an excellent reading, as the root is often active. Weber, indeed, states that this reference is to a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv, but this seems incorrect.

1 v, 3.
2 vi, 2, 13 (Mādhyandina) = vi, 1, 13 (Kāṇva). References are made to the former text, when not otherwise specified. Cf. Pischel, Ved. Stud., i, pp. 10, 234.
3 Bloomfield: Vedic Concordance, pp. 477, 508.
4 In the Śāṅkhāyana itself, vii, 10. For t = r, cf. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, pp. 43 seq.
5 Indian Literature, p. 132, n. 8.
The gen. with brāyāt, for the dative of Chāndogya and Brhadāranyaka, is a sign of later date.
The second subdivision, Adhyāya x, is of more independent character. It treats of the āntara agniḥotra which is alluded to in the Kausitaki Upaniṣad.¹ There are in man six deities, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Candramas, the Quarters, and the Waters, corresponding to speech, breath, the eye, mind, the ear, and seed. If a man knows this he satisfies each of these deities, and they in turn satisfy other powers. These processes are described in the first seven sections, which may be compared with Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 19–24, from which, however, they differ considerably. The eighth and last section describes the vairāja daśavidha agniḥotra, in quite an independent way, which may be compared with Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 4–9, and Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, vi, 1.

The third subdivision, Adhyāya xi, is still more original. It presents yet another account of the prāṇasanyāda in addition to those in the Brhadāraṇyaka, vi, 1 (Kāṇva—vi, 2, Madhyandina); Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 1; Kauśitaki Upaniṣad, v; Aitareya Upaniṣad, ii, 4, 2, and above ix. The narrative here resembles most that of the Aitareya, to which it is the really parallel version of the Śāmkhāyana school. Prajāpati places the deities in man; they dislike the connection, and depart, and are only brought to reason by the creation of hunger and thirst (sections 1 and 2). Then there are described as in viii, 7, and Aitareya Āraṇyaka, iii, 2, 4, the sights (section 3) and dreams (section 4) seen by one who is to die before the year is out, and a service of sacrifice is prescribed, the Mantras of which rest on the division of the deities among the organs given in section 1 (sections 5 and 6). Then the metals are equated with the metres (section 7), and out of this identification are made a series of spells by use of the metres² to acquire

¹ iv, 5.
² For similar sets of metres, ct. Aitareya Āraṇyaka, v, 1, 4; Śāmkhāyana Āraṇyaka, i, 7; Friedländer, p. 44, n. 1.
the *sthiratva*\(^1\) of the several metals. The remnants of the offering go to a dear wife or pupil, and the sacrificer lives a hundred years (section 8). The list of deities and organs is curious and somewhat novel; Agni, Vāyu, the Lightning, Parjanya, Āditya, Candramas, the Quarters, the Earth, the Waters, Indra, Īśāna, Ākāśa, and Brahman (n.), correspond to the *vāc*, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *udāna*, the eye, the mind, the ear, the body, the seed, the strength (*bala*), the wrath (*mānyu*), the head, and the Ātman. That this is a late list would be proved by the mention of Īśāna alone, for he never appears in early lists of this kind, though as a deity he is early mentioned, as in Brhadāranyaka, i, 9, 11.\(^2\) Further, the repetition of part of viii, 7, negatives the idea that the author of ix and viii were one. What remains uncertain is whether the Adhyāyas ix to xi are by one hand. It is not impossible, and in favour of it may be noted the facts that all three chapters deal with the deities and the senses, and are characterised by a painful formalism and absence of original thought. The real interest of the writer is indeed betrayed by the spell which ends xi and which evidently forms the important part of that chapter. There should also be noted one remarkable construction occurring in a Mantra several times repeated — *māham akāmo marisyāmy annavān annādo bhūyāsam*. The construction can be understood, but it is very strange and unparalleled in the early literature.\(^3\)

The spell at the end of the fourth part of the Āranyaka leads naturally to the fifth part, Adhyāya xii. Aitareya Āranyaka iv is at first sight comparable with this

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\(^1\) For similar spells, cf. the references in Bloomfield’s *Vedic Concordance*, p. 126 (s.v. *āśād*, *āśeṣa*).


\(^3\) See Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 73.
chapter, but the contrast is much more striking than the resemblance. For the Mahānāmnī verses which make up that section are of the most formal and obviously ritualistic character as they now stand, and if not especially early contain very early material. On the other hand, the Śāṅkhāyana contains in seven sections forty verses, of which five are merely referred to (Ṛgveda, x, 152, 1–5), thirty-five being given in full. Commencing with invocations for hastivārcaṣa, for which parallels can be found in the Atharvaveda¹ (vv. 1–5), it goes on to pray for eloquence (v. 6)² and prosperity (v. 7),³ inserts (v. 8) an appeal to Prajāpāti from Ṛgveda, x, 121, 10, and proceeds to call on Indra with the Maruts and Agni to destroy their, and the poet’s, foes (vv. 9–14). There follow four verses (vv. 15–18) taken with slight variation from the Taittelīrya Samhitā, v, 7, 4, 3–5, and for the first time in verse 19 a direct appeal to what is the real subject of the hymn, the amulet of Bilva. The excellent results of carrying such an amulet are celebrated in verses 20–29, each of which ends with the refrain īrāmanīṃ bailvam yo bhāhīti; then in verses 30–33 further powers are ascribed to it. Verses 34 and 35 repeat verses 7 and 8, and then come the five Ṛgvedic verses referred to only by Pratīka. There are many parallels in the Atharvaveda⁴ for this sort of composition, where a farrago of ancient material is heaped in to give a venerable air to puerile witchcraft. Here the proportion of new material is quite considerable, for out of 33 verses no less than 18 are not exactly parallel with verses of other Samhitās. Of course, it may be considered

¹ For v. 1 see Atharvaveda, iii, 22, 1; for v. 2, iii, 22, 3 and 4; for vv. 3 and 4, xiv, 1, 35; vi, 19, 1; and for v. 5, vi, 69, 3.
² Cf. Atharvaveda, vi, 69, 2.
³ Cf. Atharvaveda, v, 28, 14.
⁴ Amulets for medical purposes are common (Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, p. 59), and also, as here, for help against foes (ibid., p. 67). See especially Atharvaveda, i, 29; ii, 7; iii, 6; vi, 15; x, 3; 6; xix, 28–30; 32; 33, etc.
as possible that even the parallel verses are not borrowings proper, but parallel only, but I do not think this view at all probable. The hymn has every appearance of lateness, and the Taittirīya verses are ludicrously misplaced.¹

The view of the lateness of the hymn is borne out by the metre. There are in all twenty-five independent verses (omitting 1, 6–8, 15–18), of which seven (vv. 2–5, 19, 30, 33) are in Anuṣṭubh metre, two are in mixed Anuṣṭubh and Triśṭubh (v. 31 = 11 + 8 + 9² + 8 syllables; v. 32 = 8 + 8 + 11 + 11), and the remaining sixteen are in Triśṭubh with occasional Jagatis (vv. 14ª, 21ª, 23ª, 24ª).³ Leaving aside the verses in mixed metre, of the Anuṣṭubh verses we find that in all save one case the last Pāda of each half-line ends in .idea; that in five cases the first Pāda has at the end .idea, in three each .idea or .idea, in two .idea, and in one .idea. We are clearly on the way to the regular Epic śloka, though this is still not reached.⁴ But the evidence of the Triśṭubh Pādas is conclusive. Omitting the four Jagati Pādas and the irregular Pādas of verses 13ª and 14ª which have 10 and 9 syllables respectively, there are 58 Pādas to be considered. Now in all save four cases the Pāda ends in  .idea; the exception being in v. 10ª (  .idea), 28ª (  .idea), where śiṃśumāraḥ could be read

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¹ Cf. Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, pp. 41 seq.
² Here pārṇapāḍbhyaṃ might be read for pārṇapāḍabhyaṃ and so make good the metre.
³ The exact numbers in these cases depends, of course, on the mode in which the necessary resolutions of Sandhi are made, and on the precise reading adopted in the text, but the general results remain unaffected. In v. 12ª I would read an vrṣca paścāt pra vrṣcaparistāt; for an vrṣca, cf. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, i, p. 59; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, p. 11.
with the Berlin MS.), 22c and 26a (\(\sim \sim \sim \sim \)). Still more significant, however, is the fact that in 32 cases the preceding three syllables adopt the dactylic form (\(\sim \sim \sim \)), while the trirach (\(\sim \sim \sim \)) and anapæst (\(\sim \sim \sim \)) and bacchius (\(\sim \sim \sim \)) have only three, six, and three occurrences respectively. The remaining 14 Padas have \(\sim \sim \sim \), ten of them being in the refrain \(ir\sim ma\sim n\sim im\) \(bail\sim u\sim am\) \(yo\) \(bibharti\). Now the dactylic form in this place is the characteristic par excellence of the Indravajra and Upendravajra of the classical poetry, and is regular in the Epic,¹ while in earlier verse as in the Samhitas it is not much more in use than other forms. On the other hand, we are still far removed from the formal correspondence of all four lines of the stanza, and the first four syllables remain free in form. The metre, too, shows other signs of lateness. To the poet the contraction of Indra iva and ogha iva into Indreva and ogheva, of Agnir iva into Agnir va, and of puspaṃ iva into puspeva or puspaṃ va must have seemed legitimate, as all these forms occur in verses where they merely, if accepted as they stand, spoil the metre. Probably he felt the iva as merely va,² and he clearly felt bhavati as dissyllabic in na sailago bhavati na pāpakṛtyā, a fact which may point to Prākritic influence.³ At any rate, we are quite justified in classing these verses, unlike those of the Aitareya, among the latest products of the Vedic poetry, and they need not date long before the final redaction of the Āranyaka, though they may be two or three centuries older.

The verses are followed by an eighth section, giving the Manikalpa very briefly. It may be noted that the forms

¹ Cf. Hopkins, Great Epic of India, pp. 264 seq.; Arnold, Vedic Metre, pp. 183 seq.; Ludwig, Ryveda, iii, p. 50.
² Pischel, Védische Studien, i, p. 59; Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, i, pp. 317, 321; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, p. 65, n. 12; Arnold, p. 75; Hopkins, India Old and New, p. 46, n. 1.
tilaudana, ghryaudana, māṃsaudana occur with the au in place of the o found in the Epic and even in Āpastamba,¹ and that the word eranda, denoting a castor-oil plant, is found, perhaps its earliest occurrence.

The sixth part of the Āranyaka, Adhyāyas xiii and xiv, has perhaps the least claim to originality. In the first place it consists of a series of quotations, almost but not completely verbal, from the Brhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads. It formally quotes Yājñavalkya for tad etad brahmāpārvam aparām anaparām abākyam ayam ātmā brahmā (brahma, Berlin MS.; ā in Brhadāraṇyaka) sarvānubhūr ity anuśāsanam, which is, with the insertion of aparām, Brhadāraṇyaka, ii, 5, 19. But it ascribes to Māṇḍukēya the dictum tad uhaṁvāṁ draśṭavyah śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavya iti tam etam vedānucanena vividhiṣanti brahmācaryena tapasā śraddhāyā yajñenānāsakena ceti, which is a combination of Brhadāraṇyaka, iv, 5, 6 (= ii, 4, 5) and iv, 4, 25, and to Māṇḍavya (for whom cf. vii, 2) tasmād evamvic chānto dānta uparatas titukṣuḥ śraddhāvito bhūtvātmany evātmānām pasyet, which is merely Brhadāraṇyaka, iv, 4, 28. Nor can we reasonably suppose that the tradition is here correctly preserved ascribing these tenets to these sages who otherwise are famed as grammarians rather than as philosophers. We are justified in supposing that we have merely an ascription of famous doctrines to persons familiar in the Sāṅkhāyana school from the Saṁhitā Upaniṣad. In confirmation of this it may be remarked that there follow these passages others—sa esa neti nety ātmāvagyhyah | idam brahmedam kṣatram ime devā ime vedā ime lokā imani sarvāni bhūtvāidam sarvam yad ayam ātmā | which are clearly borrowed from Brhadāraṇyaka, iv, 4, 27, and iv, 5, 7. Then comes the quotation of Yājñavalkya, and then an unacknowledged quotation from

¹ See Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 320.
the Chāndogya: ya iṁām adbhīṁ parighṛtāṁ vasumatīṁ
dhanasya pūrṇāṁ dadgād idam eva tato bhūya idam
eva tato bhūya ity anuśasanaṁ, which, with the addition
of the Epic word vasumatīṁ, is derived from Chāndogya,
vii, 11, 6. Then the Adhyāya xiii ends: tāṁ etāṁ Upani-
śadaṁ vedasīro na yathā kathāṁ cana vaded1 | tad etad
reābhyyuditam | Then follow two verses which make up
the fourteenth Adhyāya. The first is—

rcāṁ mūrdhānam yajuśāṁ uttamāṅgam |
sāmnāṁ śiro 'tharvāṁ mūndamūndam |
naḍhite 'dhīte vedam āhūs tam ajñām |
śīrāṁ chītvāsaṁ kurute kabandham ||

This is a strange line and though archaic in metre very
modern in style. Uttamāṅga, mūndamūnda, and kabandha,2
in the senses in which they are here employed, are not
Vedic, and the iterative naḍhite 'dhīte is also late.3 The
Ātharvāna is not elsewhere recognised in the Sāṅkhāyana
or Aitareya Āranyakas. This impression of lateness is
confirmed by the second verse:—

sthānur ayaṁ bhārahāraḥ kilābhūt |
adhītya vedam na vijnātī yo 'rtham |
yo 'rthajña it sakalam bhadrām āsnute |
nākam eti jiñānavidhūtanapāmā ||

This is, of course, the well-known verse in Yāska’s
Nirukta, i, 18, which Roth in his Erläuterungen4 con-
sidered an interpolation. With Roth’s view I cannot

1 So I had emended for vede of the Bodleian MS., and the Berlin MS.
confirms the emendation. The omission of a double letter is very frequent
in the MS. Yathā kathāṁ cana is comparatively late.
2 The Brhadāranyaka (iii, 7, 1) has a proper name, Kabandha Ātharvāna,
where it cannot mean ‘corpse.’
3 See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., v, p. 52; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar,
p. 91.
4 p. 19. The verses are also cited in the Commentary on the Saṁhitop-
agree; the verses in that section of the Nirukta, although not Vedic in character, are of the same general style as those in the Brhaddevata and the Prātisākhyas, and are no doubt quite genuine, but they are certainly late. I am further inclined to believe that Yāska was known to the compiler of the text of Adhyāyas xiii and xiv. The reverse idea is conceivable, but rendered unlikely by the fact that the second verse in Yāska is not here, and yet must probably have been taken by Yāska from the same source as the former. No doubt there remains the possibility that both Yāska and the author of the Śāṅkhāyana xiii and xiv follow a common source, but the verse is not found elsewhere, so far, in the Vedic literature, and there is no reason to assert an early date for this compilation, which has all the appearance of a later tacking on. In support of this view it may be pointed out that the opening words of Adhyāya xiii, which are almost the only original part, are athāto vairāgyasamskrte śārire brahmayajñanānīśtho bhavet, in which the word vairāgya is not found in an Upaniṣad before the Maitrāyaṇiya Upaniṣad, i, 2, the word brahma-yajña before the Maitrāyaṇiya, i, 1, and the use of nistha in this connection before the Muniḍaka and Praśna Upaniṣads. It appears, therefore, quite legitimate to suppose that Adhyāyas xiii and xiv formed no part of the original Āraṇyaka, and the conjecture may be hazarded—it can only be a conjecture—that one form of the Āraṇyaka had as its Adhyāyas xiii and xiv the Sūtra of the Mahāvrata now nominally Adhyāyas xvii and xviii of the Śāṅkhāyana

1 yad gṛhitam avijñātām nigadenaśva śabdāyaḥ
2 anagnīr eva īśkādhiḥ na tu jvalati karhicit

Roth's emendation na taj is not necessary.

2 See the references in Jacob's Concordance, pp. 652-3, to which I am much indebted.

3 I.e., as regards the exact place occupied in the Āraṇyaka by these books. That they were once a part of the Āraṇyaka is, I think, quite certain. Cf. also Hillebrandt, Rom. Forsch., v, p. 331.
Srauta Sūtra, but admittedly no integral part of that work. This would exactly balance the Aitareya Āranyaka, since the form of the Śāṅkhāyana would become (a) the Mahāvrata, Brāhmaṇa treatment, Adhyāyas i and ii = Aitareya Āranyaka i; (b) the Upaniṣad, Adhyāyas iii–vi = Aitareya Āranyaka ii; (c) the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad, Adhyāyas vii–xi = Aitareya Āranyaka iii; (d) the verses, Adhyāya xii = the Mahānāmnis, Aitareya Āranyaka iv; (e) the Sūtra treatment of the Mahāvrata, Adhyāyas xiii and xiv = Aitareya Āranyaka v. It is further probable that Adhyāyas ix–xi, which have no really parallel section in the Aitareya, should be eliminated from the original form of the Āranyaka, in which case the verses would form Adhyāya ix, the Sūtra Adhyāyas x and xi. Then, if we assume that the Vaṃśa followed and was included in Adhyāya xi, we would have an explanation of its being numbered xi in the Bodleian MS., though no stress could possibly be laid on that fact. On the other hand, the fact that the Bodleian MS. does number 1 Adhyāyas xiii– xv as (sections) 9 and 10, and Adhyāya xi respectively, shows clearly that some confusion existed, since that MS. has already marked the close of Adhyāyas xi and xii, and it is startling to find sections 9 and 10 and a Vaṃśa to xi following after the end of Adhyāya xii.

These facts cast considerable doubt on the meaning of the Vaṃśa which makes Adhyāya xv and forms the seventh part of the Āranyaka. On the whole it is probably best, if we are to accept its succession of teachers as genuine, to regard it as the original Vaṃśa to the Āranyaka when, as it must once have done, it consisted of Adhyāyas i–viii, only, but not the Sūtra books. The first teacher named is Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, the next Kahola Kauśitaki, the next Uddālaka Ārūni, the next Priyavrata Saumāpi. The Kahola Kauśitakeya of the Brhadārānyaka

1 Bodleian Catalogue, p. 60.
Upaniṣad, iii, 5, 1, is presumably identical with the Kauśitaki¹ here named, while Uddālaka Ārunī is well known to the Brhadāranyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads and is a contemporary, according to tradition, of Yājñavalkya. There is nothing known to contradict the Vāṃśa as given, and Kauśitaki is cited not only in the Āranyaka but also in the Brāhmaṇa as an authority, and is mentioned in both the Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtras.² The original Āranyaka may well then have been composed not long after the Brāhmaṇa, to which it often refers, as pointed out above, by a nameless pupil of Guṇākhyya Śāṅkhāyana, whence came the name Śāṅkhāyana, and, without laying undue emphasis on the connection with Uddālaka, the Vāṃśa supports the ascription of the original form of the Āranyaka to the early part of the sixth century B.C., before the rise of Buddhism and the development of grammar seen in Yāska and the Prātiśākhyaśas, but after the Brhadāranyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads and the Aitareya Āranyaka.

On the other hand, I do not think Deussen ³ is right in ascribing the Taḍḍīriya Upaniṣad to an earlier date than the Kauśitaki Upaniṣad, iii–vi. His argument rests on the indisputable fact that the Kauśitaki is later than the Aitareya and the very doubtful statement that the Aitareya is younger than the Taḍḍīriya, because in the former (ii, 4, 1) the description of the entrance of the creator into beings is more elaborate than in the latter Upaniṣad (ii, 6). On the other hand, it is at least as likely that the Taḍḍīriya is merely giving a resumé of an accepted doctrine, while the Aitareya develops a new theme. But in

¹ Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, i, 5, 2. The name was perhaps Kahola. Cf. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, i, p. 221; Weber, Indische Studien, i, p. 404.
² Oldenberg: S.B.E., xxix, p. 3.
³ Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, p. 24. If iii–vi are later, then of course a fortiori vii and viii.
any case, in favour of the earlier date of the Kauśitaki, iii–viii, as of the Aitareya, ii and iii, may be set the facts (1) that the Taittiriya shows in book i a much more developed grammatical knowledge and has a longer set of technical terms, varṇa, svara, mātrā, bala, sāma, santāna, and śīksā; (2) that it has added a fourth, mahas, to the triad of vyāhṛtis; (3) and that it mentions the Atharvāṅgirases. The Kauśitaki further gives no prominence to tapas as a means of knowledge, while the Taittiriya runs riot on the topic. Thus the Upaniṣad parts of the Kauśitaki belong to the earlier Upaniṣads of the Veda, since beyond those mentioned no Upaniṣad can claim an equal age. The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra of the Mahāvrata, the latter of which I have tried elsewhere to prove contemporaneous with the Śrauta Sūtra, must be, the former somewhat earlier, the latter a good deal later, than the Upaniṣads, iii–vi, and vii and viii, and probably the former alone with the Adhyāyas iii–viii once formed an Āranyaka, to which the Vāmaṇa applied, and to the three component parts of which we may assign conjecturally the approximate dates 650, 600, and 550 B.C., as indicating in the roughest way the periods to which their production may be assigned, if we accept the views here maintained that (a) the non-philosophic books, i and ii, are the oldest; (b) the Upaniṣad proper is older than Buddhism; (c) the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad is older than Yāska (not later than 500 B.C.).

On this view the exact process of the extension of the Āranyaka remains doubtful. Very possibly, as suggested

1 i, 5, 1: Deussen, op. cit., p. 217.
2 ii, 3, 1.
3 Compare the solitary reference to tapas in Kauśitaki, iii, 2, with the numerous passages cited in Jacob, Concordance, p. 396; Deussen, op. cit., p. 69.
5 To judge from the extant specimens of Āranyakas, the relation of Āranyaka and Upaniṣad might be regarded as that of whole and part. Each Āranyaka contains, inter alia, several Upaniṣads.
above, a new form of it came into existence probably in imitation of the redaction of the Aitareya which we owe to Āśvalāyana or Śaunaka, by the inclusion in it of a book of verses in the shape of the Bilva hymn, and by the writing of a couple of Sūtra books to balance Adhyāyas i and ii. Then, still later, some other hand may have included the Upaniṣads in ix–xi and the mere imitation of an Upaniṣad in xiii and xiv. The latter books are almost certainly later than the Nirukta, and are probably comparatively recent—perhaps the second century B.C.—but Adhyāyas ix–xi may be of earlier date, and have come into existence shortly after the second redaction of the Āranyaka.

A different view in this respect appears to be held by Professor Oldenberg in his discussion of the Vamśa in the preface to his translation of the Śāṅkhāyana Grhyā Sūtra. He there suggests that the author of the Vamśa began with the doctor eponymus of the Sūtras of the Kauśitakas, and proceeded thence to the author of the Brāhmaṇa, Kahola Kauśitaki, and so on. But this view, which would see in the Guṇākhyā of the Vamśa the Sūtrakāra of the Śāṅkhāyana, and would presumably attribute to him the final redaction of the Āranyaka into a whole, is contradicted by the strong evidence which Oldenberg himself adduces, and which is accepted by Hillebrandt, that the name of the Sūtrakāra was Suyajña. This, accordingly, adds to the probability of the view

1 S.B.E., xxix, pp. 4, 5. Cf. also Bhandarkar's view (Report, 1894, pp. 2 seq.), accepted by Hillebrandt (Ritual-Litteratur, p. 28), that Śāṅkhāyana is a mere Sūtra carana.
2 Ritual-Litteratur, p. 25; Śāṅkhāyana Śrūta Sūtra, i, p. viii.
3 The matter might be further complicated by regarding Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana as the author of the Śrūta as contrasted with the Grhyā Sūtra. I do not, however, think this view probable, and Oldenberg, who once was inclined to differentiate the authors (though without naming the elder Guṇākhyā), later admitted the insufficiency of the evidence (see Indische Studien, xv, pp. 11, 12; S.B.E., xxix, pp. 4, 5).
adopted above that the Vaṃśa applies only to the first redaction, which contained books i–viii, and which presumably was completed by 550 B.C.

The date of the second redaction, if we assume it to have contained the Sūtra books, can be fixed approximately by the fact that the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, with which these books are probably contemporaneous, is probably later than the Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, who, as the pupil of Śaunaka, should, I think, be dated about 400 B.C. The difference in date need not be great, and 350 B.C. may be set down as a possible date. The verses in Adhyāya xii doubtless existed independently long before this, but they belong to the later fringe of Vedic literature, say the seventh century B.C. But here again the dates are given, not as anything more than suggestions intended to render more easy their discussion, and, if necessary refutation.

In conclusion, a few words may be said as to the geographical data. It is clear that the Āraṇyaka was composed in the home of Brahmanism, the Madhyadeśa, for of the tribes enumerated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii, 14), the Kuruś, Pañcāla, Vaśas, and Uśīnaraś, all are found in vi, 1 (cf. Pañcālaśaṇḍa, vii, 18), with the neighbouring tribe of Matsyas. As in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Kāśi-Videhas are within the pale, but that a Māndūkeya should dwell in Magadha (vii, 13) is deemed worthy of special note. To assume, however, from the mention of Janaka of Videha that the book was written in

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1 Cf. Macdonell, Brhaddevatā, i, pp. xxii–xxiv. I do not attach any weight to the tradition, even if found in the Brhatkathā, which attributes Pāṇini to the reign of the last Nanda (despite Bühler, Indian Studies, iii, pp. 21, n. 1, 27, n. 1), and associates him with Kātyāyana and Āśvalāyana. But the fact that the tradition very possibly existed in the first century A.D. is of interest as tending to show that these writers cannot be dated very near the Christian era, or their chronological relations could not have been confused. Ludwig’s date for the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, 500 B.C. (Ryveda, iii, p. 196), rests on no evidence.
the East, seems to me unnecessary, both in the case of the Áranyaka and of the Satapatha itself\(^1\); though the opposite view has the weighty support of Oldenberg.\(^2\)


\(^2\) Mention may here be made of the only important correction supplied by the MS. in the Bodleian to the excellent text of Adhyáyas i and ii published by Dr. Friedländer. In ii, 17, the text of the edition reads: \textit{tasya vā elasya bhutasastrasya sa tviśād aksaṇānām sahasrāni bhavanti távanti šatasamvatsarasasyāhāny āpnoti}. This is just possible, but the reading of the Bodleian (and also, I now find, of the Berlin MS.), which adds before \textit{āpnoti} the words \textit{bhavanti ta(c) chatasamvatsarasasyāhāny}, is clearly right, the omission being very natural. Smaller corrections are: (1) in ii, 15, it reads \textit{dvām jaya dvām jaya}, a Pratika elsewhere unknown; \textit{dvām jaya} apparently refers to R.V. viii, 34, 1\(^4\) (repeated in the later verses of the hymn); (2) in ii, 18, it (like the Berlin MS.) inserts the necessary \textit{tad} in the verse \textit{bañ iñthā tad vañve dhāyī darśatan} (R.V. i, 161, 1\(^3\)), as in the Śrauta Śutra, xviii, 23, 14; (3) in ii, 4, it confirms the reading \textit{bhūtechandām sāma} by reading \textit{bhūtechandām sāma}; clearly the differences of reading (cf. Friedländer, p. 18, n. 2; p. 37, n. 1) are all due to the accidental insertion of the superfluous Anuvāra before \textit{d}; (4) in ii, 8, it has \textit{dakṣīnataḥ} and \textit{uttarataḥ} for \textit{dakṣīṇaḥ} and \textit{uttaraḥ}. It has the correct \textit{bhavati} (p. 21, l. 7) and \textit{pratnathā} (p. 25, l. 5).

Neither the Berlin MS. nor the Bodleian MS. yields substantial correction for the text of the Upaníṣad, in which they agree very closely with A in Cowell’s ed. In i, 2 (p. 11), they read \textit{dvādaisatraśodasa māsah}; in i, 3 (p. 14), \textit{yastihā}; in i, 7 (p. 27), \textit{ghrāṇena}; in ii, 11 (p. 57), \textit{vedo}; in all these cases agreeing with A. In i, 4 (p. 19), the Bodl. has \textit{dhunuvatāte}, the Berl. \textit{dhunuvatē}, which, in conjunction with the readings of A, B, C, E, shows that a third person dual must be read for Cowell’s \textit{dhunute}. In i, 5 (p. 25), the Bodl. has \textit{pracinātānāni}, like A, the Berl. \textit{nātāni}. In ii, 11 (p. 58), both, with A, have \textit{mā bhetthāḥ}, then Bodl. has \textit{mā vyadhīṣṭāḥ}, Berl. \textit{vyadhīṣṭāḥ}, A \textit{vyadhīṣṭāḥ}. In ii, 12 (p. 61), Bodl. has \textit{mṛteḥ na mṛchante}, Berl. \textit{mṛtvānnaṃ rchata}. In iv, 1, both have \textit{kālakṛṣṇaḥ}, corrected to \textit{khāṇjau} in Bodl. as in A. In iv, 19 (p. 120), both have \textit{anumayā}, A \textit{yās}. In iv, 15 (p. 114), Berl. and A have \textit{swapnyayā}, and in iii, 5, Berl. has several times a correction \textit{udāduhāt} for the strange \textit{udāḥham}. 
XIII.

THE MINT OF KURAMAN,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE COINS OF THE QARLUQHS AND KHWARIZM-SHAHS.

BY M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

DURING the disturbed period in the first half of the twelfth century, when the break-up of the Ghaznawi monarchy was followed in quick succession by the establishment of the Ghori kingdom first in Ghazni and afterwards in the plains of Northern India, by the invasion of the Shãh of Khwârizm, and finally by the overwhelming and devastating irruption of the Mughals under Chingiz Khân, the route into India by the Kuram Valley and Banû played a very important part, and its possession was eagerly sought after. Thus, when Mu'izzu'd-din Muhammad bin Sâm had laid the foundations of an Indian Empire, he placed his most faithful Turk servant Taju'd-din Yalduz in charge of the province of Kuramân and Shânkurân, i.e. the Kuram Valley and Shalozân, as we are informed in the Tabaqât-i Nâsiri, and halted there every year on his expeditions into India. After his death the successor to the Ghori sovereignty, Ghîyâthu'd-din Mahmûd son of Ghîyâthu'd-din Muhammad bin Sâm (generally known as Mahmûd bin Muhammad) confirmed Yalduz in his dignities, and made him Sultân of Ghazni. There can be no doubt that he held the Kuram Valley throughout his rule, and that the Banû Valley, through which the Kuram River flows before reaching the Indus, formed part of his dominions. This
fertile plain was then known as Baniān, and it may be noted that it is still locally pronounced Bani. Here the important route from Ghazni through the Tochi Pass follows the Gambila River to its junction with the Kuṛam, and, in order to hold both the Kuṛam and Tochi routes the possession of both districts was essential.

The exact geographical position of the mints of Kuṛamān and Baniān cannot be laid down with confidence. The former is no doubt in the upper valley of the Kuṛam River, now forming a district attached to the North-West Frontier Province of India. Thomas (note, p. 27) gives the position of 'Karmān' or the fort of Kuṛam on Lumsden's authority as lat. 30° 50', long. 70° 10', but according to recent surveys the latitude is much further north, and is approximately 33° 50'. It is, however, improbable that the site of Kuṛamān corresponds exactly with the modern fort, and it may perhaps be sought for nearer the source of the Kuṛam or the Paiwār Koṭal. The position of Baniān is also uncertain, but I am inclined to identify it with the mound of Ākrā in the Banū Valley. This marks the site of an ancient town, which, as is shown by the coins found there, flourished from the time of Eukratides to that of Māḥmūd Ghaznavi, and probably later (see No. 14 below). The present town of Banū is a modern foundation of Sir Herbert Edwardes. Ākrā is situated in the fertile tract between the Kuṛam and Gambila Rivers.

The pronunciation of Kuṛamān is deduced from the modern name of the river and country, Kuṛam, Kuṛmah in Pashto. The name in the Rig-veda, Krumu, indicates that the vowel in the first syllable has always been u and never a, and the form Karmān used by Thomas and in the British Museum Catalogues should, I think, be given up. Besides being incorrect it is apt to be confounded with the Persian province of Karmān.

The establishment of a mint in both Kuṛamān and Baniān may be assigned to the time of Yalduz. E. Thomas has
pointed out that the use of the peculiar type of bull which he calls the 'Karmān bull' began at this time, and the name of Yalduz is associated with this mint on a coin published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers (J.A.S.B. for 1883, No. 2, p. 55, pl. iv, No. 2). The word Kurāmān is under the horse. The type was shortly afterwards adopted by 'Alā'ū'd-din Muḥammad of Khwārizm, on some of whose coins the word كرمان may be read on the bull's flank or below the bull (Thomas, p. 89, Nos. 65, 66, and No. 14 below from my own collection). The way for the Khwārizmi invader was cleared by the defeat of Yalduz by Eltimish, at Tirāori, near Karnāl, in 611 h., and his murder shortly after. Eltimish was able to hold the Eastern Panjāb, but had not sufficient power to retain Ghaznī and the routes into India, which immediately fell into 'Alā'ū'd-din's hands. The Khwārizmi power disappeared before Chingiz Khān only six years afterwards, when Jalālu'd-din Mangbarni was defeated on the Indus in 618 h. To this period may perhaps be attributed the coins of Jalālu'd-din's general Yūzbaq Pāi, struck at Baniān, wrongly read Multān by Thomas (No. 15 below), and the other coins on which the same mint occurs (also read as Multān), coupled with the inscription عدال السلطان ascribed by Thomas and the B.M. Catalogue to Eltimish (Thomas, p. 75, No. 49; B.M., No. 53, pl. ii) (No. 16 below). There can be little doubt that in both these cases the mint should be read as Baniān. I may add that my own coins here described were found in the Banū district. And this brings us to the Qarlughs, also associated with Jalālu'd-din Mangbarni.

The Turkish tribe known as the Qarlughs (there are other forms of the word, but this is the spelling on the coins) seem to have found their way to the north-west frontier of India with the armies of 'Alā'ū'd-din Muḥammad bin Takash, the Shāh of Khwārizm, and obtained possession
of the country on the Upper Indus, which was named after them the Hazāra (Turkish Ming) of the Qarlughhs, and is now the Hazāra district, or the tracts near Atak still known as Takht Hazāra and Chach Hazāra. Among these Qarlughhs the most distinguished was Malik Saifu'd-din Hasan, who formed a principality for himself after the defeat of Jalālu'd-din. This Saifu'd-din Hasan has been, by Thomas and others, confounded with Saifu'd-din Ighrāq who deserted Jalālu'd-din and perished soon after (see note on p. 1129 of Raverty's translation of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāširi). This principality included at first Ghazni, the Kuram Valley (Kūrāmān), and Banū (Baniān), but we are told in the Tabaqāt-i-Nāširi that the Mughals, after driving Saifu'd-din Hasan from Baniān, attacked Ghazni, and then again attacked him in 636 H., and forced him to leave the country of Kurāmān, Ghazni, and Baniān. He then fled towards Multān and Sindh. It is probable, however, that the Qarlughhs maintained some sort of hold on Baniān and Kurāmān, and even asserted their independence of the Mughals from time to time; for the next year, 637 H., we find that Saifu'd-din's son Nāširu'd-din Muḥammad visited the Sulṭān Razīya, who was marching through the Panjāb and received from her a grant of Baraṇ near Dehli. He did not, however, remain there, but returned to his father in Baniān, and, as we shall see, he is to be found there twenty years later.

Soon after these events the Multān expedition resulted in the capture of that town by Saifu'd-din, but in 643 H. he was followed by a Mughal army under Mangūta, and attacked there. When the Mughals reached the banks of the Indus, Saifu'd-din abandoned Multān and sailed down the river (that is the joint stream of the Chanāb, Jehlam, and Rāvi, which at that period, as Raverty has shown, flowed east of Multān) to its junction with the Indus, and thence to Dēwal and Sindūstān (Schwān) in Southern Sindh. This was evidently only a temporary refuge, and
there is nothing to show that either Saifu'd-din Hasan or Nāṣiru'd-din Muhammad ever ruled in Sindh proper. It must be remembered that the word Sindh was then (as it is still locally) applied not only to the country now known by the name, but to the Indus Valley near Multān. Saifu'd-din must have recovered Baniān soon after the Mughal invasion, for after the accession of Nāṣiru'd-din Maḥmūd at Dehlī, when he bestowed the province of Uchchh and Multān upon Malik 'Izzu'd-din Balban, the latter, on advancing from Uchchh to take Multān, found Saifu'd-din there with an army he had brought from Baniān. A number of horsemen in 'Izzu'd-din's army penetrated the Qarlughh camp and killed Saifu'd-din, but his death was successfully concealed by his army, and 'Izzu'd-din Balban made terms, giving up Multān to the Qarlughhs, now no doubt under Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad. It was ultimately given up by him to Malik Nuṣratu'd-din, who put Malik Kuriz in charge. Minhāj-i-Sirāj, who was himself present in 'Izzu'd-din's camp at this time (648 H., 1250 A.D.), gives an account of what followed, which does not affect the history of the Qarlughhs (Raverty's trans., p. 783). After the loss of Multān it is evident that Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad again retired to Baniān and Kuramān, for we find him there after the accession of Hulākū as king of Persia under the supreme ruler of the Mughals, when Ulugh Khān (afterwards Sulṭān Balban) was in power at the Court of Nāṣiru'd-din Maḥmūd. In 658 H., 1260 A.D., the Qarlughh chief wished to marry his daughter to a son of Ulugh Khān, and Jamālu'd-din 'Alī Khalj was sent by the latter to take the answer to his request. On his way he passed through Uchchh, where 'Izzu'd-din Balban was in power, and was detained there and examined (in the presence of the Mughal Shīhna or Agent). After he had avowed his object he was allowed to proceed, and arrived in the country of Baniān. Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad, who was now evidently a Mughal
feudatory, sent him on to Hulâkû's Court, and apparently also forged a respectful letter from Ulugh Khân, which won Hulâkû's favour. On his return the messenger was accompanied by the Shîlma of the country of Baniân. Here we lose sight of Nâşiru'd-din Muḥammad Qarluq, and we do not know how much longer he continued to hold Baniân, as Minhâj-i-Ṣirâj, a contemporary chronicler and the authority for all the above statements, brings his chronicle, the Tabaqât-i-Nâṣiri, to a close without giving any further information on the subject. Major Raverty's notes in his translation of this work, and in his article on "The Mihrân of Sind and its Tributaries" (J.A.S.B., 1892), have brought out the facts clearly, and have shown that the Qarluqhs were not rulers of Sind. They undoubtedly retained possession of Kuramân and Baniân under the Mughal overlordship, but Major Raverty was mistaken in asserting (J.A.S.B., 1892, p. 175, note 57) that they "put the names of these 'infidels' on their coins." There is no trace that the name of any Mughal ruler was put upon the coins of the Qarluqhs, but the supremacy of the 'Abbâsî Khalîfâs was acknowledged, as was usual among the independent rulers of the time, as will be shown by the coins now to be described.

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Qarluqhs never ruled in Sindh, and therefore that they are wrongly described in the British Museum Catalogue (Muḥammadan States, p. 62) as governors of Sind. They were rulers, at first independent, and afterwards feudatory under the Mughals, of Kuramân and Baniân, and their power occasionally extended to Ghazni. Mr. Nelson Wright, also, in his Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. ii, p. 184, states that the Qarluqhs ruled in Sindh.

I am fortunate in being able to illustrate the history of this obscure chapter of frontier history by means of coins more fully than has hitherto been possible. The
silver coinage of Saifu'd-din was, till lately, known from coins of one type only, that is the tanka first published by E. Thomas in Chronicles of the Pathân kings of Delhi, No. 79 (p. 95), of which several other specimens are given in the B.M. Catalogue (Muhammadan States, Nos. 165–170) and Mr. Nelson Wright's Catalogue of the Calcutta Museum (No. 12). For purposes of comparison I give a coin of this type from my own collection below (No. 2). In 1894 the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers described two rupees, one of which (J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 68, No. 23) was then in the possession of General Gossett, and the other (I.e., p. 65, No. 10) had been in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham (No. 5 below). The first mentioned of these I republish below (No. 1), as it is a unique coin and is now in my possession. It is struck in the name of the Khalifa Adh-Dhâhir, who reigned for one year only, 622–623 H. (1225–1226 A.D.), and the final word of the date being legible, its date is fixed as 623 H. Thus it shows that Saifu'd-din's reign in Kûramân had certainly begun at that period, previous to the accession of the Khalifa al-Mustansîr in the same year, and thirteen or fourteen years before he was expelled thence by the Mughals. In interest it may be compared with the rupee of Eltimish struck in the name of the Khalifa An-Nâsîr-li-Din, dated 62–H., published by Mr. Nelson Wright in his article on Coins of the Pathan Sultâns of Dehli, J.R.A.S. 1900, p. 482, which is the starting-point, as far as we know at present, of the Indian rupee coinage. Saifu'd-din's coin is a year or two later in date, and is perhaps the only coin known to have been struck in the name of Adh-Dhâhir. Mr. Nelson Wright calls An-Nâsîr "the Khalîf who reigned before Al-Mustansîr-bîllâh," and has omitted to notice that the reign of Adh-Dhâhir intervened. On this coin Saifu'd-din's name is given as Hasan and not Al-Hasan.
No. 3 (a coin in my possession, now first published) is also an interesting coin, though unfortunately without date. It is a joint coin of Saifu'd-din and his son Muhammad, who is described as ‘his servant,’ ʿAbd al-Rahman. It is probable that this was struck during Saifu’d-din’s first occupation of Multān. Another novelty is No. 4, which bears the name of the Khalifa Al-Musta’sam and the date (6)41, and is unique among the silver coins in giving the mint Al-Kūramān. It does not bear the name of either Saifu’d-din or his son, and was struck when Saifu’d-din was in occupation of Multān. The omission of their names is probably due to fear of the Mughals. It may be noted that this coin is more roughly struck than any others of the series, and is thicker than the others, but the square on the obverse with the ornaments in the segments is almost identical with that on the obverse of the coin already alluded to (No. 5), in which Nāṣiru’d-din strikes in his own name and takes the title of Al-Maliku’l-Mu’adhdham as his father had done. This should probably be placed after Saifu’d-din’s death in 648 A.H., and may be confidently ascribed to the Kuramān mint. It may be noticed that the name of the Khalifa is for the first time omitted, and possibly this may point to the fact that this coin was struck after the news of Al-Musta’sam’s murder by Hulākū in 656 H. had been received. We have seen that Nāṣiru’d-din Muhammad ruled in Banān at least as late as 658 H., and possibly later, and that he was subordinate to Hulākū, and had a Mughal Resident at his court. It would clearly have been impossible for him to continue to put the Khalifa’s name on the coins after his murder, as rulers in a truly independent position, like Balban, were able to do.

The copper and billon coins of Saifu’d-din and Nāṣiru’d-din have been described in the British Museum and Calcutta Catalogues, by Thomas, and by Dr. Hoernle in
J.A.S.B. 1889, p. 33, pl. 10. None of them bear dates, but those struck by Naširu'd-din in his own name are no doubt subsequent to 648 H. The coin given in the Calcutta Catalogue, No. 27, pl. vii, is, however, remarkable, as the ascription to Naširu'd-din Muḥammad Qarlığh is no doubt correct. He here takes the title of Sultanu'l-A'dham, unknown elsewhere in the series. The title generally borne is the less ambitious one of Al-Maliku'l-Mu'adhdham, and it is hard to understand the assumption of the greater dignity in face of the Mughal supremacy. It is possible, however, that al-mużām should be read for as in No. 7. The coin bears a strong resemblance to the Dilliwaḷs of the contemporary Naširu'd-din Maḥmūd of Dehli (see B.M., Sultāns of Dehli, pl. iii, 97, 99), and would seem to have been struck in imitation of them. The words over the horseman seem undoubtedly to be ʿAbīth. The coin given below, hitherto unpublished (No. 6), is of a similar type, but bears the title As-Sultānu'l-Mu'adhdham Abū'l-fath Našir, but there is no king's name on the side bearing the horseman. The appellation Abū'l-fath, which always appears on the coins of 'Alāu'd-din Muḥammad Khwārizmī, is found also on No. 5, mentioned above, and seems to show that the Qarlıughs regarded themselves as the successors of the Khwārizm-Shāhs, and that the Kuroman mint had continued in use since the issue of the coins with ʿAlāu'd-din. Jalālu'd-din Mangbarnī, his son, certainly issued coins after his defeat in 618 H., as is shown by the coin which follows (No. 9), on which the date (6)22 appears in figures under the name Mangbarnī. The circle surrounded by dots is characteristic of the Kuroman mint, and I think it probable that this coin was issued by Saiful-d-din in Jalālu'd-din's name. Its date is only one year before his own coin (No. 1), cf. 623 H. No. 7 is also perhaps from this mint or from Ghazni, struck at an
early period of the Mughal supremacy. It bears on the
obverse the name of the Khalifa An-Nāṣir, who died in
622, and the inscription is an exact reproduction of that
on some coins of 'Alāū'd-dīn Khwārizmī (see B.M. No. 589,
g.g.), but the reverse contains an admission of Mughal
supremacy which was certainly not made by either 'Alau’d-
dīn or Jalālu’ d-dīn. The title Al-Khāqānu’l-Ā’dham can
have no other meaning. This coin was once in the collection
of General Gossett, and Mr. C. J. Rodgers considered it
a coin of Chingiz Khān, but it cannot be supposed that it
was struck by any but a Musalmān ruler. Chingiz himself
struck no coins, and certainly would not have admitted
the Khalifa’s name. Thomas’s No. 78 (No. 8 below) is
a similar coin, giving in addition the mint کرمان.

No. 10 is a new variety of Nāṣiru’d-dīn’s copper coinage.
No. 11 is nearly the same as B.M. No. 171 (Thomas,
No. 83; Calcutta Museum, No. 28), but differs from them
in showing a four-pointed star or caltrop after قزغ.

The thick and heavy copper coin (No. 12) is of a type
familiar in the days of the Sūr kings and of Akbar, but
unique, I believe, at this early period. The small circular
area surrounded by three circles and dots bears traces of
an illegible inscription. The reverse gives the date 606
in figures with a star and crescent. The star resembles
that shown under the horseman on a coin of Yalduz
(B.M. 24).

This coin and that of Jalālu’ d-dīn (No. 9) given above,
are remarkable for the fact that the date is expressed in
numerals and not in Arabic words. In the series of coins
of the Sultāns of Dehlī the earliest coins on which
Arabic ciphers are used are the bilion coins of 'Alau’d-dīn
Muḥammad from the year 700 H., on which both Arabic
and Indian figures are employed. I believe there is no
instance among the coins of the Ghaznavis and Ghoris,
although Indian ciphers are used on the coins of the
Hindu kings of Waihind (commonly known as the Brâhmans of Kabul, see article by E. Clive Bayley in Num. Chron., 1882, p. 128), and the Samvat date of 1283, corresponding to 623 H., appears on a coin of Eltimish, and 1300, corresponding to 641 H., on a coin of 'Aláu'd-din Masa'úd Sháh, both in Indian ciphers. The use of ciphers to express the Hijra date is of very rare occurrence before the end of the seventh century among the contemporary dynasties of Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, or Egypt. The only examples I have been able to find are on the coins of the Urtukis of Kaifá, 615 H. (B.M., iii, p. 132) and 621 H. (B.M., iii, 136), and the Seljúqs of Rüm, 624 H. (B.M., iii, p. 65). The ciphers on an earlier Urtuki coin (B.M., iii, No. 328, p. 123) do not form a date. These are isolated instances, and it was long before ciphers were in general use. It seems, therefore, that the date 606 H. on No. 12, now published, is the earliest example of a date in Arabic ciphers, and the date 622 H. on No. 9 is also one of the earliest.

In addition to the series of coins connected with Kuráman, I give a few hitherto undescribed coins of 'Aláu'd-din Khwárizmí, and one or two others of the same period.

I would draw attention to No. 18, which, though not in good condition, can be identified as a coin of Áram Sháh, son of Quţbu'd-din Aibak. The coins hitherto ascribed to this king are generally believed now to be coins of Mu'izzu'd-din Bahrám Sháh, and are so ascribed by Mr. Nelson Wright in his late catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum. In this coin, which is of a slightly different type, the letters ٧١ of ٧١٧١ are distinct, and the name cannot therefore be ٧١٧١.

No. 17, a bull and horseman coin, perhaps of Yalduz, is of an unusual type, and the Chaubhán horseman faces to the left.
The three large copper coins of 'Alāū'd-dīn are no doubt from the Samarqand mint. They average 1·30 inch in breadth, and are therefore rather smaller than the Jamshidi, Mansūri, and Qādiri (Nos. 590, 591, 592) given in the B.M. Catalogue. The silver coin of this king (No. 19) is of a type not yet published.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1   | 623           | **Saifu'd-dīn Ḥasan Qarğugh.**

Obv. Area in circle—لا الله إلا اللہ

عُقَد رُسُول اللہ

الظَّاهِر بَاَمِرُ اللہ

امِرِ المرَّوْعَین

Margin—...ثلث... |

Rev. Area in circle—ornament

سيف

dنيا والدين

ابو المطلب حسن

فزلخ

No margin.  Ar. 1:1. Wt. 171.

My cabinet. Formerly in that of General Gossett.

2   | 634           | Obv. Area in circle—لا الله إلا اللہ

محمد رسول اللہ

امستنصر بالله

امیر المرَّوْعَین

Rev. Area in circle—ornament

Siyaaf

dNNia wal-dNin

Abu al-malik Husn

Fzlaax
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|     |               | Rev. Area in circle—سيف الدنيا والدين
                أبو المظفر الحسن
                قرله |
|     |               | Margin—هذا الدرهم في شهر سنة
                أربع وثلاثين و... |
|     |               | م. 1-05. Wt. 170. |
|     |               | My cabinet. See B.M. Muh. States, No. 165, etc.; Th., No. 75; Cal. Mus. Cat., p. 185, No. 11. |
| 2a  |               | Variety of 2, differing only in substitution ofحسن for حسن. B.M. |
| 3   | No mint or date. | Obv. Area in circle surrounded by dots—as in No. 2. |
|     |               | Rev. Area in circle surrounded by dots—املك
                المعظم سيف الدنيا
                الدینيّ أبو الهم...
                مُحمد عبدالله |
|     |               | No margins. م. 1-05. Wt. 168. |
|     |               | My cabinet. |

*Note.—In all the published specimens of No. 2, and in No. 3, in the kalimah the ﮭ of رسول is joined to the ﮫ of ﮫ. |

| 4   | Al-Kūramān. 641 H. | Obv. In square, set in circle surrounded by dots—المستعون
                بالله أمير
                الموتى |
<p>|     |               | Ornaments in the four segments. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5   | No mint or date. | Rev. In a square, set in a circle—

| نصب هذا |
| قر الدهم |
| الكرمان |

Margins, in the four segments—

| بتاريخ .. | هذا الد .. | أربعين | واحد |

R. 95. Wt. 166. My cabinet.

Note.—The reverse legend on this coin does not follow any general formula, and the reading of the second line is doubtful. I propose to read قرّر الدهم qarra’d-dirham, which would give as the meaning of the whole legend “This coinage of the dirham of Kuramán is established.”

**Nāsiru’d-dīn Muhammad Qarluq.**

| Obv. | In square, set in circle—the kalimah. Ornaments in four segments resembling those in No. 4. Margin—... شهور فم سمنه ... |

Rev. In circle surrounded by dots—

الملك المعظم
ناصر الدنيا والدين
أبو المظفر محمد بن
ابو الفتح

R. Formerly belonging to General Cunningham. See J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 65. **Dilīwāl type.** Obv. 

السلطان
المعظم
أبو الفتح
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. الناصر لدين الله أمير الموسيين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. عدل الخاقان الأعظم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kurramān.</td>
<td>Obv. عدل خاقان ن المعظم كرمان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. الناصر الدين الله أمير الموسيين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See C. J. Rodgers in J.A.S.B., 1883.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>Obv. السلطان الأعظم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. ∙نكرني (٢)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Mint and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. In circle surrounded by dots—&lt;br&gt;محمد&lt;br&gt;الحسين ح&lt;br&gt;Rev. In circle—&lt;br&gt;ناصر&lt;br&gt;الدنيا و&lt;br&gt;الدين&lt;br&gt;Æ. .45. My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. ناصر&lt;br&gt;الدنيا و&lt;br&gt;الدين&lt;br&gt;Rev. محمد&lt;br&gt;بين حسن قرلاغ +&lt;br&gt;Æ. .60. My cabinet. Variety of B.M. No. 171; Th. 83; Cal. 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>Obv. Area surrounded by three circles with dots between them—illegible.&lt;br&gt;Rev. In circle—&lt;br&gt;ب._below, star and crescent.&lt;br&gt;Æ. .90. Wt. 259. My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Variety of B.M. No. 4 and Th. 6 and 7 of Muḥammad bin Sām. A crescent over السلطان.&lt;br&gt;Æ. .56. My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Mint and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kūrāmān.</td>
<td>A slight variety of Th. Nos. 55 and 56 of ʿAlāʾūd-dīn Khwārizmī, with كُرْمَان on the bull’s flank. AE. 55.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Banīân.</td>
<td>Obv. يَصِبِق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. نَرَب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>بنیان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My cabinet. Th. 85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. In hexagon formed by two equilateral triangles— نَرَب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>بنیان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My cabinet. Th. 49; B.M. 53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. Bull to left. Around Persian inscription—possibly Adobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. Chauhān horseman to left. Star below. AE. 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably struck by Yaldūz in name of Muḥammad bin Sām.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Coin of Ārām Shāh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. نيا و الديين ابوا مظفر ارام</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev. Nurwār horseman. \( \text{Æ.} \cdot 55 \).

My cabinet.

*Note.*—This coin is not identical with that ascribed to Ārām Shāh (Th. 26, 27 and B.M. 34) and now correctly assigned to Muʿizzu'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh (Cal. 112-115). Here the initial letters of 'Arām can be read; it cannot therefore be a coin of Bahrām Shāh.

### Coins of ‘Alāu'd-dīn Khwārizmī.

**Silver.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. In dotted circle— ornament السلطان الأعظم علا الدنيا والد يس</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev. In dotted circle— أبو الفتح محمد بن السلطان

My cabinet. \( \text{AR.} \cdot 80. \text{ Wt. 62.} \).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 20  | Samarqand. 617 | **Large Copper Coins.**  

**Hamidi.**  

**Obv.** Area in double square with knots in the outer sides, set in a circle—  

The kalimah.  

Margin—بسم الله عرب هذا لدرهم  

بسم وقلد سنة سبع عشرة وستمئة  

**Rev.** Area in circle—حميدي  

الإمام الآدم الأعظم  

الناصر لدين الله  

أمير المؤمنين  

Margin—like that on obverse, but imperfect.  

Æ. 1.35.  

My cabinet.  

| 21  | Samarqand.    | **Obv.** In square, with cusped arch in middle of each side, set in a circle—  

The kalimah.  

Margins illegible.  

**Rev.** In small circle set in square knotted at the corners—خساحم  

الناصر  

لدين الله  

أمير المؤمنين  

Margins—... سنة... سمرقد...  

Æ. 1.30.  

My cabinet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Samarqand.</td>
<td>Obv. In double square—السلطان، أُظم عَلَّ عَلَّ الدنيا والدين Margin, in segments—... درهم... Rev. In circle set in square with small rings in the angles—محمد السلطان Margin, in segments—... سُمْرَقَتَن د.Æ. 1·30. (Traces of plating.) My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Obv. Like B.M. 616 ao, etc., with standing bull of Parshor and Kuramän type, but with a cross + on hind and fore quarters. د.Æ. '55. My cabinet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KURAMÁN COINS.
HUGE miscellaneous collections of anecdotes, compiled on no very apparent method, were much to Moslem taste. One of these is the "Tadhkira" of Ibn Hamdûn, a large anthological work divided into fifty Bâb, the headings of which foreshadow imperfectly their contents. The author's life is given by Ibn Khallikân (de Sl. Eng., iii, 90) and by Brockelmann (Gesch. Arab. Lit., i, 280). There is also a notice of him in the Wâfi bil-Wafayât of al-Šafadi (Paris, Ar. 5860, 236a), where he is described as a man of culture and of good birth, and as the composer of the "Tadhkira" on "Adab, Nawâdir and Tawârikh," a work of large dimensions, extending to twelve volumes, and very well known. Further, that the author was intimate with the Caliph Mustanjid and often conversed with him; that he owed to him his appointment to the Diwân al-Zimâm, his first official post having been that of 'Ārid to the troops, under Muqtafi; and that he was amiable in character and socially pleasant. Certain stories, however, in his work being deemed by the Caliph to be reflections on his government, he was arrested in his office and imprisoned until his death in 572 A.H. In the same MS., at fol. 236b, is a notice of his brother, also named Muḥammad, but with the 'laqab' of Abu Naṣr (that of the former being Abu-l-Ma'âli); that he served as clerk in the Diwân from the year 513 A.H. until his death in 545 A.H.; and that he composed a volume of "Rasâ'il" and a history.

Complete copies of the "Tadhkira" were probably scarce, owing to its vast bulk. One copy, wanting only the final
Báb, acquired by von Kremer in Aleppo, is now in the Library of the British Museum, Or. 3179 and 3180, which together comprise 720 folios of thirty-three closely written lines to the page. Hitherto its contents seem to have been dealt with only by von Kremer himself, once in 1851, in the Sitzber. Phil. Hist. Cl. Wiener Akad., vol. vi, pp. 414–49, where he gives a selection of anecdotes to illustrate the manners and customs of the Arabs before Islam; the text for the verse and proverbial sayings only being given; and again in 1853, in Z.D.M.G. vii, 215, where he gives two extracts, text and translation, the one, the form of oath taken to a Caliph on his accession (Or. 3179, fol. 172b); the other, the patent appointing a Nestorian Katholikos at Baghdad (ib., fol. 223a), which is from the pen of his brother Abu Naṣr. Both the texts are emended by Fleischer.

The residue, viz. nearly the entirety of the work, remains untouched, and its publication cannot be regarded as otherwise than remote. From the East, were a complete copy available, an edition without index, and similar, at best, to Maqrizi's Khiṭat, is all that could be looked for. A Western editor would have to take into account its encyclopaedic range of subject and the knowledge needed to deal with it, and he would also have to compare the span of the work with that of a human life. But some selection may be attempted. Like all such compilations, a very large part of the contents is to be found in other works, in MS. or in print. Much of this work appears, and was no doubt derived from, the "Kitāb al-Aghānī," practically the whole of chapter xlv, on singing girls, and much of chapters vi and vii, on bravery and cowardice,

1 A permanently existing body is unaffected by this consideration, and I commend the publication of the "Tadhkira" to future Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," when the "Jamiʿūt-Tawārikh" shall have been disposed of (see p. 17, supra). The "Tadhkira" may contain some 400,000 words.
fidelity and treachery; scattered passages therein are to be met with in Taβari, Ibn Khallikān, etc.; and some, less easily traceable, have been identified for me by Professor D. S. Margoliouth in the "Mustaṭraf" and elsewhere. Many stories, however, relating to Caliphs and Viziers, seem to be new and to contain matter of interest, and of these I have endeavoured to give the substance in the following pages, with the text appended. Some additional and kindred matter is taken in part from the MS. of the "Nashwān al-Muḥāḍara" of al-Tanūkhi (Paris, Ar. 3482), and from the "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda" by the same author, the text of which is in print (Cairo, 1904–5). Of the extracts given from the text of Ibn Ḥamdūn, many have had the advantage of revision and emendation by Professor Margoliouth, the final one in particular, setting out the appointment of the Katholikos at Baghdad. It has already been printed, as above stated, but it is conceived that the recent emendation, coupled with the interest of the document, justifies its inclusion with those as yet unedited.

The first extract (A) deals with the well-worn topic of the fall of the Barmecides, and is vouched for by the excellent authority of Masrūr, the executioner of Ja'far. It shows how Masrūr disclosed to the Caliph, under compulsion, the fact that popular rumour attributed their fall to his greed for their wealth. Thereupon the Caliph had Yahyā conducted within earshot, and forced from him the admission that he had supported with money an Alide rebel with the object of augmenting the credit his son al-Faḍl would obtain by defeating him (Tab. iii, 669–70), and that he had acted likewise in the case of Ahmad b. Ḥaša b. Zaid,1 whilst refusing to provide the money he

1 Mentioned only incidentally by Taβari (iii, 651), he is noticed in the 'Umdat al-Ṯilīb, lith., p. 280, B.M. add. 7355, 100r. Born in 158 A.H., he was brought up at the Caliph's Court. He attempted a rising, but was imprisoned, and, when released, went into hiding at Baṣra, where he
(the Caliph) needed for his dependants, so that he was actually forced to borrow, besides other misdeeds. And he ended by telling Masrûr that if he knew the public as well as he himself did, he would be aware that what once got into their heads remained there indefinitely. Some weight should perhaps be given to the Caliph's dictum when estimating the probability of the romantic story which attributes the Barmecides' fall to the loves of Ja'far and 'Abbâsa. Tabari indeed gives the story, but only as one of several explanations of the event; other writers embellished it by introducing Zubaida's resentment at Yaḥya's enforcing the restraints of the ḥarīm; but it is to be observed that when Rashid's grandson, Wâthiq, enquired what prompted his grandfather's action, the motive assigned by the Caliph's informant, though not wholly free from the feminine element, was, in substance, financial, and was so understood by Wâthiq when applying the moral to his own case (Ṭab. iii, 1332). Nevertheless, the story is too firmly rooted now to be displaced by any such prosaic explanation.

The conventional Hārūn of the "Nights" is a familiar figure, but the next extract (B) discloses him living laborious days. Written depositions reached him from the official of the Bridge of Boats district (mentioned Ṭabari, iii, 1062 and 1403), relating to what would nowadays be termed a "disorderly house." The defendant confessed; his confession was supported by an abundance of excellent evidence of his acts, and followed by evidence, was discovered, blind, and left unmolested by Mutawakkil, whose grief at his death, following on that of Ishaq al-Mausili in 235 A.H., is mentioned on the authority of the Kitâb al-Aghānî (see v, 127). The author of the last-mentioned work gives a notice of Ḥaṣa b. Zaid in his Maqâṭil al-Talibiyyin, lith. Teheran, 1307, pp. 212-15, and relates how he escaped from his detention in the house of al-Fâdî b. al-Rabi', and evaded Rashid's strenuous efforts to recapture him. But he makes no mention of his revolt.
equally strong, of his good character. The Caliph perused the documents, and, always emotional, fell into a passion, from which those present augured ill for the accused. But on recovering the Caliph enquired what ground of complaint there could be against a man who was engaged practically in supplying a social want. "Many a man of position," he said, "had a wife of his own class, but fair neither outwardly nor inwardly. Was he to be debarred from getting relief by marriage, or by purchase, and was putting him in the way of getting such relief to be held a crime? If the man's story proved to be true (which the Caliph might indeed have presumed as the facts were unquestioned) let him be given a thousand dinars to encourage him." And the courtiers murmured applause.

Now this story has an administrative as well as a moral interest. Baghdad was no mean city, for, according to Hilāl al-Ṣābi, 30,000 skiffs were employed, a century later, in ferrying people over the river (le Strange, "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," p. 184). In London what a newspaper might describe as a "Police Raid in the West End" would receive the attention of a stipendiary magistrate, and might perhaps reach the Sessions. In Baghdad it came under the personal cognizance of the Caliph.

In extract C we find Rashīd in contact with Abu Dulaf al-'Ijli, no mention of whom occurs either in Tābārī, or in Ibn Khallikān (Eng. ii, 502), so early as this reign. The Caliph received him seated in the company of his favourite al-Abbās, great-grandson of al-Abbās the son of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib, and asked him as to the condition of al-Jabal. "Devastated," he replied, "by Kurd and Arab

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1 Mentioned Tāb. iii, 606, as excepted from the general banishment of the Alides from Baghdad by Rashīd. 'Abd Allah in this passage should be read 'Ubaid-Allah, see 'Umdat al-Tālib, lith., 354, i. 11, where al-Abbās is described as مكّيًا عند الرشيد.
raids. "That," said the Caliph, "is your doing; what if we made you its governor?" "I would put things straight," answered Abu Dulaf; and when one present suggested that perhaps he would do the reverse, he retorted that having ruined it when he was its ruler with the Caliph for his enemy he was not likely to be unequal to putting it right with the Caliph on his side. Thereupon al-Abbâs commended his spirit and augured him success, and Rashid appointed him governor. An offer by Abu Dulaf of a money present to al-Abbâs for his kindness was declined, but he was permitted to honour drafts by al-Abbâs in favour of claimants on his bounty to the extent of the proffered gift.

Abu Dulaf must have reverted later to his attitude of rebellion, for an anecdote in the other volume of Ibn Hamdûn (Or. 3180, 89b) describes him as having taken to the hills,¹ and as captured by Ma'mûn, whom he addressed in apposite verse, whereupon he was set free, and again appointed over the district, proving an excellent governor.

Ma'mûn is the subject of extract D. A fancy took him for a certain appetizing dish.² His brother (Mu'tâshîm), knowing a Nabatean who was largely addicted to it, procured from him an immediate and copious supply, which so pleased Ma'mûn that he expressed the wish that the treat might recur annually. "Daily, if you so will," was the answer, "for my household is never without it." This handsome scale of living was perhaps the cause of the Nabatean's name appearing in a list of debtors for arrears due to the State, which was sent from the Diwan for the Caliph's signature. Ma'mûn remembered the name, and having ascertained who it was, directed him to be allowed to keep the sum, which amounted to 13,000

¹ يقطع في الجمال
² كام،كابع. See Johnson, Pers. Dict.
dirhams, to assist him in keeping up his style of living. But, on reflection, he recalled the order on the ground that people would be saying that the Caliph's dishes had cost the amount of the liability he was remitting. And he confirmed the entire surcharging document, which involved a total sum of 40 million dirhams.

Ma'mūn was accounted a good ruler, nor should this anecdote be allowed to detract from his reputation. Acts of reckless and wanton generosity are all too common in Moslem annals, and all too belauded. Ma'mūn resisted the easy virtue, and was content to be just.

An anecdote on Muntaṣīr occurs in Or. 3179, 118b, the text of which need not be set out in full, as its interest lies in the fact that it brings the Caliph, whose two years' reign began only in 247 a.h., in contact with al-Hasan b. Sahl, who, assuming him to be the vizier of Ma'mūn and father of Būrān, died in 236 a.h. (see Tabari, iii, 1406, where an attempt by his creditors to stop the funeral is recorded). In this anecdote Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Bukair relates how his father was in the Caliph's presence with the vizier, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣib, when the chamberlain announced al-Hasan b. Sahl. On the vizier exclaiming against the infliction of a bore from a bygone age, the narrator's father interposed, protesting how heavily his own family were indebted to al-Hasan, more especially for an introduction to the learned world, such as Abu 'Ubaida, al-Asma'i, and Wahb b. Jarīr, with the result that the Caliph, much to the vizier's annoyance, gave al-Hasan free access to his Court and promised him his protection, saying that gratitude deserved acknowledgment.

It is difficult to suppose that any Hasan b. Sahl other than the vizier can be referred to, although another person of that name was living in 235 a.h. (Tab. iii, 1443).

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1 دعنا من العظام الناقصة والرسوم الدائرة.
2 Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 388 ; ii, 123 ; and iv, 163, n. 2.
Next come anecdotes of various viziers in the service of the Abbasid Caliphs, the first in date being Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. We are told in the Aghānī, xx, 46, how, confident of his success, he gave up good commercial prospects for a political career. Three terms of office justified his choice even in his father’s eyes, which, let us hope, may have closed on him as vizier before his cruel death on the accession of Mutawakkil. A harsh cynicism was the prevailing feature of his character, and it prevailed even in his extremity. For when told that he had better have done kind acts and so have gained gratitude which might have served him in his need, he answered that this would not have profited him at all, so base and thankless were mankind. Hardly could he have exceeded the bounty of the Barmecides, and when their time came what had it availed them? “That may be so,” said the other, “but the fact of your quoting them at such a moment as this redounds assuredly to their credit.”

1 Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 249.

2 حدثني أبو محمد يحيى بن محمد الازد قُل: بلغني أن ابن الزنات sez درَج في السُّنَّة قَالُ لَه بعض خدمته لِبِنْذَا أو شبيه: كَانَ شريفًا عليك بفعل الإحسان وتتُّبَع رَقاب الرجول بالامتنان واتخاذ الصنائع في حال الندرة لِتَجْرَي بها اللّي عند الحاجة. قَالُ لَو كنتَ فعلت هذا مَا حصلت مِن لِلَّي على طائر لِيؤذ في نفس الناس مَن ضعف الإخاء وكَثرة السُّغُد وقلة الوفاء وترانى كنتَ فعل أكثر من إفعال المراءكة لِمَا نفعهم لَه حصلوا على مثل حالي مِن اسلام الزمان وجور السلطان. فَقال له الخادم: لَو لم ينفعهم ذَكرك لَيهم في مستش. هذه الحال التي أُنت فيها لِكان ذلك أكثَر نفع. (From the “Nashwān,” Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 6b. This episode is given briefly, at the end of the vizier’s life, by Ibn Khall., supra.)
In Aghānī, xx, 47, and also in Ibn Hamdūn, Or. 3179, 190α, there is a story of him when sitting as vizier, to redress grievances (مطالع), which shows him to have been possessed of a sense of humour. The complainant alleged he had been wrongfully ousted from his estate by the vizier’s factor, and that whilst deprived of the rents and profits he had perforce to go on paying the land tax so as to prevent the vizier’s name being registered as owner in place of his own. And this, he said, was a refinement of injustice. The vizier suggested that his case required to be supported by proof, written or oral, and so forth, to which the man replied that proof merely involved bother and complication. His downright simplicity so amused the vizier that he restored the estate, set him up in funds, and admitted him to his intimacy.¹ This story is quoted by Jurji Zaydān in his “Islamic Civilization” ² as illustrating “a remarkable form of robbery.” This, perchance, it does, but it discloses also that titles to land rested on registration, and a register supposes a map on an adequate scale; further, that a registered legal title did not exclude an adverse and tortious possession. As the two co-existed it must be presumed that both devolved to the heirs on death, and were saleable inter vivos, and it would be of interest were we able to contrast the market value of the wrongful intruder’s title with the exceedingly dry and outstanding legal estate remaining in the registered owner.

In extract E we have three anecdotes of Ibn al-Zayyāt, all illustrating his peculiar disposition. To a man who rejoiced at being his neighbour, and solicited his regard, he replied that the former was merely a question of party

¹ In Or. 3179 the phrase العي والتعطرس is inserted between the words المقصوف in Aghānī, xx, 47, l. 11.
wall, and that regard and such like weaknesses were fit only for women and children.

In the next he is acting on this view. In his humbler days he and a neighbour were on terms, not unknown between neighbours, of mutual unfriendliness. When he had attained power the neighbour waited on him, and, after a chilling reception, said that men's hopes naturally turned to him in his fortune, and that he was come to make his excuses and to beg his favour. The vizier told him to return the next day, but recalled him as he was leaving and warned him that he would obtain nothing from him. He then explained to those present that his reason for thus shattering the man's hopes was that he grudged him even the anticipation of good luck.

In the last, Qudāma (secretary to İtākh, Tab. iii, 1386) relates that whilst the vizier was being assailed on all sides by complaints, al-Hasan b. Wahb alone kept silence, on which the vizier remarked that if this proceeded from the absence of a grievance he was glad, but that if this were not so, and he avoided complaining to him, he was doing him a wrong. Al-Hasan replied with apposite verse, the purport of which seems to be that silence in the midst of others' clamorous importunity imparts a feeling of moral superiority tinged with disgust.

From al-Hasan b. Wahb the transition is easy to his more eminent brother Sulaimān, whose life is given by Ibn Khallikān, i, 271; Eng. i, 596. His pedigree is remarkable from the fact that no less than six of his ancestors in the direct line had been in the service of successive Caliphs from Muʿāwia onwards, and that he

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1 The highest talent has been exercised on these lines. One authority suggests دمَتْ in place of دمَتْ, which contrasts with 'silent,' whilst noticing the inconvenience of the feminine plural. Another avoids the inconvenience by substituting تَرَفَبْ and تَرَفَبْ the feminine plural, thus making all concerned feminine, being applicable to both sexes.
and his three direct descendants attained the vizierate, the last of them under Muqtaḍir and Qāhir. The family’s official career was thus coextensive with the active existence of the Caliphate, both Omayyad and Abbasid. Ibn Khallikān says that Sulaimān was vizier to Muḥtadī (Ṭabarī says that he was in his service), and to Muṭtamīd, who was forced by his more powerful brother, Muwaffāq, to prefer him to al-Ḥasan b. Makhlād. Later, however, Sulaimān incurred his displeasure, and he died in prison in 272 A.H. (Ṭab. iii, 2108), 270 A.H. (Masʿūdi, viii, 64).

Sulaimān’s name is linked with that of Ibn al-Zayyāt in a story, told in the “Faraj ba’d al-Shidda” (i, 107–110), and somewhat differently in the “Tadhkira” (Or. 3180, fol. 231b), which may be said to impart artistic verisimilitude to a bald official statement in another work. In the “Kitāb al-Wuzara” of Hilāl al-Ṣābi, ed. Beyrouth, is a list of carefully graduated forms for addressing officials, and on p. 159 appears that used in the case of ‘Abd al-Malik al-Khārā‘īti, son of the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt, whose ‘laqab’ arose from his having presided over the Diwān of official dispatches, ‘al-Khārā‘īt’ or ‘al-Barid,’ for a period of thirty years. We are told that in his case the form used was somewhat in excess of his strict claim, and al-Tanūkhī’s story explains why this was so. He gives the story in varying forms and on different authorities, the best version being quoted from the “Kitāb

1 An addition to Ṭab. iii, 1927, from Ibn Miskawayh, says that Sulaimān’s son, ‘Ubaid Allah, then secretary to Muwaffaq, reconciled the rival viziers. There is no later mention of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlād either by Ṭabarī or Ibn al-Ṣāḥib, but in Völkers’ “Fragmenta aus d. Mughrib” of Ibn Saʿid, p. 64, he is mentioned as visiting Ahmad b. Tūlūn by invitation from his exile at Raqqa, and as behaving so haughtily that Ahmad seized an occasion of disgracing and imprisoning him, and that later he returned to Syria, where he died, and was buried at Qaṣr ‘Īsa b. Shaikh. A story in Yaqūt’s “Irshād al-Arib,” ed. D. S. Margoliouth, i, 397, tells of his niggardly provision of food for guests, and how Jahān managed to profit by this peculiarity. In the same work, at p. 136, is a notice of Ahmad, a son of Sulaimān b. Wahb, d. 285 A.H.
al-Wuzara’ of Ibn ‘Abdūs al-Jahshiyāri, whose informant had it from the father of Ibn al-Jarrāh, vizier to the Caliph of a day, Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Its preamble tells how Sulaimān’s son ‘Ubad Allah, whilst sitting as vizier under Mu'ta’did to redress grievances, on reading one of them exclaimed, “I will follow the dictum of my father, not of yours,” and in due time explained his words. When Wāthiq was Caliph and Ibn al-Zayyāt vizier, ‘Ubad Allah’s father, Sulaimān, then secretary to Itākh, had been made liable for a sum of 400,000 dinars, for Wāthiq, fired by a recital of his grandfather’s treatment of the Barmecides, had made a pecuniary raid on his State secretaries, including Sulaimān (Tab. iii, 1331–5). The vizier was examining him, and pressing him hard for the balance due, when he was called away by a servant. This enabled his secretary, who was al-Hasan b. Wahb, to pass to his brother Sulaimān a note saying that a male child had been born to him who was as yet “a body without a name,” and asking his instructions as to name and ‘kunya.’ He replied, “Abu-l-Qāsim ‘Ubad Allah,” and he felt his confidence revive at the anticipation of the child’s growth and prosperity. The vizier on his return perceived the change, and having got the truth from al-Hasan, said that what had called him away was likewise the birth of a son, whom he had named ‘Abd al-Malik, after his own father, with the ‘kunya’ of Abu Marwān. Sulaimān congratulated him, and suggested that on a day so auspicious for both of them counsels of mercy should prevail; might their children grow up together, and might his be dedicated to the service of the other. But the vizier, persistently ill-natured, insinuated that Sulaimān’s hopes really soared higher; his wish was, no doubt, that his son might some

1 In Aghāni, xxi, 253, Wāthiq’s action is attributed to his recollection of a line of verse in the mouth of his father, Mu’tasim.
day as vizier see the other his suppliant, and refuse him. Sulaimān protested, but he was conscious too of hope's whisper that the vizier's prognostication might prove true. His release soon followed,¹ and later, when telling the story to his son 'Ubaid Allah, he charged him, should the occasion present itself, to be gracious to the son of Ibn al-Zayyāt. The occasion, said 'Ubaid Allah, was now present, for not until that day had he come across Abu Marwān. He accordingly showered on him wealth and honours, and appointed him to the post which he held down to the close of the third vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt, viz. 312 a.h. At first he used to subscribe himself the vizier's servant, but 'Ubaid Allah forbad this from a vizier's son, and said he must sign his name only. Abu Marwān compromised the matter by combining the two forms, and continued to use them in addressing all succeeding viziers. Moreover, he preferred to be known as Abu Marwān al-Khara'īṭī, and to ignore his descent from Ibn al-Zayyāt.²

¹ According to a story (ib., p. 45), also derived from 'Ubaid Allah, his father's release was due to his stout-hearted reply to lines sent him by his brother, urging him to be of good cheer. These came to the knowledge of Wāthiq, who said he would not suffer his prisons to be the grave of 'Faraj,' least of all to those who were in his service. According to another story (ib., p. 98), and also "Tadhkira," Or. 3180, fol. 88a, likewise derived from 'Ubaid Allah through the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa, Sulaimān's release was the result of Wāthiq's deathbed remorse for his past acts and to the advice given by the Qāḍī Ahmad b. abi Duvāid that he should make what amends he could by a general gaol delivery of persons detained for non-payment of fines. And the Caliph's order to this effect was carried out by Itākh (to whom Sulaimān had been secretary) in the teeth of Ibn al-Zayyāt's resistance. Moreover, the Qāḍī, on reporting the result to the Caliph, succeeded in getting the prisoners' property restored to them. In the "Tadhkira," Or. 3179, 103a, is another story of the Qāḍī's benevolent intercession with Mu'taṣim in favour of an intended victim of his anger, and other instances are given in his life by Ibn Khall., Engr. i, 61.

² Abu Marwān and a brother, when burying their father's remains, thanked Allah at being rid of him (Tab. iii, 1376).
Neither Tabari nor Ibn Khallikān chronicle Sulaimān's official vicissitudes under Mutawakkil, but his career can be further traced in the pages of the "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda."

In vol. i, p. 49, is a story telling how in his capacity of secretary to Ítākh he was imprisoned on his murder in 235 A.H. (see Tab. iii, 1386). His treatment was so rigorous that he was longing for death,¹ when suddenly he was summoned for examination before an official board, the upshot of which was that on the advice of a friend, Mūsa b. 'Abd al-Malik, he submitted to pay the sum of ten million dirhams by ten monthly instalments, whereupon he was released, and given a suitable abode and facilities for procuring the sum required. But within a month's time, and just when he had prepared an instalment, arrived Mūsa with news. The accounts from Egypt had come in, and they showed that the expenditure had exhausted the receipts. Mutawakkil, on learning this from the vizier, ordered Mūsa to extract from the Diwān the general accounts of that province, so as to test this governor's administration. And he had been careful to do this in such a form as put in the forefront the year during which Sulaimān had been governor there (he had therefore already filled that post) followed by the later and leaner years for the purpose of comparison, with the object of procuring Sulaimān's release. "Who," enquired the Caliph, "was governor during the fat years?" "Sulaimān." "Why should he not resume the post?" He did so, and not merely were the instalments remitted, but he received 100,000 dirhams for his outfit, besides his forfeited property, and he started for Egypt.

Another story (ib., p. 100, and "Tadhkira," Or. 3180, fol. 230a), in which he is figuring there as governor, was

¹ He describes himself as having prayed that his fate might depend on whether or not he had been party to the murder of Nājih b. Salama, but this must be an error, as that event took place later, in 245 A.H. (see Tab. iii, 1440).
told by him to his son 'Ubaid Allah, in later days at Samarrā, to explain his extraordinary show of courtesy to a visitor, Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Ṣarīfīnī, whom, he said, he had superseded in Egypt, where he had long been governor, and where he found him on his arrival.¹

His official record extorted Sulaimān's admiration for its honesty and beneficence, and for the gratitude it had evoked. Finding that his accounts for the previous year had not yet been made up, Sulaimān now required him to reduce the total of his receipts, and to increase the items for unrecovered arrears and expenses, so as to enable himself to retain a balance of 100,000 dinars. This Aḥmad refused to do in spite of Sulaimān's threats, saying that as he would not cheat for himself he certainly would not do so for another, whereupon Sulaimān imprisoned him. But he had for a friend a certain 'Irq al-Maut,² who was hostile to Sulaimān, and he, having gained the ear of the Caliph Mutawakkil, sang therein the praises of Aḥmad, and declared that his successor's personal outlay alone was exhausting the revenue of Egypt. The result was that a day came when Aḥmad requested a personal audience of Sulaimān. He, expecting a surrender, was unyielding, whereupon Aḥmad said that, if this was his last word, he

¹ Tabari (iii, 1378) records that at a previous date, 233 A.H., Mutawakkil had disgraced Abu-l-Wazīr, whose full name is given elsewhere as Aḥmad b. Khālid, and had seized his property, and that through Abu-l-Wazīr's treachery other persons had been imprisoned and fined, one of these being Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, brother of Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik. If this Abu-l-Wazīr was identical with al-Ṣarīfīnī, the superseded governor, it may be that Mūsā, in procuring his dismissal was, like Scott's Harry of the Wynd, "fighting for his own hand." It was the appointment in 238 A.H. of a great-nephew of Abu-l-Wazīr to the 'Kharāj' in Egypt which led to the governor Aḥmad b. Tūlūn furthering his own independence by procuring the transfer to himself of that office, see Vollers, Fragm., p. 16.

² Despatched to Damascus against 'Īsā b. al-Shāikh in 257 (Tab. iii, 1841, and Vollers, Fragm., p. 9). A story ib., p. 44, bears witness to his ability when in charge of the 'Barid' in Egypt.
must request his perusal of the document he handed to him, which proved to be a missive from Mutawakkil to the effect that

"His power and his command was taken off,
And Ahmād ruled in Egypt,"

and that to him he was to render his accounts. Next came the constabulary to occupy his house, but Ahmād discharged them, and insisted on his remaining in occupation without a guard; further, he left his staff at liberty, taking from them only an undertaking to account; and for the next month he plied Sulaimān with gifts and attentions. He then suggested to him to leave Egypt (whose attractions in his eyes he presumed to be only those of a milch-cow) and to repair to Samarrā, where he was sure of getting preferment. Sulaimān accordingly started for the first halting-place, where he was told to await an honourable escort to Ramla. This aroused his misgivings, but next day came Ahmād in person, and he thus explained his errand. Sulaimān's brief tenure of office, he said, could not have been very profitable as his fruitless demand on him showed, and his motive in delaying his departure had been precisely to enable him to satisfy his demand, viz., by reducing the total, etc., whilst "increasing the items," etc., as above.¹ This, he said, he had done to the amount of 15,000 dinars in the year, and he had brought with him the equivalent of two years as a gift. More than this, he further showered on him other precious objects and rarities, on the ground that

¹ Sulaimān had required of him—

\[ \text{ان يحبط من الدخل ويزيده في النفقات والرزاقي ويكتشفي المحليا} \]

and his voluntary act was—

\[ \text{وجد حطبت من الارتفاع وزدت في المحليا.} \]

The two processes are identical.
such were certain to be expected by the officials at the capital from a returning governor. Thus furnished, Sulaimān hied to high fortune at Court.

The author’s moral is clear from the title of his work, that the blackest cloud has its silver lining, and the story is one more instance of excessive and unaccountable Moslem generosity. But it has other aspects. To begin with, the Caliph’s plan of government is inscrutable. To govern, beloved and regretted by the governed, is one ideal; to fleece the governed and to feed the treasury, is another; a ruler must weigh treasure against popularity, and make his choice. Yet to alternate these mutually exclusive systems, and for mutually destructive reasons, was the course which commended itself to Mutawakkil. Sulaimān’s conduct, again, is consistent and intelligible, but which of Ahmad’s actions is it, his obstinate honesty or his altruistic dishonesty, which should be regarded as a deviation from his ordinary standard of conduct? Or was he insensible to the unexpressed, because obvious, maxim, “Qui facit alio facit per se”? The first mention of Sulaimān’s son, ‘Ubayd Allah, is in Tabari, iii, 1915, where, on the death of the vizier Ibn Khākān, in 263 A.H., Sulaimān was forced on the Caliph Mu’tamid as his successor by the Turk Mūsa b. Bughā, and at the same time ‘Ubayd Allah, who had acted as secretary to Mūsa,¹ was appointed to act as such both to the Caliph’s son and to his brother Muwaffaq. And it was in this capacity that he, in the following year, made terms between his father and the rival vizier, al-Ḥasan b. Makhλad, as already stated.

¹ In Ibn Sa‘id’s narrative of Mūsa’s attempt to supersede Ahmad b. Ṭulūn as governor of Egypt, Mūsa’s secretary is called Mūsa b. ‘Ubayd Allah, but it is clear that ‘Mūsa’ should be omitted in both the passages in Völlers, Fragm., p. 19, n. 2, and p. 20, n. 2. The futile expedition, which only reached Raqqā, is not noticed by Tabari. It is told by Ibn al-ʿAthir, vii, 212, where ‘Ubayd Allah is called ‘Abd Allah.
In extract F we find him acting as Müsa’s secretary when at Rayy,—presumably, therefore, in 256-8 A.H., when Müsa was resisting the Alide of Tabaristān, al-Hasan b. Zaid (Tabari, iii, 1840 and 1873). Whilst so engaged ‘Ubaid Allah had realized on his own account a perquisite of 100,000 dinars. At Hamadhān, on the way back to Samarrā, he was surprised at a requisition by Müsa that he should raise a like sum from that province which, in his opinion, had been drained dry already. He even went the length of offering his own private hoard, but Müsa refused it, and insisted on his demand. Thereupon ‘Ubaid Allah set to work and got the money. Later Müsa told him that the sum was to be his. He foresaw that his father, Sulaimān, would enquire what he had made out of his opportunities, and would advance claims for outlay on family and dependants sufficient to exhaust the amount. The second sum of 100,000 dinars, therefore, was destined to be really his own.

It is ‘Ubaid Allah who tells the story, his filial piety drowned for the time in gratitude towards the memory of his patron, whose reading of his father’s character he does not question. And Sulaimān is left anticipating Harpagon in trying to get the better of his own son.

The son lived to reap the reward of the imprisonment inflicted on them both by Muwaffaq (Tab. iii, 1930), for on the accession of Mu’taḍid, ‘Ubaid Allah was appointed vizier in place of Ibn Bulbul (ib. 2123), and held the post without interruption until his death.1 We must therefore attribute to the earlier period the sentiment

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1 This happened in 288 A.H. according to Ibn al-Jauzi in the “Muntaqam,” Paris, Ar. 5909, 28a, where he relates how Mu’taḍid intended to appoint Ahmad b. al-Furāt vizier, but was persuaded by Badr to prefer ‘Ubaid Allah’s son, al-Qāsim; and how in doing this he foretold its evil result for Badr. Al-Qāsim had acted as deputy vizier, but the Caliph reposed more confidence in Ahmad, whose official ability was notorious (cf. Hilāl al-Ṣābi, “Wuzara,” pp. 187-8, 219, and 255).
addressed to him by Abu-l-‘Ainâ (extract G), that better be a good man in adversity than a prosperous evildoer, for he goes from bad to worse, whereas the former gains favour with Allah.¹ And Abu-l-‘Ainâ was no indiscriminate eulogist, for his retort to a vizier who declared most stories of generosity to be forgeries, by the enquiry why none were attributed to the speaker (Mas‘ūdi, viii, 122; Ibn Khallikān, Eng. iii, 56), was in fact addressed to ‘Ubaid Allah. Indeed, it would appear that Abu-l-‘Ainâ had himself occasion to expostulate on the cessation of the vizier’s bounty, which he held to be a needless aggravation of his natural infirmity (extract H).² The vizier’s wisdom is illustrated from the ‘Bāb’ dealing with that quality, (extract I), by an alteration he made in the language of a document intended to impose an obligation on the Caliph, so as to make it more in accordance with his eminence. The clerk who had drawn it up, Thawâba,³ had followed the form usual in ‘Ṣikak,’ meaning, I presume,

¹ So said Browning’s “Patriot”—

‘Tis God shall repay: I am safer so.”

² The first two stories are given by Ibn Hamdûn, Or. 3179, fols. 117b and 135b, but all three appear on the earlier authority of the vizier at al-Rayy, Abu Sa‘d Mansûr b. al-Husain al-Abî, who died 421 A.H. (Brockelmann, i, 351) in the Nathr al-Durâr fi-l-Muhâdarât (B.M. Or. 5769, fols. 25a, 14a, and 30a). It is to be noticed that his contemporary al-Tanûkhî in the “Nashwân” (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 6a), on the authority of a son of Yahya al-Munajjin (d. 300 A.H.), makes Abu-l-‘Ainâ’s retort addressed to one Abu Makhlîd ‘Abd Allah b. Yahya al-Tabari, a Šâhib of Mu‘izz al-Daula, but as Abu-l-‘Ainâ died in 284 A.H. and is made to address Abu Makhlîd as ‘vizier,’ the dates do not fit.

³ The MS. has ٣٠٣٠٣٠٣٠٣, but the error was detected by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, who refers to the mention of him in the “Fihrist,” p. 130, 1. 18, as a State secretary. He is mentioned too as in prison, and visited by Ibn abi ‘Auf ‘al-Buzûri’ (mentioned infra) in the “Faraj ba‘d al-Shidda,” i, 62-3; as disputing with Ahmad b. al-Furât before ‘Ubaid Allah in Ḥilāl, “Wuzârā,” p. 255; and as reviled by Abu-l-‘Ainâ in the latter’s life by Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 58.
ordinary acknowledgments of obligation as between subjects, which the vizier deemed unsuitable to the occasion. That ‘Ubaid Allah died regretted by Mu’tadid is shown by the Caliph’s valedictory utterance (extract K), in which he expresses his satisfaction that he had never been estranged from him nor had visited him with displeasure so as to prompt him to resign his office. No mischief-maker had ever come between them, and his own character for holding by and protecting his servants without hankering after their wealth stood unimpeached. None the less the Caliph kept an eye on his vizier. He once played in person the detective, or rather the agent provocateur on him (Hilāl, “Wuzarā,” pp. 184–6), and a story in the Nashwān (fol. 28b) depicts him closely informed by spies as to his doings. They should have had much to report.

For ‘Ubaid Allah was following in his father’s footsteps. One Ibn abi ‘Auf had sheltered him in time of trouble. Being now vizier, his benefactor, who was in poor circumstances, was advised to have recourse to him, but refused, saying it would look like requiring payment for his kindness. Next day, however, he was summoned and received with great honour, being seated على طرف الدست.

At this point the vizier’s attendance was ordered by the Caliph, and on his return he told his visitor that it was on his account, for his reception of him had already reached his ears, and he had objected that he was degrading his office by behaving to a mere trader in a way that would have been more appropriate to an heir to the throne; but, on the reason being told him, he was satisfied. The vizier then said to Ibn abi ‘Auf, “I give you a month, and if you do not by that time get 100,000 dinars against

1 تنتقل مجلس الوزارة بالقيام لناجر، وقلان هذا لصاحب طرف
كان متظاهرًا، أو ولي كرمه كان كثيرًا.
adversity, may you perish." And he instructed his secretary how to raise the sum. He was first to reduce the current prices on sales to merchants of the produce of the crown lands to somewhat below the real value, presumably to ensure acceptance; this done, he was to sell this produce to Ibn abi 'Auf at a rebate of one dinar on each of the 100,000 measures; and then to resell it on his behalf to the merchants at the agreed price, they to pay down to him the difference, and to be given credit for the balance until actual delivery of the produce. This story is instructive. Language is ever ready to express neatly and without offence the most ambiguous acts, and a term was evolved to denote the above transaction. For, about one generation later, Ibn al-Furāt (as vizier) was doing a similar good turn to Ibn Muqla (Hilāl, "Wuzara," p. 215), and the vizier's order is there expressed by a single verb, for the due understanding of which some much needed light has been afforded by the exact statement of the process in the "Nashwān."

\(\text{اني قد شرت بك شهرة أن لم تكن معك}\) \(\text{مئتان ألف دينار معدة}^{1}\) \(\text{للنكبة هلكت}^{2}\). 

احضر التجار الساعات ونقص عليهم في تسعة مائتان ألف كمرس فجعل السلطان بالسواد بها يساور ويتبرض. فخرج وعاد بعد ساعة وقال: قد قررت ذلك معهم. فقال له: أفع عن أبي عبد الله هذه المائتان ألف كمرس بنصفان دينار واحد ما قررت به السعر مع التجار وتعبد له عليهم بالسعر المقرر عليهم وطليهم أن يجعلوا له فسلما بين السعرتين اليوم والآخران بالנים إلى أن يتسعوا الغلال وكتب النبي 

(Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 29a.)

\(\text{استثيدك}^{3}\), and the sum obtained. The term occurs in other passages in Hilāl, on pp. 87, 93, and 171. References to pp. 87 and 215 should be added in the Glossary, sub "ثني."
The above story follows in that text on one relating to 'Ubaid Allah's son and successor in the vizierate, al-Qāsim, so resembling the other in its language that, but for the evidence elsewhere of the identity of the person benefited, coupled with the inherent probability of the benefactor's conduct, the two stories might be thought to be one and the same. The authority for both is the Qādi Ibn 'Ayyāsh.

Al-Qāsim's tutor was Abu Ishaq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj. Of him we are told (fol. 89a) that his trade was glass bottle-making, and that from his earnings of a dirham and a half a day he paid one dirham to al-Mubarrad for tuition. Such a character straight from Smiles' "Self Help" was an ideal tutor, and we may suppose his precept excellent. His conduct was as follows. He suggested to his pupil that, if and when he should attain his father's office, he should give him 20,000 dinars. When the event happened he, like Ibn abi 'Auf, was above asking, but in five days time the vizier sent for him, and told him that but for fear of Mu'tadid he should have the sum down; as it was he must procure it piecemeal by accepting petitions for presentation, which he was to do for an adequate consideration, and without regard to their being well founded or the reverse, until he had gained the promised sum. Al-Qāsim became quite interested in his proceedings, enquiring and making suggestions as to his

(Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 28a.)
scale of charges, which often led to a petition being hung up until the payment was increased. And in time the tutor felt constrained to admit that the promised sum had been reached. But the vizier told him to continue as before: suitors had got into the way of it, and it gave him position: to discontinue would argue loss of his, the vizier’s, favour. So he went on until his death.¹

Such practices had indeed acquired the force of custom. Mu’tadid made a grant of an estate to a favourite, but the head of the Diwân delayed giving effect to it, and on

¹ In taking leave of the house of Wahb, the career of al-Qāsim’s son, al-Husain, may be noticed. He was a prodigal, and when pressed by his creditors, who refused to be content with his revenue and threatened to summon him before the Qādī, he consulted Ibn al-Buhāl how to save his estates. He advised him to apply to the Qādī, Abu ‘Umar (Muhammad b. Yūsuf, d. 320 a.h.), under whose jurisdiction he was as a resident on the east bank, for according to the tenets of the Mālik school of jurists, he would be enabled to pronounce his interdiction as a spendthrift, whereby the creditors’ remedy would be limited to the income. The passage runs:

ان مذهب مالك الحمير على الرجال إذا نان سفههم في المال والأنى بك أبو عمر جعل استدانك من غير حائزة كانت بكت البيا والأنى بقت المال والخبرت في المنطقة دليلة على سفهك في المالك ولو صارت تنمع في ذلك شهادة فس يعرفه من حاليك فهبت حميده السنه عندك فليمك عليك ويتنك من المنصرف في مالك ويدخل فيه أيدي أمانته وتتاون بينك وبينه فإذا نبت عدد العرد عليك السدين امهدم يعني أمانته بان يصرفوا الغلات فيهم قضاء للمدين وبقيت عليك النمو. قال: فنظر الحمين نفسه (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 84b.)

Later, when he had attained the vizierate (in 319 A.H.), Mūnis argued that this episode in his career showed his unfitness to manage the revenue. He supported Muqtadid against Mūnis, but failed, and was dismissed in 320 A.H. (‘Arib, p. 173). The “Faraj ba’d al-Shidda,” i, 60, speaks of him as vizier to Muqtadir’s successor, Qāhir, by whom he was put to death,—Dhahabi says (Leyden, No. 563, fol. 171b), for heresy.
her complaining to the Caliph he told her that the proper way for her, as for others, was to approach the official with the customary presents. On her doing this the grant was passed, and the official boasted thereafter of having taken a present by the Caliph's order (Hilāl, "Wuzara," pp. 182–4). And in the "Nashwān," fol. 118a, is a story by a clerk in the army office sent to distribute the troops' pay, how he, the commander's secretary, the receiving clerk (الجهاذ), and the 'Naqib' had between them realized a profit of some 10,000 dirhams. To effect a division they entered a mosque, when they saw but a single individual, apparently asleep. The sum to be divided accrued from the pay of men not on the roll, of their substitutes, and from profits on exchange and surplus weight. As the shares were being apportioned, the reputed sleeper arose and claimed a share also, and on threatening disclosure asserted successfully his equity to share equally with the rest of them.

It thus appears that such practices were in theory illegal: to some, indeed, their immoral aspect was apparent also. Extract L, from the "Nashwān," illustrates this, and the impeachment it contains of the iniquities of revenue-collecting identifies incidentally the successive administrative acts which marked the offender's progress towards perdition, just as, so a classical friend informs me, the sites of various edifices on the Palatine have been determined by a panegyrist's enumeration of those his effusion would successively leave behind it in its progress towards Caesar's hands.

Abu-l-Qāsim b. Abī-l-'Allān, being asked why he had forsworn an administrative career, told this story. When

وصل البنا رزق فلان الساقط كذا وفْلان البديل كذا ومّن
(Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 118a.)

الصرف كذا ومّن فنصل الوزن كذا.
stationed at Ahwāz and in charge of the district, he used to receive visits from Abu 'Ali al-Jubbā'i, usually at the moment when the land-tax was collected. Abu 'Ali was a man of high position, and he had long been in the habit of taking upon himself the tax due from his favourite neighbours, and Abu'l-Qāsim used to arrange his assessment with the governor who, though he might, at times, fail to do justice to Abu 'Ali's claim to special consideration, yet never omitted to abate his assessment by a moiety or a third of its total. Abu 'Ali himself gave no thought to the matter, and in his native place he was in the habit of distributing the proportion of his land-tax, which he had thus evaded paying, among certain chosen persons, on condition that each of these maintained during the year a poor scholar to impart learning to them—a trifling burden which did not amount to the fifth part of what he saved them. And Abu 'Ali then proceeded to appropriate a proper tithe of his own revenues to various pious uses. Such practices entitled him, on occasion, to preach, and when his host sought spiritual counsel of him he said that in his opinion his outlook was gloomy. "Why so?" enquired Abu'l-Qāsim, seeing that he was but a clerk, a hand that made copies, a hand which like any other treasury hand, when a petitioner tendered in return for a lightened assessment a token of his gratitude, closed on that token. But Abu 'Ali replied: "Tush! you select and send out the surveyors with stringent orders; they bring in amended lists; you settle them; you tell the collector to see that the amounts reach the receiver, or it will be the worse for him; and he then uses measures gentle and otherwise. But it is you who determine their intensity and their incidence; and it is on your order that the money so got in is paid out; in a word, the entire proceedings are under your control, and you must bear the responsibility." Abu'l-Qāsim confessed the burden, and avoided it by retirement.
But the rest of the official world held on their course. Let us ascend to their fount, the Caliph, who at this date was Muqtadir. We find him attempting a stroke of business on his own account. Property of his at Ahwāz was to be sold to provide pay for the troops. In the story this sale is only a link in a long and intricate scheme of revenge on the part of al-Tanūkhī’s uncle against an enemy (Nashwān, fol. 67a seq.). Confining ourselves to the sale, we learn (fol. 70a) that the land was bought by the adjoining owners at far below its real value, a not unusual incident of a forced sale. The uncle was a purchaser, and so was Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Barīdī. Later came a demand from the Caliph for a large increase in the sale prices, to the amount of 100,000 dirhams. The two consulted together, and agreed that no part of the increase must fall on them. But the purchasers held to their bargains. Thereupon the uncle devised a scheme. He began by judicially apportioning the increase among the purchasers in such a way as spared himself and al-Barīdī and their friends, and threw the whole increase on the rest; he then met their protests with the magnanimous offer that any recusant might account to them for the rents and profits he had received on his purchased plot, and be paid by them the difference between that and the purchase-money, they taking over his purchase. But as the purchasers had bought the plot most convenient to be held with their own properties, they preferred to submit to the increased price. The actual payments,

1 Appointed in 316 A.H. to the land-tax office at Ahwāz (‘Arīb., p. 138, where a note indicates that in the MS., as also in that of Iba Miskawaih, the name is written ‘al-Yazīdī.’ It is thus written also in the text of the Nashwān ‘).

فقطنا العمال على أهل البلد وخرجنا أنفسنا فما لنا دونا شيخًا ونُصصنا مع عمنا به وردة بازاراً ذلك على غيره . . . وناظرنا الناس على إلزام ما قطننا فامتنا وقالوا: على أي حساب هذا؟
however, were preceded by certain complications which form the subject of another story (fol. 91b). It relates how a sale of property at Ahwāz belonging to Muqtadīr had been carried out by “Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Baridi,” during the vizierate of Ibn Muqla, before his supersession by Sulaimān b. al-Hasan b. Makhāl in 318 A.H. (‘Arib., p. 150). The new vizier had recalled al-Baridi, and his successor had accused him of having retained a part of the purchase-money, and had, therefore (?), demanded from the purchasers a largely increased price. The transaction was evidently the same as that described in the earlier story. The teller of this story is the Qādī Ibn al-Buhlūl, of whose honesty evidence is afforded in Hilāl’s “Wuzarā,” pp. 98–102 and 293–4.

The Qādī was summoned by Muqtadīr, who told him that the new agent at Ahwāz had reported that the purchasers refused to pay their purchase-money failing a verbal declaration on his part confirming the sales, and promising no further demand on them. This he was prepared to make, and he told the Qādī to so inform his deputy at Ahwāz, so that he might proceed to give effect to the sales. The Qādī, wishing to do an ill turn to the agent, said that in instructing his deputy he would have to specify the amount by which the prices were increased, which the Caliph disclosed with reluctance.

وِحَاسِبْنَا وَنَاظِرُوْنَا فَقَلَتْ لِلْجَمِيعَةِ: مَسْ صَلَحَ لَهُ اِنْ يُتَزْمِمْ عَلَى هَذَا التَّقْسِيمِ وَلَا فِي حَاسِبْنَا عَلَى مَا قَبِّلَهُ مِنْ عَلَامَةِ التَّصَابِعِ الَّتِي اشْتَرَاها وَانَا رَقِّ عَلَيْهِ مَا يَبْقَى لِهِ مِنْ الْشَّمْسِ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ وَأَخْذُ مَا اشْتَرَاهُ وَالْتَزْمُّ هَذِهِ الْزَّيَاءَةَ . (P*aris, Ar. 3482, fol. 70a.)

1 Called here:

التصامع الديموغرافيات

فَأَكَّلَبَ إِلَى خَلْيَغِتَكَ بَانِيٍّ قَدْ قَلَّتْ ذَلِكَ وَانْسَبَ لِهِمْ بِمَا إِبْتَاعُوهُ. 2
and with temper, on the ground that it would cause prejudice to him and to his government.\footnote{It needed the efforts of 'Ali b. 'Isa to pacify him.}

It was 'Ali's opinion, as recorded in the "Nashwān" (fol. 91d), that Muqtadir's shortcomings were not due to defective judgment, and in this case of the probable effect of his disclosure to the Qādi he no doubt judged aright. To remedy or to counteract that effect was no task for him, nor for many others of his line.

In truth, it was the more worthless of the Caliphs who were the worst offenders. They were ever prepared to sacrifice any official for the sake of what might be squeezed out of him, and no consideration, whether of tried service or of ability, seems to have had any adverse weight—witness the fall of Najāh b. Salama under Mutawakkil, told by Tabari (iii, 1440–6).\footnote{There are two accounts given of his fall, but Mutawakkil's guiding motive is the same in both. Indeed, when Najāh's out-bidders had done him to death, the Caliph's insistence, both in his sober moments and otherwise, that he was not to be thereby the loser is noteworthy (ib. 1446). And his claim seems to have been justified by practice. For it appears from a passage in the "Nashwān," that when a man was delivered over to the custody of another to have money extorted from him, in the event of the victim dying before payment the amount which the custodian had 'guaranteed' became due from him, a practice which, let us hope, acted to some extent as a restraint on needless cruelty.}

\footnote{In this case also a single word sufficed to denote the practice of undertaking to squeeze from a man a definite sum, بتعش منه ومن الملك.}

\footnote{فلمما زاد على المكر وخفف الفضل أن ينتمي في العذاب فيجب المال عليه في نفسه بالثقله إياذ رفق به وداراه وخلع عليه.}
Muqtadîr, again, at the time when Ḥāmid b. al-‘Abbâs was his vizier with ‘Ali b. ‘Īsa to assist him, had no hesitation in taking counsel of the fallen vizier, Ibn al-Furāt, then in his custody in the palace, as to a proposal by an official to ‘guarantee,’ for some unspecified sum, both Ḥāmid and ‘Ali, but in the end the Caliph allowed himself to be dissuaded by Ibn al-Furāt from entertaining the project (Hilāl, “Wuzarā,” pp. 81–2). Ibn al-Furât himself was under no illusion as to the extent of reliance which was to be placed on Muqtadîr (ib., pp. 118–19), and when Ibn al-Jâṣṣâs threatened to requite the slights he put upon him by offering the Caliph a sufficient sum down on condition of the appointment of a nominee of his own to be vizier to whom should be given the custody of Ibn al-Furât, the latter made no doubt of his succeeding, and came to terms with him forthwith (ib., pp. 110–13). And, be it observed, Ibn al-Jâṣṣâs was a byword for oddity and absence of mind, and his fitness for being concerned with the selection of a vizier may be judged by this, that a stupid act on the part of a stupid vizier, al-Khaqâni, who, wishing to give his companion in a boat an apple and to spit in the water, reversed the destinations (ib. 277–8), was by later historians instinctively attributed to Ibn al-Jâṣṣâs, with the heightened touch that he is made to blunder in his excuse just as he had blundered in fact.  

1 The story was popular. Hilâl took it from the “Nashwân,” fol. 11a; it occurs in the “Kitâb al-Mughaffalân” of Ibn al-Jauzi, a work largely concerned with Ibn al-Jâṣṣâs (Paris, Ar. 3543, 115b), and it is quoted from the “Nashwân” by Dhahabi in the “Târikh al-Islâm” (Leyden, No. 863, fol. 190a).  

2 E.g., by Sibt ibn al-Jauzi (B.M. Or. 4619, fol. 85a) and by Dhahabi (B.M. Or. 48, fol. 70a). By Ibn Hamdûn also (Or. 3179, 205b) the story is attributed to him, but the apple becomes a pearl (Ibn al-Jâṣṣâs’s jewels were renowned), and the sufferer is the Caliph.
Other and innumerable instances of arbitrary, and presumably illegal, acts are the fines—‘Muṣādara.’ On the disgrace of a vizier the first duty of his successor was to extort by more or less violent means the most he could from him; and the same course was adopted with his secretaries. That much of their wealth was ill-derived is probable; that a balance struck between their services and their gains would have shown them heavily in debt to the State is no less probable; but there is no trace of any regular taking of account against them having been intended or attempted.¹ The fines were proportioned, not to the victim’s liability, but to his pliability, under every sort of torture and ill-treatment. The list of those levied during Ibn al-Furât’s last term of office by his son al-Muḥassîn is staggering, and it included all their political enemies, as was admitted by Ibn al-Furât (see Hilal, “Wuzara,” pp. 224–7 and 105).

These Muṣādara have found defenders. Von Kremer suggests that, failing any system of state loans, it was a means of meeting a deficit.² But to borrow by force, without promise or intention of repaying, may be expressed by a shorter verb. Jurji Zaydân again, in his “Islamic Civilization,” observes that “the fining process caused money to circulate, just as trading did.”³ Circulation in the body politic, as in the body physical, is no doubt a sign of a certain well-being; but when caused by

¹ The amount and nature of official salaries are obscure. Under Muqtadir a vizier had 5,000 dinars a month besides the revenue of certain Abbasid Estates’ (Hilal, “Wuzara,” 291, l. ult., and 282, l. 8). The head of a Diwan got one-tenth of this sum (ib. 177–8), and the profits of subordinate officials were often large (ib. 139–40). In the sixth century the vizier Jamâl al-Dīn al-İsfahāni at Mosul had an ‘İqtâ’ of one-tenth of the produce of the soil, that being the usual vizier’s allowance under Saljuq rule (Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 297).


these methods, and under these conditions, it is suggestive rather of a high and intermittent fever than of sound normal health.

In Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn, to whom extract M refers, we have a ruler of a higher type. Ṭabarī's information regarding him is scanty; Ibn al-Athir's account is fuller—he notices, for instance, his occupation of Syria on the submission of the son of Mājūr, its governor, whereas Ṭabarī mentions only the taking of Antioch. But the character of Ibn Ṭūlūn is best depicted in the series of anecdotes published in Voller's "Fragmente aus d. Mughrib" from the Cairo autograph MS. of Ibn Saʿīd, and which that historian declares to be taken from Ibn Ṭūlūn's biography by Ibn al-Dāya—d. 334 A.H. (Brock, i, 149). One anecdote there shows that he at least possessed a quality to which most of the foregoing personages were strangers, for when a man deep in his confidence utilized his position in the way we saw encouraged by al-Qāsim in his tutor, the Amīr held his conduct incompatible with honest advice, and having intercepted his attempted escape in a coffin left him to die in prison.¹

The stories relating to Ibn Ṭūlūn in the "Tadhkira" might conceivably have come likewise from the work of Ibn al-Dāya, but one of these, in Or. 3179, 133a, telling how the dispenser of his alms, having enquired how he was to treat applicants who were obviously above want, was told to give to every outstretched hand (Ibn Khall, ¹

كان لاحمد بن طلولون فوق على كثير من أسراره يطالع به ما غاب

عنه فلما زاد معلمه استرح عنه الناس اليه في حوارهم وبسط يده بالي انفاذه فاكتسب مالًا عظيمًا وانكشف عنه أحمد بن طلولون وعلم ان قصده الانفاذ دون التجريد النصيحة له فهرب منه وشاق ذلك

على أحمد بن طلولون لاشتغاله على ما عنده من أسراره الخ.

Eng. 1, 154), appears also in “Fragmente,” p. 41, but in a different form to that in the “Tadhkira,” which is identical with the version of it in the “Mustaṭraf,” ed. 1308, i, 149. But from whatever source they come these extracts accord with the facts of history, and with the known characteristics of Ibn Ṭūlūn.

The first story relates how a slave of his, Fā‘ik, obtained his permission to include in his property a dwelling belonging to the ‘Umari.’ He accordingly bought it and handed over the price, possession to be given in two months’ time. At that date Fā‘ik, after accompanying his master to the mosque, proceeded to his newly purchased house, and was met by the sound of women’s wailing, caused, he was told, by their having to remove. Asked whether they were not content with the price, they replied that what distressed them was having him for a neighbour. At this he paused and eventually renounced both his purchase and its price. And his action was approved by his master.

Fā‘ik’s name does not occur in Tabari, but Ibn al-Athir couples him (vii, 370) with Badr al-Ḥammāmi as inviting from Damascus the Caliph’s army to recover Egypt and Syria from the grandson of ʿAlḥam b. Ṭūlūn (cf. Tab. iii, 2252). The occupiers of the purchased property—the ‘Umari—were probably connected with Abu ʿAbd al-Rahmān ʿAbd al-Hamīd al-ʿUmari, whose career is briefly recorded by Ibn al-Athir (vii, 181–2). His ‘ilaqab’ indicated his descent from the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He had aided in suppressing an Alide rebel in Egypt, and had checked raids on the Moslem population by the Baja, a Berber tribe of whom an

1 Except that دستیانج bracelet’ is inserted after سواءئ.

account is given in the Khitat of Maqrizi—i, 194–7; quoted from the history of Nubia, and on p. 196, l. ult., is a reference to al-'Umari. In vol. ii, p. 455, l. 6, we are told that the tribe's raids on the old Musalla were so frequent that those attending prayer had to be protected by troops, until in 256 A.H., whilst Ahmad b. Tülün was Amīr, they were surprised, and their leader killed by al-'Umari, who then invaded their territory and subjected them to payment of the poll-tax.1 And that later he attacked the Nubians, who complained to the Amīr, which led to his sending a force to attack him. This Ibn al-Āthīr makes consequent on the Amīr's alarm at his success against the Baja tribe, and that having in vain protested his loyalty and good intentions he defeated the attacking force, and was henceforth left in peace, until murdered by some slaves of his, whom the Amīr put to death. Ibn Saʿid also relates (Fragm., p. 27) how the Amīr, perturbed at his success, received the news of his murder, which was followed by the arrival of the slaves with his head, and that on learning from them that he had been a good master, and that they had killed him in the hope of a reward, he had them executed, and the head interred. It may be that his regard for al-'Umari prompted his approval of Fā'iq's renunciation.

The subsequent stories of Ibn Tülün in extract M, which are given consecutively in the "Tadhkira," Or. 3179, 191b, are all to his credit, and tend to support the favourable estimate of his character formed by Vollers (Fragm., p. xviii). In the first, when sitting with eminent jurists 2 to redress

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1 The Baja tribe is mentioned, unfavourably, by Ibn Jubair, ed. de Goeje, 1907, pp. 70–1, transl. Schiaparelli, 1906, pp. 41, 43.
2 Bakkār b. Qutaiba, Ibn Khall, Eng. i, 261, put to death by the Amīr when on his deathbed (Vollers, Fragm., 71); Rabī' b. Sulaimān, ib., Eng. i, 519; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hākim, ib., Eng. ii, 598; and Ma’mar b. Muhammad al-Jauhari, mentioned Fragm. pp. 10, 38, and 59, where he accompanies Bakkār as envoy from the Amīr to his rebellious son al-ʿAbbās. All, except Bakkār, were of the Shafeite school.
grievances, a young man, destined himself to attain legal eminence, Abu Ja'far Ahmad al-Ṭahāwi,¹ complained that an ancestral estate had been interfered with. A temperate argument followed between them, the Amir taking no advantage of his situation, and, indeed, by his admission, getting the worst of it. He ended by proposing a three days' adjournment, so that if, during the interval, any further argument occurred to him he might avail himself of it, otherwise the estate should be surrendered. But when the petitioner had withdrawn, the Amir protested to those present that his own attitude had been deplorable; a subject's case had proved stronger than his own, and he was going to take time to meet it, whereas any conclusive argument he might have adduced then and there: his conduct was sheer usurpation. And he made restitution.

The next story bears witness to his friendly feeling towards the monks of Egypt, of which there is evidence in Fragn., p. 73. A monk who claimed to recover 300 dinars of which he had been despoiled by a military officer, was persuaded by a chamberlain at Court to forego his claim and accept restitution from himself, which the monk did readily. But the Amir heard of the transaction, and had all three summoned before him. The officer, who admitted that he had no excuse for his conduct, was dismissed from his post, and the chamberlain likewise, whilst the monk was told that it was to be regretted that his claim was not magnified tenfold so that it might have been repaid from the wrongdoer's property.

The third story relates to the Amir's cruel and rebellious son al-ʿAbbās, whom he had eventually to exclude from the succession (see Fragn., pp. 58, 62–3, and 74). A singing-girl, whilst on her way to him, was met by a virtuous inhabitant, who broke her lute to pieces. 'Abbās complained,

¹ Ibn Khall., Eng. i, 51, nephew to al-Muzani, infra, whose tenets he exchanged for those of Abu Hanifa.
and the man was told by the Amir that he had not shown his son much respect on his account. Thereupon he asked whether he was to show his respect for him by tolerating iniquity, and he quoted Qur. ix, 72, and the Prophet, on the subject. The Amir told him that his reforming efforts would have his support, and dismissed him with honour.

The Amir's love of learning was notorious from his youth (Fragm., pp. 3–4), and he sought out the society of the learned. In the next story we find the illustrious Shafeite legist, al-Muzani,\(^1\) declining his invitations. And even when the Amir threatened to pull his house down, and sent his slave Sawwâr\(^2\) to do this, al-Muzani's only concern was that the ruin should not extend beyond his boundary-line. This conduct raised him yet higher in the Amir's esteem, and increased his wish to meet him. In his case, as also, according to Ibn Khallikân, in that of al-Muzani and the Qâdi Bakkâr, the meeting was at a funeral, when the Amir was careful that al-Muzani should be unaware of his scrutiny lest he should be offended.\(^3\)

The last story in extract M is administrative. The Amir, requiring to despatch bullion to the capital, assembled the Qâdi, the Notaries, and the Receiver, who verified and wrote down the amount, which exceeded a million dinars. But on the document reaching Sulaimân, the official Trier, he refused to attest it until the money was weighed out in his presence. The Amir was annoyed, but ordered it to be done, after which the Trier summoned

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1 Ibn Khall., Eng. i, 290.
2 Mentioned Fragm., p. 42, l. 6, as in the Amir's service, and described as impudent, صفيق الوجه.
3 In Or. 3180, 121a, is a story how al-Muzani protested he would not attend on the Amir, and answered his envoy by alleging an oath, thus:

أعذرني فعليّ يعين ليس لها كفارة. فنظر الرسول أنيا يعين

الطلاق وإنما أراد ما حلف به ولا كفارة فيه.
his subordinates and had the money tested, sealed up, and delivered to the Receiver, and then Sulaimān added his attestation. This incident was the cause of the high esteem in which he came to be held by the Amir.

A further set of stories relating to Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn are given in Or. 3180, 232b; these may be stated briefly, for some of the actors therein can be identified. In the first the Amir directs Mūsa b. Muflīh to make enquiry into the cases of those in prison. One prisoner, a man of excellent character, told Mūsa that he relied on the intercession of Fālih, the head of the police, and begged to be allowed to go home for a day on a promise to return. After hesitating from fear of the Amir, Mūsa allowed this, and early next day the man came back to prison, saying that Fālih's efforts had failed, for the Amir was pitiless and had ordered his attendance on the day following, so he had at once returned in case Mūsa should incur blame on his account. But next day Mūsa accompanied him to the Amir and reported his honourable fulfilment of his promise, whereupon the Amir granted him his pardon and his favour.

In the next, Sulaimān b. Thābit, who was secretary to Shuqair, informed the Amir that his father Thābit was the depositary of money in trust for Shuqair. Thābit was summoned and denied, whereupon the Amir disclosed who was his informant, telling him to keep him in ignorance; he then let the matter drop. Within a year Thābit died, and the Amir gave his son an official post. Later he told him to deliver over the money his father had held on deposit, and on his showing hesitation

1 A Mūsa b. Ught Muflīh was serving in Muwaffaq's campaign against the Zanj in 267 A.H. (Tab. iii, 2012), and was at Baghdad in 278 A.H. (ib. 2118).
2 Mentioned Fragm., p. 9, as slave to the mother of the Caliph Mu'tazz, and as head of the 'Barid' on the Amir's arrival in Egypt, who probably treated him as hostile to his rule.
and embarrassment he handed him over to Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ammār,¹ who bereft him both of money and life.

By Ibn Sa‘īd (Vollers, Fragm., p. 17) Sulaimān b. Thābit is said to have been known as Ibn Dushūma, but in the same passage is a mention of ‘Abd Allah b. Dushūma, who is the subject of another story there (p. 31), and also of one to follow below.

Next comes a story how the Amir, presumably early in his career, dreamt that his feet were plunged in a well filled with blood, whilst dung was rained on him from above. This was interpreted as foretelling that he would govern a distant province of the Caliph’s dominions, represented by the well, whilst the blood would typify the wickedness of the world, and the dung the wealth he would amass. Had the well been filled with water, the darker slur on the Amir’s reputation might have been absent.

In another dream the Amir beheld Muḥammad b. Sulaimān in the act of destroying his Maidān and his palace. Muḥammad was secretary to Lu’lu’, who was in the service of the Amir, and Ibn Sa‘īd says (Vollers, Fragm., p. 68) that when the Amir was displeased with him he visited his displeasure on the secretary. He accordingly advised his master to go over to Muwaffaq, which he did (cf. Ṭab. iii, 2025). In this story the Amir tells Lu’lu’ of the dream, and on his saying his secretary was absent orders his attendance. But Lu’lu’ warns him of his danger, and he flies to ‘Iraq. Later, under Muktafi, came the fulfilment of the dream, when Muḥammad defeated the grandson of Ibn Ṭūlūn and recovered Egypt for the Caliph, in 292 a.h. (Ṭab. iii, 2252, and ‘Arib, 7).²

The last story of the set is an abridged version of one

¹ An Ahmad b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ammār is mentioned (Fragm., p. 69) as brought from prison to be consulted by the Amir as to whether it was his duty to lead his army in person to the assistance of Mu‘tamanid against his brother Muwaffaq.
² A somewhat different version of this dream and of the career of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān is given in the “Faraj ba’d al-Shidda,” i, 180-2.
given by Ibn Sa'id (Vollers, Fragm., pp. 17–19) how the unscrupulous advice as to taxation given by Ibn Dushūma (here written 'Dishwaih') to the Amir was contradicted in a dream by a deceased friend whom the Amir had known when at Tarsus, and who now warned him, as he told Ibn Dushūma, that he was being misled. To which Ibn Dushūma replied that advice in a dream was one thing, and advice from one wide-awake was another. But the Amir held his subsequent discovery of treasure to be a proof of Ibn Dushūma's deception, and his disgrace followed. And Ibn Sa'id says that he soon found occasion to deprive him of his property and to imprison him until his death.

All the foregoing anecdotes of the Amir, it will be noticed, are not dissimilar in tone to those quoted from Ibn al-Dāya by Ibn Sa'id, a tone higher and better, assuredly, than that of the stories in either the "Nashwān" or the "Kitāb al-Wuzarā," of official practices at the Caliph's Court.

Extract N is taken from the second volume of the "Tadhkira," Or. 3180, 90b, and is almost the only one I have met with which relates an occurrence of the author's own lifetime. For, like most authors of works of this class, he sought his material in the remote past. The reason for the choice is not clear. A concern for the dignity of the narrative would have led to preference of subject-matter, not of period; but Moslem official life continued unchanged, and in their acts and motives Saljuq and Abbasid rulers are undistinguishable. Yet in the "Tadhkira," any reference to an event so recent as the rise of the Buwaihid dynasty comes as a surprise.

In 500 A.H. the Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh dismissed his vizier Sa'd al-Mulk Abu-l-Mahāsin—see Ibn al-Aṯīr, x, 304.1 His fall involved that of his staff, one of whom, the secretary, Abu Ismā'il, was handed over to the custody

1 He is called by that historian Sa'd b. Muḥammad; here, Sa'd b. 'Ali.
of an official with whom he was on terms of intimacy. To him came a sudden and unexpected order from the Sultan to extract from his prisoner a sum of 20,000 dinars, and for this purpose to use torture to the utmost extremity. Accordingly, in spite of the man's protests of his inability to pay so much, and of his entreaties, torture was being applied until stopped by the Sultan, who ordered the man to attend his presence early and before the officials and crowd arrived. He did so, and thereafter continued to spend the earlier part of each day with the Sultan for some months, during which attentions and gifts rained on him from all quarters. The Sultan's conduct was explained later. It was customary that the superscription of letters passing between Caliph and Sultan should be in their own handwriting; Mustazhir wrote an excellent hand, the Sultan a vile one, which he knew to be such, and he made use of the secretary's hand in secret. The resulting intimacy led to the secretary attaining the post of Ṭughrāʾi, a title which clung to him as a 'nisba.' For, in this story, we have an early episode of the official career of the eminent poet Abu Ismāʿīl al-Hasan b. ʿAli al-Ṭughrāʾi, author of the Qasida "Lāmiyyat-al-ʿAjam," which he composed in 505 A.H. Later he served the Sultan Masʿūd, until his master's defeat at Hamadhān by his brother Maḥmūd, when al-Ṭughrāʾi was captured and put to death (see his life by Ibn Khallikān, Eng. iii, 462).

The following extract, O, is the above-mentioned patent of appointment of the Nestorian Katholikos at Baghdad; it was drawn up by the author's brother, Abu Naṣr. It is addressed to Ebed Jesu, Katholikos and Patriarch, and, after a formal preamble, the text of which is omitted, it recites that the Caliph was well assured of his exemplary life, and of his possessing the most deserving qualities which his co-religionists "were agreed distinguished him from them," and of his acquaintance with the rules governing a dignity "whose especial attribute was its
accomplishments,"¹ as was testified by the form of its description; that there was an abundance of evidence from Christians competent to form a judgment on persons of his class to the effect that, after full enquiry amongst members of the various sects whether of public or private station in regard to their need of a Katholikos to supervise their affairs and watch over the welfare of their community, their choice had fallen on him to be their primate, to watch over their concerns, to manage their charitable foundations, "and to deal equally between weak and strong as a just arbitrator"; and that they had petitioned for his appointment to the office according to ancient and well-established usage; it goes on to declare that, in pursuance of a resolve to accede to such petition, "and to gather their request under the wing of concession,"² it was thereby ordered that he be appointed Katholikos of the Nestorian Christians both at Baghdad and over the rest of Islamic territory, "to be the representative of the members of that and of the other communities, whether Rûm, Jacobite, or Melkite, wherever they might be," with sole right of wearing the vestments appertaining to the office at divine worship, neither sharing the name with anyone else nor permitting any Patriarch, Bishop, or Deacon to assume the same to the prejudice of his office and dignity; and that in case any of these should "enter the gate of disputation," and interfere with or disregard his authority, punishment would surely follow as a warning to others and as a safeguard to his ordinanes. And it was further ordered that he should be escorted in state according to the precedents applicable to his predecessors, as also to him and to his successors; and that protection should be extended to him and to his co-religionists in their lives and property, by good

¹ (see Dozy, Suppt. i, 150).
² a rare use of the word.
management, and by conforming to established usage in the matter of the burial of their dead, and the protection of their churches and monasteries, in accordance with the practice of the just Caliphs towards their forefathers, and the care for their sacred and inviolable rights on the part of those Imams of the past. Further, that as regards the payment of the poll-tax, he should confine himself to exacting it "from persons of sound mind and of sufficient substance, from the men and not from the women, nor from non-adults," its collection to take place once in the year, according to the approved legal method. And that he was to be at liberty to intervene in all disputes between the Christian sects, to obtain justice for the weak against the strong, to redress equitably any deviation in the direction of violence or injustice, and to manage the charitable foundations on the basis of justice and good faith, in conformity with the ordinances "and their plain course." He was enjoined to requite this favour which encompassed him, and which had realized his wishes and secret hopes, by prayers such as should indicate and make manifest his sincere gratitude. And all Patriarchs, Priests, and Bishops of the above-mentioned sects were to punctually obey the foregoing directions.

The life of Ebed Jesu is the last of those contained in the "Kitāb al-Majdal," being the Lives of Nestorian Patriarchs, by Mari b. Sulaimān (ed. Gismondi, Rome, 1899, pt. i, text, p. 156; trans., p. 132). The author was a Nestorian of the twelfth century (see Duval, Litt. Syr., 2nd ed., p. 210), and his work was abridged and continued by 'Amr and Sliiba, likewise edited by Gismondi, and containing a short notice of Ebed Jesu (part ii, text, p. 105; trans., p. 61).

From these notices it appears that he was known as Ibn al-Muqli, and was a native of Mosul and Metropolitan of Bājarmā; that the Bishop of Naṣībin, after hesitation,
assented to his election, and that the Bishop of Mosul and those who shared his views satisfied their scruples by submitting their objections by way of precaution to the vizier, 'Ali b. 'Tirād al-Zainabi;¹ that in 533 A.H. Ebed Jesu received his patent of appointment and the Tarha² in the presence of the vizier, and was conducted by the head of the police and other officials to the church in the Sūq al-Thalātha, this being the first occasion on which a Patriarch had been thus honoured; that he was an excellent administrator, but prone to be niggardly; and that he died in 542 A.H.

Professor Margoliouth considers the patent to be of much interest, and the fact that the Nestorian Katholikos was the representative of all the Christian communities, and referee in all disputes between members of the sects, to be of great historical value. That four of these communities are enumerated is noteworthy, "Rūm" being ordinarily omitted from such lists. This designation may refer to Byzantine subjects resident temporarily in the Islamic Empire, but the word is definitely used for "Crusaders" by Hariri ("Maqāmāt," xlviii, de Sacy, 1st ed., p. 571, l. 7; 2nd ed., ii, p. 652, l. 5),³ and since places were at this time alternating between Moslem and Frankish possession, it is likely that the existence of a Christian community differing from the other three would be known at Baghdad and recognized. But this, says the Professor, is only a conjecture.

An alternative would be to hold the term to designate Melkites whose language as well as creed was Greek, and whose liturgy, therefore, was Greek, and not Arabic or Syriac.

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the text, that of the Latin translation is more obscure. The vizier al-Zainabi fell into disfavour the year following (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 50).
² Translated 'pallium.'
³ Translated by Steingass, p. 163, "the Greeks (here mistaken for the Franks of the first Crusade)."
ADDENDA.

The story mentioned ante, pp. 413–14 (extract C), is given shortly and imperfectly in the "Kitāb Baghdād" of Ibn Abi Ṭāhir Taifūr, B.M. add. 23318, fol. 98b, of which an edition by Dr. H. Keller is announced. There Abu Dulaf promises to honour the drafts thus:—

الله عليّ أن لا تكتب اليّ في أحواّلاً أخفيته

Ahmad b. al-Khashib al-Jarjarā'i (p. 415) is noticed in the Tarikh al-Islām of Dhahabi (Leyden, 863, fol. 5b), and is described as stupid and vain: as insulting the Caliph's mother, the Hashmites, and the Anṣār; and as saved only by Muntašir's death from punishment for having by a kick caused the death of a petitioner. This last incident is mentioned in the Tadḥkira (Or. 3179, fol. 196a) among acts of injustice, thus:—

الج رجل من المتظلمين على أحمد بن المتسبب وهو راكب إلى

جنب المنصر فوكز برجله فقيل فيه:

قل للخليفة يا بن عم محمد

شك وزيك أنه رئاك

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāh (p. 419, note) is noticed (ib., fol. 90b) as thrice vizier to Mu'tamid and disgraced in 265 A.H., when he went to Egypt and was appointed to office by Ibn Ṭūlūn. But on a suggestion that he was a spy for Muwaffaq, he was imprisoned at Antioch, where he died in 269 A.H., or later. And Ibn al-Najjār is quoted (d. 643 A.H., Brock. i, 360) for his learning and ability and for his sumptuous mode of life.

That Bakkār b. Qutaibah (p. 441, n. 2) was put to death by Ibn Ṭūlūn is doubtful from Dhahabi's notice of him (ib., fol. 89a), where he quotes al-Kindī, whose history (B.M. add. 23324) is now in course of publication in the Gibb Memorial Series by Mr. A. R. Guest. Dhahabi says that having been appointed Qādī by the Caliph, Ibn Ṭūlūn could not remove him.

Muhammad b. Sulaimān Abu 'Ali b. al-Munīq (p. 445) is noticed in the "Muqaffa" of Maqrizi (Leyden MS. 1306a), where, after a mention of his campaigns (Tab. iii, 2236–45 and 2251–2), he is said to have gone to Halab, whence he was sent to court to account for his gains in Egypt. He was there thrown into prison, where he remained until released by Ibn al-Furāt in 296 A.H., who sent him to Qazwin and Zinjān in the capacity of والّي على الضياء والاعصار بيا.

'Abd Allah b. Dushūma, but written with a 'Sin' (pp. 445–6), is noticed in the same work (Paris, Ar. 2144, fol. 160), the notice consisting merely of the anecdote given from Ibn Sa'īd by Vollers (Fragm., pp. 16–18). For photographs of the folio I have to thank Mr. E. Blochet. In extract P the divergences between the two texts are indicated.
A.


B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 164a. حفظوهم
قال العربية المستولي: كنت عند الرشيد يومًا فزع اليه في السينجر
رجلًا اخذته صاحب السينجر رفع في قضيته أنه يجمع بين الرجال والنساء في منزله فأنه شخصًا لا يرفع اليه فاترك بذلك على نفسه. وذكر
أنه يجمع بينهم على تزويج لا على دنيا وفليس بناحية لا على سفاح وانه
شفيد له بذلك جماعة من المستوريين من جيرانه وختلف كثير من
وجود الناس وآشراهم وشخص فيه من الكتاب والأعواو والفروعة واعيان
العسكر قومهم أرسنهم ففي آخر كتابهم وما رفع من خبرته. قال: فلا
قرأ الرشيد القانون واستفوفه ترتيب واغتنام ونصب واستنشاق حتى انكرزاه
وظنًا أنه سيتكلم بالرجل وسق تكلم فيه حتى قال: وما سبيلهم
على رجل وقع في منزله لصديقته واسمه عليه سرته وسعي له فيما
يطيب ويجعل من لذة ونور بعده مستراً للإحزار والاشرار وذى
القدر وحين نعلم أن الرجل الطريف المستور الرمز قد تكون
عندئذ الحقيقة مس بدن شاعره وآشراه قومه ونظرائه تتحط علية
شهوه ويمثل عليه امرأة وهي ألقى من السمير وأشاق إليه من القرآن وأمر
مس الكلب واشدًا تعليًا من الليث العادى في رياض الجارية أو
نزويج المرأة فلا يقدر على ذلك لمكانا حتى يستريح إلى مثل هذا
مس الليث ويعضي منزل مثله مس الخوان يجعله تكلمه وينزل به
نبعه فيمساعدته على حاجته ويعس على فيما يجب له من لذة
وبريده في منزله. أكتبنا في إطالة السؤال عن حاله فكان كما ذكر
عند مس السينجر وكان مفادًا فيما حكي من نفسه مس الفعل أعلي
بالرمانو على مراوته وأومس من روعتها وشريف ما أمرنا به فيه.
قال: فقلنا جميعًا: سددك الله يا أمير المجتمعين ووفقك.
B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 113b.

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 1038.
D.


B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 121a.

E.

كان محمد بن عبد الملك البناين قائيًا مع غير ذلك منهم رذائل جمعته في على فصله وعلم وهاديه وكتابيه فذكرنا ان رجلًا دخل عليه فقال: أنا اسمك الله اسمك الابط بجواري ورغب الابط في عطفلك على. فقال له: أما الجوبار فنسب بين الصبيان. وأما العنف والرقى فسم السبابين ولنساء
وقيل كان له جنّ أياّم انخفاض حالي وكان بينهما ما يكون بعين
الجيّر من النباعد فلم يبلغ محمد ما بلغ من الولاية شخص الى
سرّ مس رأى فور ابنه وهو ينغذى فوصل إليه وهو على طعامه فتركه
قائمًا لا يرفع إليه طرنه وهو يأكل حتى فرغ من أكله ثم رفع رأسه إليه
وقال له: ما خبرك. فقال الرجل: قد اسارك الله تعالى إياها
الوزير إلى أجل الأمال وصرف رتبات الناس الليك وقد علمت
ما كنت تتقهنه عليه وقد نگير الله حالي فوذدت الليك مستفخاً
عشرتي مستعطفًا لى لى حالي. فسواق له: لقد علمت هذا
فانصرف واعى إلى في غن. فولى الرجل من بين يديه فلمما صار في
صبرٍ داعى به فلمما وقت بين يديه قال: لا والله ما لك عندى
شي. مما اتصلت وقاّرت فلا تدع عليّ. ثم أقبل على بعض من بين
يديه فقال: إنما ردته وأيسته بخبث عليه بخطمة الإملاء وانس الرجاء
في بقية يومه.

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 1058a.

قال قديمة بين زيد الكاتب: دخلت والحسن بن وهب إلى
محمد بن عبد الملك الرجّات وعندما جمعت من خصائص أخوانه
فجعل الجمعية منهم يتكون احوالهم والحسن ساكت وكتبت
من معه شكاً فقال له محمد: يا يا علي إن كانت حالك تستغني عن الشكوى
فإن ذلك يسرني وأن كنت على غير ذلك وإن كنت من الشكوى
التي لقد شوكتي. فقال الحسن: لا ولكنني اخذت
صوتًا إذا أتيت الوحشي كأنما تكرم على الخلقين ويرغب

Ib., fol. 181a.
حكى بعض أسباب عبد الله بن سليمان بن وهب الوزير أنه كان في أيام وزارته يذكر موسى بن يز vertx عليه ويطلب على الأيام وطبعا فقلت له يوما: قد اسرفت في هذا الباب ولو ركى موسى بن يز في حالك هذه لرجى أن يقف على سنه بين يديك. فقال لي أنا أحدثك إلى حديث واحد من أحاديثه فان استحق ما أنا عليه والقلمي، وأنا رأيته قال: كنت بالرئي و كنت قد عرفته أم استفادت منه مائة ألف دينار ورحلنا نريد سر من رأى نازحا همذان دعاني يوما وأذا هو مستشفى مقتب صلاً لي اريد مائة ألف دينار لا بد منها. فقلت له: قد استخرجنا من البلاد والأهل واجتمعنا بأهلها نصي البين، قال: لا أدرى لا بد منها البيت. فقام في نفسه أنه يريد المال الذي عرفته أم استفادته، فقال له: عندئذ المال الذي قد علمته وهو مائة ألف دينار هذا. فقال: تكل دعك بها بسبيلا لست أريدها على فيما تدبر وما أثر من هاها أو تحصل لي من مال البلد مائة ألف دينار. وما زالت قائلًا قاعدًا ومكانيا وهو منصوب بهما لا يرحل منها حتى حضرتها وعرفته خبرها فلما عرفته امسك عنى حتى إذا صار بخانقيقين دعاني وسألمى عن المال فعرفته حصوله وحضوره فقال لى: كنت عرفته امسك حضرت من السفادية معي مائة ألف دينار فعلمت أن ابا يوب (يعني ابن سليمان) يلقاك فيقول لك: أى شئ معك ومقدار ما افتد. فعرفه ذلك فقول لك: على دينار وهم وثوى وقد استدأ عيون أهلك ووالكين السما ما يتصرف. وسأخذ منه مائة
اللف وتحصل أنت على غير شيء. قررت أن لا تكون لك بعد ذلك أخذ منك ابن أوب. هذا يا فلان لا تذكر أن تذكر في كل وقت فين تجتمع عليه؟ فقلت: بل إني والله يا سيدي.
B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 111b.

G.
كتب عبيد الله بن سليمان وقد نكبه واحله المعتقدم وهما مطالبان بمالٍ يبيعان له ما يملكان من عقار والاثام وسبب وامام فكتب اليه ابنالعيناء: قلت علمت أطل الله بثاك أن الكريم المكنوب أجاب على الإحرار من اللقين المولورادن اللقين يزيد مع النعمة لوما ولا يزيد العصمة الكريم آكماراً هذا متكل على رازته وهذا يسعى النظل بكفالة.
B.M. Or. 5769, fol. 25a.

H.
وكتب (ابن العيناء) إلى عبيد الله بن سليمان: أنا ولدي وعمي ورجلٌ من زرعك إن سقيته راغ وزكا وآن جفوته دبل ولاودي وقد مسني منك دفاناً بعد بروانمقال بعد تعبد حتى شمت عدو وتلكم حاصل.
Ib., fol. 30a.

I.
احتفظ ان يكتب على المعتقدم كتاب يشهد عليه فيد شهودا ولما غرست القضية على عبيد الله بن سليمان وكان ثوابه قد كتبها كما يكتب في الصباق: في صيتةمس عنقله وجواب مس أمره. فتصرب عليه عبيد الله وقال: هذا لايجوز أن يقال للخلفية. وكتب: في سلامة في جسمه وإصالة من رأية.
B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 201a.
K.

لمَاماتِ عبد الله بن سليمان بن وهب وأرتفع الصراخ مس
داره سيد المعتضد فاطئ السجود وكان يحتضر بقدر المعتضدي فلمَا
رفع رأسه قال له بدر: واللَّهِ يا أمير المومنين لقد كن عنصره الولد
مجهودًا في خدمتيك عفقيًا عن أموالك وأموال رقيتك جميع
النقيبة حسن التدبير. قال: انظفت يا بدر أنني سيدت سرُوا
لموته اننا سجدت شكرًا لله أن وقفت فتيله مصمه ولم أعشب ولم
يبلغ بي الطعام فيه إلى القلب عليه ولم يبلغ به الفرع مسنى إلى
التدبير إلى مفاوضتي ونسى راضيًا وما بيننا مستور ولم تجد أعداؤنا
طريقًا إلى أن يعفوني بقلة الرعاية والمسارحة إلى الاستبدال بالخدم
والشر في أموال حاشيتي.

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 104B.

L.

قلت لبي القسم بن أبي عبان: كيف كان توبتك من التصرُّف
وما سبعبها؟ قائل: كان سبب ذلك أن أبا على محمد بن عبد
الوهاب الجبيائي رحمه الله كان يجيء إلى الهواز فينزل عليه لني
كنت كاتب ديوان الهواز وخلية أبي أحمد بن أحمد بن الحسين بن
يوسف على المفاوضة، والامر كان التي أدبره. وكان أبو علي يقدم الهواز
في كل سنة دفعة وقت افتتاح الخراج ويستضيف إلى خراج ضعته
يجيئ خراج قوم كان رسمهم أن يكونوا في يئرة على مرور السنين فإذا
قدم البلد آلمه الناس وكسروه ولا ينزل الآلي في أكثر الأوقات
فأنثرت أمره مع العامل وربما كان العامل غير صاحب أويس لا يعرف
جلّ إخوته فيكون ما يقرّر عليه أمره أقلي من ذلك إلا أنه كان لا يخلو من ان يستحق عنه نصف الخراج أو ثمّته إذا عناد السامعي لم يلزم نفسه من خراج ضعفته شيئاً بثنا ونظر إلى ما بقي بعد انسفخ خراجه من النظر فقضت عليه القوم الذين في أثر القوم والزعماء باراضي ذلك إن ينصف كل واحد منهم رجلةً من الفقراء الذين يتعلمون منه العلم طول السنة فيكون ما يلزم الواحد على الواحد منهم شيءً غيره ليس أبلى خمسة مما استحقه عنهم خراج بعده ويعود فليخرج من ضعفتة العشر الصحيح مصدقاً بعه على الفقراء من أهل الجوز قريبةً التي هو مقيم فيها اهل مجلسه وكانت هذه ذابة في كل سنة. فنزل عليّ في بعض غيوماته فبلغت له مراده في أمر الخراج وجلسا ليلة ناتحة فقلت له: يا علي شيخ عليّ مما أنا فيه شيء؟ فقال: يا يا القسم وكيف لا أخاف عليك والله ليس معت على هذا الجمال لا رحّب راححة الجهينة. فقلت: ولم ولأني شيخ اليّ وإنما أنا اعمال العصاب واجريي يجري ناسم واجريي واحد اجريي من بيت المال أو يتجه إلى رجل مظلم قد أزعمت زياً بالخطأ في خراجه فاستقاطها عنه واصبحت له في الخصاص فيدي يبطيب قلبها أو ارتيفع إلى مس مال السلطان بجي في المسلمین قسط يكون هذا بازته. فقال: يا يا القسم إن الله لا يخصع أجلن أخبرني الست انت ختمت المشاهد وتوصفهم إلى المساحة وتموضعهم بالبسيط فيخرجون فيزيدون بالقلم واحداً أو أكثر في العشر ويجبونك بالنزاوي فمستقبلاً أنت وتعمال الجريدة وتستلمها إلى المستخرج وتقول له: أريد أن يصيح المال في كذا وكذا يوماً عند الجبهة ولا تقولsink allocated

Paris Ar. 3482, fol. 72a.

M.


B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 109b.

كان أحمد بن طولون الوالي مصر، منتحلاً بالعدل مع التجربة وشفائه الدماً. وكان يجلس للحكام ويجصر مجلسه القاضي بتاكر بسن قتيبة
وجماعة مس الفقهاء مثل الربيع بن سليمان ومحمد بن عبد الله (بن عبد) الخكيم وعمرو بن محمد وكان ابن طلول يعنى المتكلم من الكلام وكتشف ظلاته جالساً متمزقًا. قال أبو جعفر أحمد بن محمد بن سلامة الطحاوي الفقيه: فأعرضت ضيعة لنا بالصغيد. مس ضياع جدقي سلامته. فاحتشرت إلى الدخول إليه وظلظل مما جرى وانا يومئذٍ شابٍ، إلّا أن العلم ومعرفة الحاخامين نشطتي إلى الكلام والتمسك مس الحكمة فخاطبته في الضيعة فاحتشر عني طباعة كجسرة واجبيعتها عنها بما يلزم الرجوع إليه. ثم ناظرى مناظرة الخصوم بغير انتباذ ولا سلطة عليه، وأنا اجبيعته واحت طبيعة إلى أن رأيت ولم يبق له حكمة فامسك عني ساعة ثم قال لي: إلى هذا الموضوع انتبى كلامي وكلامك وأحبيبة فقد ظهرت لك ولكن اجنينا ثالثة أيام وأن ظهرت لنا حكمة الزماناك إياها والآية سفيناً السماك الضيقة. فقلت منصرفًا. فقال ابن طلول بعد خروجه للحاخامين: إنا أتيح ما أشهدك به عصي نفسي أن نقلر رجل مس رطبكي: قد ظهرت لك حكمة أنظرى إلى أن أطلب حكمة وأبطل الحكم الذي توجها حكمة. من يمتنع إذا وجبت لك حكمة أن حاصره والزمن إياها هذا والقصب واحد. ثم راسلني: باني قد النزوم حكمة وأزلت الاعتراض عن الضيقة وتقدم بالكتاب له. وعرف الطحاوي الجمل بينهم فنصار إلى الديوان واحذ الكتاب بإزالة الاعتراض عن الضيقة. وروى عن بعض قوائده أنه كان يتولى كورة مس كور مصر يدخل راهب من رهبان النصارى متطلماً مس ذلك الفائد فأراد بعض اليهود الذين يضحكون بذلك الفائد فقال: ما لك. قال: تظلمتي
وأخذ سنة ثلاثمائة دينار. فقال له الحاكم: لا تظهّر وانّا أسلم
لك ثلاثمائة دينار. فاغتنمها الراهب وطار. ونُقل الخبير إلى أحمد
بن طولون. فأمر بحصار القائد والحاكم والراهب وقال القائد: أليس
عملك مزاحمة ورذفك دعاً وليس لك سبب يكوجك إلى مد
ينك. قال: هو ذلك. قال: ما حملك على ما صنعت. وامر
بصرفه على الكورة وصرف الحاكم على حجمه واحصر المصريين
وكان: كم أخذ منك. قال: ثلاثمائة دينار. فقال: لنعك الله ليٌّ
لم تقل ثلاثة آلاف دينار فأخذها لك من ماله بقولك. ثم صاح
بالقائد إلى المطبق: فجعل إليه.

وروى ابن العباس بن أحمد بن طولون استدعى مغتية وهو مصطلح
فلتبها بعض السلاقي مصرومة، غلام يحمل عدوها فكسره ودخل
العباس إلى أبيه فأخبره فسارس أحمد بن طولون فأحصر الرجل
الصالح وقال له: إنه الذي كسرت العدو. قال: نعم. قال: افتعلمت
لم هو. قال: لا لبنك العباس. قال: فما أكرمتته لي. قال: أكرم
لك بمعصية والله عُرر وجل يقول "والمؤمنون والمومنات بعضهم
أولياء، يعني يأمنون بالمعروف وينهيون عن المنكر" وقال رسول الله
صلعم "لا طاعة له من خلق في معصية التلافيق" فطارق أحمد بن طولون
ثم رفع رأسه وقال: كل من تادر غيرة وانا من ورائك. وصرفه مكرماً.

وكان أحمد بن طولون يكتب العالملا، ويتحصّرهم مجلسه وارداد أبا
ابرهيم إسماعيل. بن يحيى المقزني الفقيه. أن يحضره فامتنع عليه
زهدًا وتبودًا فتهديده. بدم داره. فلم يحبه. وأمر شوار حاجمه. بهذه
فقام القزني معه سواريًا. حديثًا حين تقدم وقال: لا تهدم هذا

TALES OF OFFICIAL LIFE FROM
الجَـِدِّارِ فَلِيّس هو لي. فعَّاد سوار فاخبَرُ فعَّاـظم في قَلْبِ اَمْـحمد بن طَـولَوَن وقَلْتِ إلى رْوِيَـتـِهِ. وَكَـانَ اَمْحَـمد بن طـْولَوَن يَـحْـضِر جَـنَـانَـة وَجوَـدَ الـبَـلْدَـة وَأَـسَأَـهُمْ وَإِـشْـارَـهُمْ وَيَـتَوْـلِي الـصَـلَائِهِ بَـنَـفْسِهِ فَغِـصْرُ يوْمَـا جَـنَـانَـة فَقِـيلَ لَهُنَّ هـِـذَا اَبْوِ اَبْرَـهِـیم المُـرْـفِـی فِـي الـجَـنَـانَـة. فـنَـقَـلَ اَرْوَـیـهِ مـِنْ غَــیـران يـعْـلَمُ لِـمَّـا يـتَّـلِدَـی. فَـأَرْوَـی اَیـاـهْ.

وَارَادَ أَنْ يَـتَّـحَـم مَـالًا إِلَى الـجَـنَـانَة فَاَحْـضِرِ القَـنَـضِ وَالشَـهـوِب يَـشْـهُدُونَ عَلَـى القَـنـاضِ فَكَـتَـبُوا وَقَد عَـوَـنَـوُا الـمَـال وَصَـبَـعَـهُ قَـلَـفِ الـفَـه وَمَـبَـلَغَ الـفَـدِينَارَ فَلَمَّـا بَـلَغَ الـكَـتَـبِ إِلَى سَـلِـیمَـان الـقَـنَـضِ الـخَـضْـرِيّ الـمَـعْـدَلَ قَـنَـلَ لِهِ إِيـاـهُ الـإِـمْــیـر لَــسْـتَ اَشْـهَـدَّـبِ حَـتَـثُ بُـؤْـرَـیَـن الـمَـال بِـخَـضْـرِيّ. فغَـَثْـاـظَهُ ذَـکَـر فَنَـقَـلَ لِـلْـورَـاَـنِـیـنَ. زَـنُود. فَـلَمَّـا فَـرَـغَ الـوَرَـزِنَ قَـنَـلَ: الـنَـقَـد. فدَنَّـعَ بِـالْـقَـقَـد وَسَـلِـیمَـان جَــالِـسٌ مَـعْـهُ حَـتَّـثُ فَـرَـغ وَخَـجَـتْـتُ وَتَـسْـلَـمَـهَا حَـاـمِـلَـها فَـکَـتَـب شَـهَـاثَـهُ وَانْـصَـرَـف. وَكَـانَ ذَـکَـر سَـبْـبُ اِحْــضِرِ سَـلِـیمَـان بِـاحْـمَـد بن طَـولَوَن.

B.M. Or. 3170, fol. 1915-1926.

N.

حَدَثْنِي النَـقَبِيِّ اَبْوِ الـعَـنَـنَـم اَبِي اَلْـخَـضَـرِ الـعَـلَوي قَـنَـلَ: حَدَثْنِي اَسْـفِـهِـسَـر شَـبِّي مَـتَّـضِمِّ الـخَـرَاصِيّة عَلَى بَـابٍ اَمْـحَـمِد ابن مَـلِـسَکَ شاه. قَـنَـلَ: لَمْـا قَـبَـسَ الـسَـلِـتِّـان مَـحْـمَـد عَلَى وزَـيْـرَهَـ سَـدَد الـمَـلِـسَک ابن الـمَـجَـسَـس سَـعِدُ بِـن عَلِيِّ الـابِي وَـلِـلـِّـہِ قَـنَـلَ عَـلَى اسْـحَـابِهِ مِنْ جَـمِـلِهِ اَبِي اسْـمَـعِیـل الـكَـانِسِب الـعَـهِـرَیُّ وَـسَـلَمَـهَا الـیُّ وَـکَـانَ صَـدَـقِیّ وَـلِـہُ حَـقِـوق. ثَـمَّ اَنْهُ اسْتَـعْدَانَى فِي بِـعْـضَ الـآيَـم وَوَقَـفَـنَّ حِـیْـثُ لَـمْ يَـجْـرِّد اَبِي اسْـمَـعِیـل عَلَيْـه وَتَنَّـقَـدَـمِهِ بِـالْـمِـلْـسَک مِـنْ حَـصُـرْـتِهِ وَتَـعْـرَضِ اَبِي اسْـمَـعِیـل عَلَيْـهِ.
العذاب حتى يئد عشريس السف دينار أو يموت تحت العقوبة وتشذذ عالي. فخرجت واحضرته ممّنداً وفرغه مما يجرى فصلت.

على أنه لا يقدر على أكثر من تسع ألف دينار وهي موضع عند أنسان ذكره "وليس للملك ولا ذكره" سقلت: لا بد من إنفاق أمر السلطان فيك. فتستعور ويكى فلم آتمن من أصلع عليه مع موتى له خوقآت من السلطان وطمّن هبه في النفس. قال: فامرت به فنُّزب ثلاث متاخر وأنما بعس يستدعى إلى السلطان حتى.

فامرت أصحابي أن يكون على حالي إلى أن أرجع فلما دخلت عليه قال لي: ما فعلت في أمراي اسماعيل؟ فأخبرته فلمآ انحتويت إلى دكر العقوبة قال: ليتك لم تكن فعلت. ثم قال: أخرج فاحمله إلى القمع واغطه الذروة وخذ له من الحزينة جبة وعمامة.

وقد أن يبكي السادار قبل الكتاب وقبل الناس كلهم. فخرجت من بين يديه وان شديد التعجب وامرت به إلى القمع فارتاب بي فأخذ يتمترغ على قدوس ويقول "مس اننا حتى أقتل في الحزام" وانا اقول "لا باسم عليك"، وكلما سألته انتزاح السف ان أحضرت العزيز فاختدم من غيره والمصطكه ثنياً نظيفة وجهيّ، وعامة.

تمّ الحزينة فلبسباّ فركبت إصحابي معه. وشعاع الخبر فاستغربه الوزير وجماعة الكتاب. وحضر أبو اسماعيل من بكرة فقو اليندمة السلطانية واقام سماة شهور يخال بالسلطان كثّ يوم من بكرة إلى الظهر والناس يibanوه ويواصلونه بالتحف والاحتفاء وانسا منهم ولا يعرف السبب فيما أتفي له. ثم ظهر مس بعد أن السلطان

1 MS. الذرّين.
عرض عليه مكتوب مستظهرٍ وقد كتب جوابه عنه بخط الكاتب
وقس العادة أن يكون عنوان المكتوب السلطانى إلى الخليفة بخط
السلطان فتأمل خط الخليفة فأحسنه واسترغل خطوه وقال "كيف
اكتسب الجواب عن هذا الخط الخصى بهذا الخط الزدن" فاللهجة الله
بما قدّره من خلقه إلى اسماعيل أن يجعل خطوه وإن يعول عليه ف
ذلك واستراليه بهذا الأمر وطواه عن كل أحد وكانت خلوته لاجله
وقرب منه وقدمه وجعله طغرانى وكثير حظه عنده.

B.M. Or. 3180, fol. 90a.

O.

نسفية عبد الجليل له من انشاء أخي رحمه الله

هذا كتاب أمر بإنشائه سيدنا ومولانا أمير المؤمنين لعبد يوسف
الجُلُلِيْق المبارك اما بعد . . . ولما انتهى حلقة إلى أمير
المؤمنين وانئم امتهن ماتشك طرقه وأتقين إلى التناص مذهبًا
وخليفة احراهم 1 لتشكيل المليك اجمعوا على تعميرهم بحما
حاليًا بشروط الجليقة المعتركة عندهم بأدواتها مشهودًا له بنوتها
الكاملة وصفاتها. وحصن جمعية من النصارى الذين يرجع اليهم في
استعلم سيرة امثالك واستطلع آنبا 2 منصاريعك واشتكاك

1 Read by von Kr.
2 Text: من اجتماع
3 Ib., " إنهاء. "
وذكرعوا انهم تصفحوا احوال ذو الديانات واستيقوا بادئتهم مسماً وخشافتهم يحكم مساع هاجتهم الى جاهلية ينظر في امورهم ويراعى مصالح جمهورهم فاتنقروا باجتماع مس ارائهم والتنافس مس قلوبهم واقواههم على اختيار رياض (مس) دونهم وسراة شؤونهم وتدبير وقوفهم والتسوية في غرذ الوساطة بمس قوطيهم وضعفهم وسألوا أيضًة نصبك عليهم بالذين التي به تثبت قواعد وتصلاق مواعد وتسهك مباينته و gócوا واخنيه فأتوذرس تعاليهم فيما سأله بالإيجاب والإجابة فيما طلبوا جناح الإطلاب وبرز الذينMES_MUMADذي الشرف لا زال أومره معزويد بالتوافق بين ترتيبك جاهلية لنسطور التسارى بمدينة السلام ومن تضحيه ديار الإسلام وزعمه لهم وعلن عداؤهم مس السروه والمعاقبة والملكية في جميع البلاد وكل حاصر في هذه الطوفان وناد وانفراد به عن كافة اهل خليطك ... 

4 بتخصيص اهمة الجملة المتعارضة في اماكن صوائكم وجمع مع عباداتكم غير مشارك هذى اللسان ولا مغنى في التحليل به لمصرع او اسقف او شئ يفلا لهكم من ترتيبك ووفقًا بهم دون مسلك الذي خصصته به ومنزلسك وإن ولي احده المعذورين في باب العدالة لولا التلاف ورحل سرب المتتالية لك واخف وايب النزول على حكمك وعدل الى حربك عن سلمك

1 Ib.,
2 بالموافق معومدة,
3 Qy. some rhyme to جملة.
4 Ib.,
5 Ib.
6 وان ولي في المعذورين باب العدالة.,
كانَت العقابَة لِلْيَقِينِ والآثارات بما على شقاته حائطة حتّى تعتدل
قنانته وتلَّيس بالغزو . 1 ويزيد جر امتنئه عن مثل مقامه ويأخرس
قانونك عنّ أن يقده عس نظامه . وأمر بكم علّى مقتضى
العمدة الإمامية في حق من تقدكم من الجañaة وسبك واجرامه
أمره عليك 2 ومن تلك منهم ولحقك والشياعة لك وللأهل ملتقى
في الأنس والموال والشرابة للأقثة بصالح الأحوال واتباع العادة
المستمدة في سماحة آمواتكم وحمايبة ببعكم 3 وديارانكم والعمل في
ذل ذلك على المشاكلة التي عمل عليها الخلفاء الراشدون مغ تس
قبلكم ورغم بها اللطفة السابقون رضوان الله عليهم عضوكم وإليك 4 وان
يقصر في استئناف الجزية على تناولها مس العقلا 5 والاجديان مس
راجالكم دون النسا . وقد لم يبلغ العلم من أطلاكم ويكون استئناها
نوبة واحدة في كل سنة مس غير عدول في قضيتها عس قبضة الشرع
المستحسن وقصّ في ان يتوسط طواذّ الفنّانة في 6 سماّها فيأخذ
النصف من القوة للمستضعف ويقوّى إلى الحق ما خلّد إلى القسط
والحروف وينظّر وقوّته نظراً يقوم بحقوق الإمامية وإشراطها ويعّني
علي وافق حدودها وسود صراطها 7 . فقابل هذا الانعام الذي شمل ك

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1 Qy. a word missing.
2 Text: واجرى أمرك عليك.
3 Ib., بيعتكم.
4 Ib., واعكم, read by von Kr.
5 Ib., يفض.
6 Ib., سوى اشراطها.

p. 16, l. ult. 

ابن أيوب أحمد بن محمد بن شجاع 

تعيمًا المعروف بابن الذويب 

p. 17, l. 1 

p. 17, ll. 4–8:

يرى أن الشناء من يعمل معه الجميل أنما هو حيلة من القاصد 

على المقصود لم يقال بها ما يريده وكان لا يهز إلى شيء من أعمال 

البتر وكان فيه من هذا سهولة فعلته الناس وكدر الدعس عليه وكان 

أحمد بس طولن رقيقًا على نفسه يتصدف في الرسالة إذا جرت 

منه إلى كل ب يقدمه على نفسه يتصرف إلى الله تعالى في تحسيس 

ما جنا و كان بذلك يبقى ويكن ويتصر فلما الغ 

p. 17, ll. 16–17. 

افعال التخبر is افعال الاجبارين 

p. 18, l. 1: 

وإن فشل نسياع الأامر والمعتقلي ف هذه السنة لأنها سنة إبام 

توجب الخلاف زاد مال البلد وتوفر توفيرًا عظيمًا ينضف إلى مال 

المراقب فنصب الله تعالى
XV.

THE RUMMINDEI INSCRIPTION AND
THE CONVERSION OF ASOKA TO BUDDHISM.

BY J. F. FLEET, L.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

I. The Rummindei inscription.

The text of the Rummindei inscription, styled at first "the Asoka edict of Pañāriā," appears to have been first published by Professor Bühler, in the Anzeiger for the 7th January, 1897, of the Philosophical and Historical Section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna. A translation of it was given by M. Barth in the Journal des Savants, 1897. 73. The record was fully edited by Professor Bühler, with an excellent facsimile, in the Epigraphia Indica, 5. 1 ff. Some difficult terms in it have been examined by Professor Pischel in the Sitzungsberichte of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, 1903. 724 ff. And Mr. Vincent Smith has favoured us with one translation of it in his Asoka, 145, and another in an article entitled "The Rummindei Inscription, hitherto known as the Pañāriyā Inscription, of Asoka," published in the Indian Antiquary, 1905. 1 ff. From this last article we learn that the broken pillar which bears the inscription stands close to a mound of ruins, near the top of which there is a shrine of a goddess known as Rummindei; that this mound is close on the north of another mound which marks the site of an ancient village or small town; that the tappa itself, the subdivision, including a number of villages, also is known by the name Rummindei; and that, consequently, the record is to be
known as the Rummindei inscription, better than as the Paḍarıya inscription from the name of the nearest inhabited village, about a mile to the south. In connexion with the statement that Rummindei is also the name of the tappā, I may observe that the Suttanipāta, verse 683, tells us that Buddha was born:— Sakyāna gāmē janapadē Lumbineyyē; “in a village of the Sakyas in the Lumbini country, territory, or district.” I may add that the record cannot be properly classed as an “edict” of Aśoka, inasmuch as it does not commence with any of the formulae presented in the edicts, and that there is not, in fact, anything to mark it as a record framed by the king at all: it appears to have been drawn up by the local authorities, and incised by them on the pillar set up by Aśoka.

The special interest which attaches to this record lies in the fact, which was recognized as soon as the record was discovered, that, as there is no reason for supposing that the pillar does not stand in the very place in which it was originally set up, the record locates the exact traditional site of the place where Buddha was born,— the Lumbini or Lumbinivana grove or garden of the Divyāvadāna and the Lalitavistara, and the Lumbinivana, v.l. Lumbinivana, of the Nidānakathā. The name of the village as given in the record, Lummini, is the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit Lumbini: and, the change of l to r being a very common one, we recognize at once that the first component of the modern name Rummindei is the ancient Lumbini, Lummini.¹

The text of the inscription, which I give from the facsimile accompanying Professor Bühler’s article, runs as follows:—

¹ The name Rummindei appears to be not unique. Babu P. C. Mukherji’s sketch-map, Antiquities in the Turai, plate 1, shews a village ‘Rumin-dei’ about twenty-four miles towards the west-by-south from the place where the inscribed pillar is. It may give an indication of the stretch of the ancient Lumbini district.
Text.

1 Dēvānapiyēna Piyadasina lājina vīsatī-vas-ābhīsitēna
2 atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe jāte Sakya-mun-īti
3 sil-āvi-gaḍa-bhīchā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
4 hida Bhagavām jātē-ti Luṭhini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
5 aṭhabhāgiye cha

The text is clear and unmistakable throughout. And my reading is exactly the same as that laid down by previous writers; except that in line 3 I take cha, not as another form of cha, 'and,' but as forming with the preceding syllable the word bhīchā. There are, however, certain expressions in the record, regarding the interpretation of which I differ.

The first term that calls for notice is mahiyite, line 2. This is equivalent to the Sanskrit mahiyitam, the nominative singular neuter of the past participle passive of the nominal verb mahiy, 'to be joyous or happy; to prosper, thrive; to be held in high honour.'

This word has been taken here as meaning 'homage was done,' 'worship was done,' 'reverence was done.' And, without doubt, instances might be cited in which mahiy, which is explained by grammarians and commentators as being used pūjāyām, 'in the sense of pūjā,' and vṛiddhau, 'in the sense of growth, increase, etc.,' has a meaning which is fully equivalent to that of 'to be worshipped as a religious object.' But 'to do pūjā' does not necessarily mean 'to do religious worship:' it denotes also the act of paying respect to great, influential, or venerable people. And, whereas mahiy is ultimately connected with the root from which we have also mahat, 'great,' there are numerous passages in which, we can see, it plainly means 'to be made great, to be honoured.'
Thus:

Mānavadharmaśāstra, 4. 260:—Vyāpēta-kalmashō nityaṁ Brahma-lokē mahiyatē; "(a Brāhmaṇa, conducting himself in this manner, and becoming acquainted with the Vēdas), becomes freed from sin, and is ever glorified in the world of Brahman."

Ibid., 5. 155:—Patiṁ śuśrūṣhatē yēna tēna svargē mahiyatē; "if (a woman) obeys her husband, by that she is exalted in heaven."

Ibid., 8. 313:—Yat-kshiptō marshayaty-ārtais-tēna svargē mahiyatē; "if (a king), when he is reviled by those in distress, bears it with patience, he is on that account magnified in heaven."

In rendering the word in the above three passages by "is glorified, exalted, magnified," I have simply followed Dr. Burnell, The Ordinances of Manu, endorsed by Professor Bühler, The Laws of Manu (SBE, vol. 25); the latter using 'exalted' in the three cases. But it is obvious that the idea of being 'worshipped' is inadmissible here.

Again, we have in the Mahābhārata (Calcutta ed.), 3. § 83, 6027:—Sarva-vyādhi-vinirmuktō Brahma-lokē mahiyatē; "(O best of the Bharatas!, a man who bathes at the tīrtha of Kāśisvara) becomes freed from all ailments and is exalted in the world of Brahman."

So, also, we have in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.), 1. § 1, 99:—Sa-putra-pautrab sa-gaṇaḥ prētya svargē mahiyatē; "(the man who reads this tale, the Rāmāyaṇa, which confers long life),—when he dies, he is exalted in heaven along with his sons, his sons' sons, and his followers."

Ibid. (Gorresio), 2. § 12, 37:—Vivēśā Rāmasya mahātmanō grihāṃ mahiyamānaṁ; "(Sumantra) entered the honoured house of the high-minded Rāma."

And in the Bhāṭṭikāvya, 2. 38, Viśvāmitra says to Rāma:—Mahiyyamānā bhavat-ātimātraṁ bhūmiḥ; "honoured beyond all measure by thee (who didst overcome the voracious demons at the sacrifice of
the gods), the earth, (thus possessed of a hero, is not ashamed even before the heavens adorned by Indra)."

It is thus plain that mahīyite may mean in the Rummindee inscription 'it was honoured, honour was done,' quite as much as 'it was worshipped, worship was done.' But Aśoka cannot have done 'worship' at the Lumbinīvāna unless he was a Buddhist. And, whatever may be the apparent purport and bearing of certain statements in the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, his records make it certain that he had not become a Buddhist when he visited the village Lummint,—in the twenty-first year after his anointment to the sovereignty: they make it clear (see page 496 f. below) that it was only about the middle of the thirtieth year that he was converted to Buddhism, and became a Buddhist disciple or lay-worshipper.

In these circumstances, I take mahīyite as meaning here, not 'worship was done,' but 'honour was done.' And I take the whole phrase:—lājina . . . . atana āgācha mahīyite,—literally "by the king, by himself, having come, honour was done,"—as meaning "the king did (this place) the honour of coming (here) in person." Aśoka was on a state progress through part of the northern districts of his dominions: he was making a dhammayatā, a tour in connexion with his duties as a king, in accordance with a practice which, as he plainly tells us in his eighth rock-edict (see more fully page 490 below), he had laid down for himself. He was encamped somewhere near the village Lumminti. And, attracted by what was told him in connexion with a site at that place,

1 Quite possibly, of course, it was this identical tour that provided the basis for the story in the Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neil, 389 f., of how Aśoka went round, under the guidance of the Sthavira Upagupta, to the various places at which Buddha had resided, commencing with the Lumbinīvāna, 'in order to honour them and to mark them out for the benefit of future generations.'
he paid that site a visit, and, naturally enough in the case of so liberal-minded a monarch,\(^1\) conferred favours on its possessors in recognition of the interesting event which had occurred there, and made arrangements that the site should be marked out and protected. It was doubtless on the same occasion that, as is recorded in the Niglīva inscription (EI, 5, 5), he visited the Stūpa of Konākamana, on which he had previously conferred the favour either of causing it to be restored so as to make it twice as large as it had become, or of doubling an endowment which was attached to it.

The next expression calling for notice is one which we have in line 3,—sīlāvīgaḍaṃbhīčā.

Previous examiners of this record have taken the cha as a variant, met with in the edicts, of cha, 'and.' Before it, they have found the compound sīlā-vīgaḍaṃbhī. And this they have proposed to interpret in various ways: (1) as meaning 'a stone (slab) bearing a big sun,' to mark the point that tradition represents Buddha as a scion of the Solar Race of Ikṣvāku; (2) as meaning 'a stone horse,' because Hiuen-tsiang says that the Aśoka pillar which he saw in the Lumbini garden was surmounted by the figure of a horse; (3) as meaning 'a flawless or faultless block of stone,' from which the pillar, which the text mentions immediately afterwards, was made. The suggestion seems also to have been made, that we might find here the equivalent of a Sanskrit *sīlāvin + gardabhī, 'a stone she-ass.' But none of those proposals has received any substantial justification.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, has expressed the opinion, but without going farther into the matter

\(^1\) And, in fact, in accordance with the general behaviour of ancient Indian kings. The inscriptions give us numerous instances of Vaishnava kings making or sanctioning grants to Śaiva and other temples or priests, and vice versa.
(JBBRAS, 20. 366, note 14), that "silāvigaḍabhīchā must be an enclosure or railing made of stone," and that "bhīchā is probably connected with bhītī or bhītikā, "a wall."

That is the way in which I take the word bhīchā. Just as we have in this same record āgācha for āgacchā = āgatyā,— (and various other analogous forms might be cited).— so bhīchā stands for bhīchchā = bhītikā through such forms as *bhītiā, *bhītiyā, *bhītyā.

Before that, we might have vigaḍa as representing vikatu, 'having an unusual size or aspect,' in the sense of 'huge, large, great,' with the result 'a stone great wall.' But the natural expression for such a meaning, as that would so obviously be mahā-silā-bhīchā that such a possibility can hardly be admitted. Again, using vikatu in another meaning which it appears to have, 'unusually handsome,' we might possibly say 'a stone ornate wall,' in the sense of something like a "Buddhist railing." But this, also, somehow does not seem satisfactory; and no traces of such a railing at Rummindeī have been reported.

The syllables which stand before bhīchā divide quite naturally into silā + avi + gada: and that is the way in which I take them. The Šabdakalpadrūma cites Daṇḍin as assigning to avi the meaning of prācīrā, 'an enclosure, hedge, fence, wall;,' and it cites the Šabdaratnāvali as assigning to gada the meaning of vyavadhāna, 'covering; a cover, a screen.' It would, no doubt, be satisfactory if we could quote passages from texts, in which these two words, avi and gada, are actually found in those meanings. But we can hardly think that the Šabdakalpadrūma, or the authorities cited by it, invented those meanings in order to enable us to explain the Rummindeī inscription. Accordingly, I do not hesitate to use those meanings, and to explain the whole expression as denoting 'a stone wall which is an enclosure and a screen,' or in other terms 'a stone surrounding and
screening wall;' exactly what would naturally be built round such a site as that with which we are concerned.

* * * * *

The remaining expressions which demand attention are two words in lines 4 and 5 which are plainly fiscal terms: the record says:—"the village Lumminini was made ubalika and athabhāgiya."1

On the understanding that in ubalike we have bali, 'tax, impost, royal revenue,' this term has been rendered as meaning 'exempt from assessment,' 'free of taxes,' 'revenue-free.'

The base ubalika would stand quite well, according to the inscriptional orthography of the period, for ubbalika as = to a Sanskrit *ubbalika. Professor Bühler, however, pointed out that, on the analogy of uchchhārinākala, 'unbridled, uncurbed,' uṇnidra, 'sleepless,' and other words, *udbali, as the basis of *udbalika, would have to be analysed into baler-utkṛanta or udgata, 'one who has gone up from, left, the taxes,' and that the use of it in the sense of 'exempt from taxes' would be unidiomatic. Accordingly, while rendering ubalike by 'free of taxes,' he thought that the word may perhaps be explained as = *avabalikaḥ or *apabalikaḥ; in support of which suggestion he cited Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 42, as giving instances of a contraction of ava and apa to u.

It is certain that such a word as udbalika cannot be grammatically explained as meaning 'exempt from bali:' and the suggestion of apabalika or avabalika does not seem very satisfactory. In these circumstances, I treat this word otherwise. It is permissible to complete the ubalike

1 It may be observed that in pāme we might find the locative quite as much as the nominative, and so the text might mean:—"at the village Lumminini an ubalika was made, and an athabhāgiya." It is, however, difficult to suggest any meanings for the two words in question from that point of view: moreover, we should then expect kālāpita, 'was caused to be made,' rather than kute.
of the text into umbalike, by supplying an Anusvāra. And, doing that, I venture to find here a vernacular word umbalika, 'free from rent,' which may be traced in Southern India in the Kanarese umbali, umbaliye, ummalī, etc., 'a rent-free grant,' as applied to either a plot of land or a village, and in the Telugu umbala, umbali, umbalike, and the Tamil umbalikkai, with more or less similar meanings.

In athabhāgiye, the second component represents the Sanskrit bhāgya, 'entitled to a share.' The first component is capable of representing either ātha, atta, Prākrit forms of ashtan, 'eight,' or the atta which, alongside of ātha, is a Prākrit form of artha, 'substance, wealth, property, etc.' On the view that it stands here for artha, the term athabhāgiye has been rendered as meaning 'loaded with benefits,' 'a recipient of wealth,' and 'sharing in wealth, partaking of the king's bounty.' On the view that it stands for ashtan, the term has been rendered as meaning 'having eight plots (of the fiscal lands) granted to it,' and '(revenue-free) in its entirety;' the latter proposal being based on the curious assumption that, just as we now say "sixteen annas" to denote the whole of anything, so "eight shares" may have been used in ancient times.

I find the explanation of this term in the Mānavadharmaśāstra, 7. 130, where it is said:—Pañcāṣad-bhāga ādyā rājñā paśu-hiranyayōḥ dhānyānām ashtamā bhāgah shashṭaḥ dvādaṁ eva vā; "the king may take a fiftieth

1 In our text, the Anusvāra is shown in bhagyām and labāmi, but is omitted from devānāṣāpiyenā.

2 It would appear that grammarians propose to derive umbali from as, 'to eat, enjoy,' with balī in the sense of 'a gift, a present;' so that the primary meaning is 'an enjoyment-gift.' But we need not regard that proposal as conclusive; especially as it does not seem to account satisfactorily for the second component, except in the form baḷī, baḷī. More noteworthy is the use of the Drāvidian ⟨⟩ in the Kanarese forms: instances can be cited, however, in which that letter has been substituted for a Sanskrit ⟨⟩.
share of the cattle and gold; an eighth share, or a sixth, or indeed a twelfth, of the grains." I take it that in the time of Asōka the royal share in the grain in the district which included the village Lummini was one-eighth.¹ And I gather that, while this royal share would ordinarily have been reserved in the case of such privileges as those which Asōka conferred, even this right was relinquished in this instance, and the village Lummini was made absolutely and entirely rent-free as against the State.

Some remarks may be made regarding the various appellations of the king who is mentioned in this record.

His personal name according to literary works was Asōka or Asokavardhana. The latter form is found in the Vishnu-Purāṇa, book 4, chapter 24, and in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 12.1, 13: and the former of these works describes him as a son of Bindusāra son of the Maurya king Chandragupta. The shorter form, Asōka, is found in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, part 2, chap. 37, verse 326, in the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, in the Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghosha, in the Divyāvadāna, and in the Jain Pariśishtapurvan.

As is well known, his personal name has not yet been found in any records of his own time. And the earliest epigraphic mention of it is in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, containing a date falling in A.D. 150, which speaks of "the Maurya king Chandragupta" and "Asōka the Maurya" (EI, 8. 46 f.).

In his edicts, as in the inscription which we have before us, the king is mentioned only by Prākrit forms of appellations which would in Sanskrit be Dēvānāmpriya and Priyadarśin. But there is no question about his

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that, while ashtabhyāga might mean 'eight shares,' i.e. 'eight per cent.,' it also means 'an eighth share' just as freely; compare panchabhīṣad-bhīga in the verse quoted above, and shad-bhīga, 'a sixth share,' in, e.g., 8. 304, 305, 308.
identity. The Dipavamśa uses the names Piyadassi, Piyadassana, Asoka, Asokadhamma, and Dhammadhowa, just as may suit its verses, to denote one and the same person, whom it describes (6.15) as a grandson of Chandragutta and a son of Bindusāra. The same work, mentioning him as Piyadassana, tells us (6.1) that he was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha, and, mentioning him as Asokadhamma, informs us (5.101) that he reigned for 37 years. And the edict which we have at Sahasrām and other places (see page 495 below) gives for Dēvānampiya the date of 256 years after the death of Buddha, with details which carry back certain events in his career to almost the year, the twenty-eighth after his anointment, in which Dēvānampiya-Piyadassi was still issuing his proclamations dated in that manner, and which further explain how it was that he was alive a year later than the time—(255 after the death of Buddha)—when his reign ended according to the Dipavamśa. Again, the statements of the Greek writers show that Chandragupta was a contemporary of Seleucus I, Nicator, of Syria (B.C. 312–280), and became king of Northern India at some time between B.C. 326 and 312: and we do best, as I have intimated before now (this Journal, 1906. 985), if we take B.C. 320 as his initial year. The Dipavamśa, 5.100, assigns to Chandragupta a reign of 24 years. It does not state the length of the reign of Bindusāra: but Buddhaghosha and the Mahāvamśa (Turnour, p. 21, line 11) give 28 years; and the same period is deducible from statements made in the Dipavamśa, 11. 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasiva of Ceylon. There was then a period of four years (see this Journal, 1906. 985, note), during which Asoka, having seized the sovereignty,
was reigning without anointment. He was then anointed, 
(24 + 28 + 4 = ) 56 years after the initial date of 
Chandragupta; that is, in B.C. 264 (or 263). And, in 
perfect accordance with that, the thirteenth rock-edict of 
Dēvānampiya-Piyadassi mentions, as his contemporaries, 
Antiochus II., Theos, of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphus of 
Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, 
and Alexander II. of Epirus, whose dates fit in exactly 
with that reference to them.

There is, thus, no doubt that the Aśoka of literary 
works and the Junāgad inscription is the Dēvānampiya-
Piyadassi of the edicts and the other inscriptions of that 
group, though the name Aśoka is not found in them.

The fullest appellation of this king in his records is 
that which we have here in the Rummindēi inscription,—
"the king Dēvānampiya-Piyadassi."

The full style, however, was not always employed: the 
following deviations occur:—

(1) With an omission, whether accidental or intentional, 
of the word meaning 'king,' we have "Dēvānampiya-
Piyadassi" in the opening clause of the Kālṣī text of 
rock-edict 1 (EI, 2. 449); in the opening clause of the 
Shāhbazgarhi text of rock-edict 2 (ibid.); and in lines 
2 and 4 of the circular part of pillar-edict 7 (ibid., 270).

(2) We have "the king Piyadassi" in the inscriptions 
at the Barābar Hill caves (IA, 20. 364), and in the Bhabra 
or Second Bairāt edict (Cunningham, Inscriptions of Asoka, 
CII, 1. plate 15).

(3) "The king Dēvānampiya" is found, quite excep-
tionally, in the opening clause of the Shāhbazgarhi 
text of rock-edict 1 (EI, 2. 448).

(4) "Dēvānampiya" alone is found (a) in lines 14, 22, 
respectively, of the Dhauli and Jaugada texts of rock-
edict 10 (ASSI, 1, 121); (b) through the whole (as far 
as we can judge by the extant portions) of all the texts 
of rock-edict 13 after the opening clause, in which the full
style is presented (EI, 2. 462 ff.); (c) in the Dhauli and Jaugada separate edict 1 (ASSI, 1. 125, 127); (d) in the opening clause of the Dhauli and Jaugada separate edict 2 (ibid., 127), and in lines 4, 5, 7, and 8 of the Dhauli text of the same; (e) in line 10 of the circular part of pillar-edict 7 (EI, 2. 271); (f) in the Queen’s edict, and evidently in the Kōsambī edict (IA, 19. 125 f.); (g) in both places (we can hardly doubt), in line 1 as well as line 6, of the Sārnāth edict (EI, 8. 168); 1 (h) in the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt edict (IA, 22. 302); and (i) in the Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭāṅga-Rāmeśvara edicts (EI, 3. 138 ff.).

In the appellation Piyadassī, = Priyadarśin, ‘one who sees affectionately,’ or freely ‘one who is of gracious mien,’ there has been generally recognized a formal biruda or secondary name, almost, if not quite, amounting to a subsidiary personal name, and used by Aśoka as his personal name for all practical purposes in the proclama-
tions issued by him. 2 And this appellation has been customarily treated without translation.

1 The restoration of the full style from simply the extant syllables dērī in line 1 can hardly be admitted against the use of simply “Devānampiya” in line 6 and in the face of so many other indications to the contrary. It may also be remarked that it is by no means certain that the syllables pāṭa in line 3 may be restored into Pāṭaliputra.

2 This appellation appears to be found elsewhere, either in Sanskrit or in Pāli, only in the cases of a Thēra (Dipavāna, 19. 5) and one of the previous Buddhas (Nidānakathā, 38 f.; Mahāvamsa, 2).

The other form, Piyadassana, presented by the Dipavāna, is not found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and seems to have been used in the Ceylonese work simply for metrical conveniences. It has not the same purport; its meaning being ‘dear or grateful to the sight.’ It is found elsewhere as an ordinary epithet. In one of the Nāsik inscriptions (ASWI, 4. 108, No. 18; EI, 8. 60; line 3–4) king Gotāmiṇḍu-Siri-Sātākāṇi is described as paṭipūrṇa-chado-madala-sarīka-piȳa-dassana, “lovely and grateful to the sight like the orb of the full moon.” The epithet is applied to Sītā in the Rāmāyana (Gorresio), 5. § 34, 1, and is probably of frequent occurrence in literature. As a proper name, it is presented in the case of a mythical Chakravartin by the Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, 1. 114, line 12.
The appellation Dēvānāmpiya, = Dēvānāmprüiya, 'dear to the gods,' has been treated differently, as an epithet. Prinsep started with a preference for using it without translation:— "Thus spake king Dēvānāmpiya Piyadasi" (JASB, 6, 1837. 581–4, 590, 596–9, 603–8). Almost directly, however, he introduced translations,— "king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods" (ibid., 585; 7, 1838. 257, 259), and "the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi" (ibid., 7, 1838. 249–56, 258, 259, 262). And the practice has been continued, of translating it by "Beloved of the gods." 2

Now, the enjoyment of the appellation Dēvānāmpiya was not confined to Aśoka. In the first place, the text in the Nāgārjuni Hill cave inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.):—Dashalathēna Dēvānāmpiyēṇā ānaṁtaliyaṁ abhishitēṇā, is interpreted as meaning "by Dashalatha-Dēvānāmpiya, as soon as he was anointed," and as assigning the appellation to Dashalatha, = Daśaratha, who according to the Vishṇu-Purāṇa was a grandson of Aśoka. That, however, is open to question: the appellation Dēvānāmpiya elsewhere always stands before any other name which it qualifies; and this point, coupled with the free use of the appellation

1 The curious later use of this word in the sense of 'dull, stupid, silly, simple, foolish,' is well known: Hēmachandra in his Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, verse 333, gives it as synonymous with mūḍha, mūrkhā, and similar words. The idea underlying that seems to be a fairly universal one; that people of weak intellect are under the special protection of heaven.

The promiscuous use of the Jain variant dēvānāmaṇḍūnā is well illustrated in the Antagada-Dasāṇa, which I quote from Dr. Barnet's appreciative translation in our Oriental Translation Fund Series. The epithet is there applied to kings, of course, and to queens and princes; but also to chamberlains (19), to "the readers of tokens of dreams" (23), to city-folk in general (36), to a prince's waiting-man (37), to a saint (38), to a king's barber (45), to friars (65), and even to the members of a gang of hooligans (87).

2 Except that Mr. Vincent Smith would regard Dēvānāmpiya as "a mere formal title of kings" and Piyadassi as "a mere epithet or title," and would substitute for both "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty." (IA, 1905. 4), which words do not preserve any reminiscence of the original terms.
by itself to denote Aśoka (see page 482–3 above), suggests that we should perhaps here translate "by Dashalatha, as soon as he was anointed by Dēvānampiya (i.e. Aśoka),"—such anointment having been made in circumstances indicated on page 497 below. But, however that may be, the Dipavamsa shews (11. 25) that the appellation belonged also to Aśoka's contemporary, Dēvānampiya-Tissa of Ceylon, and often (e.g., 11. 14, 19, 20, 29, 30, 39) uses it alone to denote that king. And an inscription from Ceylon shews (Epi. Zeylanica, 1. 60 f.) that, among other kings there, it belonged to Vankanásika-Tissa, Gajabāhuka-Gāmini, and Mahallaka-Nāga.

Further, this appellation seems to have been to a certain extent interchangeable with the word rājan, lājan, 'king.' In rock-edict 8, where the Kālsī, Shāhbažgarhi, and Mansehra texts say:—"In times gone by, the Dēvānampiyas went forth on pleasure-tours," the Girnār text (see page 488 below) and the Dhauli and Jaugada texts (ASSI, 1. 199) present rājāno, lājāne:—"In times gone by, the kings went forth," etc.: which suggests that the appellation belonged at least to Chandragupta and Bindusāra, if not to also other kings before them. And five times, in lines 5, 6, 10, 11, in the Jaugada text of the separate edict 2, lājan is presented against the dēvānampiya of the Dhauli text (op. cit., 128).

At the same time, the extent to which this appellation was used above to denote Aśoka marks it as more than a mere epithet in his case. It has been customary to use the appellation without translation in the case of Dēvānampiya-Tissa of Ceylon. And it seems appropriate to adopt the course which suggested itself at first to Prinsep, and to use the appellation without translation in the case of Aśoka also.

With this introduction, I give my translation of the Rummindēi inscription as follows; substituting the
nominative for the instrumental construction of the original:—

Translation.

The king Dēvānāṃpiya-Piyadassi, when he was twenty-years-anointed, did (this place) the honour of coming (here) in person. Because Buddha was born here, the Sakya saint,¹ he caused a stone surrounding and screening wall to be made, and a stone pillar to be set up. Because the Blessed One was born here, he made the village Lummīni free of rent and entitled to the (king's) eighth share (of the grain).

II. The conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism.

In connexion with a remark made on page 475 above in discussing the meaning of mahāyite, and for some other purposes, we must now determine the stage in Aśoka's career at which he became converted to Buddhism.

The Dipavamsa makes it clear (6. 18) that Buddhism was not his original creed, but leaves the matter otherwise doubtful. The Mahāvamsa, however (Turnour, 23, line 3),² describes him as starting by favouring the Brāhmaṇs,

¹ The question of the extent to which we must or may restore or complete forms which are presented more or less imperfectly in original texts in consequence of peculiarities of spelling, is liable to be somewhat complex. In the present case, we must certainly write "Buddha" for the "Budha" of the original, and supply the omitted Anusvāra of "Dēvānāṃpiya;" and it is proper to write "Piyadassi" with the double sa. But there is neither necessity nor authority for substituting, as previous translators of this record have done, "Śākya" for the "Sakya" of the original; the latter form is well substantiated by the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta, the Vinayapitaka, and other early texts; and there is no evidence in support of the form "Śākya" until very much later times. On the general question of this tribal name, see my remarks in this Journal, 1905. 645 ff.; 1906, 161 ff.

² Compare Buddhaghosha in his Samantapāsādikā; see the Vinaya-pitaka, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 301.
as his father had done. This latter work also states (28, line 4 ff.)\(^1\) that the Thēras of the Second Council, which was held 100 years after the death of Buddha, foresaw that 118 years later,—that is, at the time when Aśoka was to be anointed to the sovereignty,—a calamity would befall the faith, to remove which it was arranged that the great priest Moggaliputta-Tissa should be born: and this seems to suggest that Aśoka was at first actively hostile to the Buddhists. The Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa both appear to place the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism in the fourth year after his anointment to the sovereignty. But his records shew that any such statement as that is not correct.

The fourteen rock-edicts of Aśoka were framed and published in and after the thirteenth and fourteenth years after his anointment. Edicts 1 and 2, indeed, do not contain dates, and may possibly have been framed somewhat earlier.\(^2\) But edict 3 says (EI, 2. 450, Girmār text):—

Dbādasa-vās-ābhīsitēna mayā idam āṇapitam; "by me, twelve-years-anointed, this command has been issued."\(^3\)

In the same way, edict 4 concludes with the statement:—

"By the king Dēvāmāṇpiya-Piyadassi, twelve-years-anointed, this has been caused to be written." And in edict 5 the king says:—"By me, thirteen-years-anointed, Dhammamahāmātatas (High Ministers for dhamma) have been created."

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\(^1\) Compare, again, Buddhaghōsha; loc. cit., 294 ff.

\(^2\) It has, however, been inferred from pillar-edict 6 that no edicts were issued before the thirteenth year.

\(^3\) This and similar passages in the edicts of both series have sometimes been translated as if the records were subsequent ones, registering past events; for instance, the above words have been rendered thus (EI, 2. 466):—"When I had been anointed twelve years, this following order was given by me." But the edicts were certainly framed and actually issued by proclamation, as synchronous records of current acts, before being brought together on the rocks and pillars; and the dates are better translated accordingly.
The remaining rock-edicts are not dated. But two of them mention events of earlier date, and present important statements in connexion with them.

The 13th edict commences by reciting that the king conquered the Kaliṅga countries when he was eight years anointed, and goes on to say that, from the time when those territories were annexed, the king had zealously protected dhamma, had felt love for dhamma, and had inculcated dhamma. And that recital, and the words which follow it, including a declaration that “Dēvānampiya holds the conquest by dhamma to be the chief of all conquests,” make clear the point that the king’s thoughts were first led into the direction of dhamma by the miseries that attended the war by which Kaliṅga was added to the empire.¹

The 8th edict contains something which is regarded as still more noticeable: it commences by reciting (EI, 2. 456 f., Girnār text):—Atikātam amtaram rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ ēṅyāsu² eta magayvā aṅāni cha ētārisāni abhiramakāni ahumsu so Dēvānampiya Piyadasi rājā dasa-vas-ābhisito saṃto ayāya saṁbōdhin tēn-ēsā dhamma-yātā; “in times gone by, the kings went forth on pleasure-tours, on which there were hunting and other similar amusements; this king Dēvānampiya-Piyadassi, when he was ten-years-anointed, went to saṁbōdhī; therefore (there is now) this touring for dhamma.”

There have been various discussions of this passage, based principally on the use in it of the term saṁbōdhī, ‘proper, true, or perfect knowledge, understanding, enlightenment;’ with at least one plain expression of

¹ Those miseries are indicated in the edict: “150,000 living beings were carried away (as captives); 100,000 were slain; and many times as many died;” etc.

² It seems hardly necessary to treat this word as an irregular spelling of niyyāsu. The it implies an original ny: Childers gives niyyā, as well as niyyā, as = niyyā, ‘to go forth;’ and from niyyā we might surely have niyyāsu, which would become ēṅyāsu.
opinion that the two edicts, taken together, shew that Asoka felt a preliminary call to Buddhism in the ninth year after his anointment to the sovereignty, and was definitely converted to that faith in the eleventh year.

Now, a similar and practically identical word, sambodha, with exactly the same sense, is found, not only in Buddhist literature,¹ but also elsewhere: in the Mahabharata, 3. § 312, 17,375 we are told:—Jnanaṃ tattvartha-samaṃdham: “knowledge is the proper understanding of true meaning:” again, in the same work, 12. § 17, 531, we have:—Ajnatanam cha vijnanat-samaṃbodhad = buddhir = uchyate; “wisdom is so called (as resulting) from a knowledge and proper understanding of things not (generally) known.” But it may be urged that we have here, not sambodha, but samboḍhi; that the latter form is (or seems to be) confined to Buddhist literature, in which we have also the appellation Sambuddha as synonymous with the name Buddha itself; and that in that literature it denotes (see this Journal, 1898, 620) “the insight of the higher stages of the path to Arahatship.” Further, stress may be laid on the point that, in the place of the ayāya of the Gînâr text, all the other versions² present forms from the verb nikkham, = nishkrnam, which suggests the idea of the technical Buddhist nikkhamana, nishkramana, ‘the going forth from the house-life to the houseless state of asceticism and wandering mendicancy.’ But any force which the latter argument might have is at least reduced by the fact that, instead of the navāsu of the Gînâr text, all the other versions present there again, in connexion with even the pleasure-tours, forms from the verb nikkham.

¹ For instance, in the Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, 1. 6, 17, 18.
² With the qualification, which applies also just below, that the word is illegible in the Jaugada text.
It is not known when the 8th rock-edict was framed; except that it was not framed earlier than the fourteenth year after the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty. It may be taken that each set of the whole series of the rock-edicts was incised all at once, and not in instalments. But it does not follow that edicts 6 to 14 were framed in the fourteenth year along with edict 5, and that the whole series was published in a collective form in that year; and it seems improbable that that was the case. We know from the seventh pillar-edict that Aśoka was still issuing his formal proclamations up to at any rate the twenty-eighth year. And it is quite possible that the 8th rock-edict was framed even later than that, and at a time when, having really become a declared Buddhist, Aśoka might not unnaturally introduce a technically not quite correct term in referring to a previous stage in his career. But all that we need really understand from the reference to saṃbōḍhi in the 8th rock-edict is that Aśoka had then, in the eleventh year, realized fully the propriety of attending to dhamma.

This much at any rate is certain, whatever may be doubtful; namely, that Aśoka did not renounce the house-life and take up the life of asceticism and wandering mendicancy at the time specified in the 8th rock-edict, viz. the eleventh year after his anointment. What he did do then was to substitute tours of dhamma for pleasure-tours. And the edict goes on to explain the nature of the said tours of dhamma; it says:—“On these tours this is what takes place: the interviewing of Bāmaṇas (Brāhmans) and Saṃaṇas, and the giving of gifts to them; the interviewing of Elders, and the distribution of gold to them; the interviewing of the people of the country-side; the inculcation of dhamma; and the making of inquiries about dhamma.”

The question remains:—What was the dhamma for which these tours were instituted, and which forms so
constant a topic of all the edicts? The answer is given by an exact definition of dhamma in the second pillar edict, which was framed, as we gather from the dates in the first and fourth edicts of that series, in the twenty-seventh year after the anointment of Aśoka: we are there told (EI, 2. 249):—Dēvānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hēvāṁ āha dhamme sādhu kiyāṁ chu dhammē-ṭi ap-āsinave bahu-kayāne dayā dāne sache sōchayē-ṭi; “thus saith the king Dēvānāmpiya-Piyadassi: ‘dhamma is good: but it will be said, to what does dhamma amount?: the answer is, little addition to evil passions, many beneficial deeds, compassion, charity, truthfulness, and purity.”

This definition is plain and instructive. And a perusal of the rock and pillar edicts makes it clear that it governs, throughout, the dhamma which is inculcated and provided for by them. That dhamma is not in any way the Buddhist Dhamma, the Faith; and the term is not properly rendered by “the Religion,” “the Sacred Law,” or any such expression. It is the ordinary dharma of kings, which is laid down in the Mānavadharmaśāstra, 1. 114, as one of the topics of that work.¹ In the rock and pillar

¹ The word apāsinave is difficult. One component of it, āsīnave, occurs again twice in pillar-edict 3. M. Senart has explained it as = āsava, through such forms as *āsirava, *āśinava (Inscr. de Piyadasi, 2. 13). And the Pāli equivalent, āsava, is given by Childers as meaning ‘human passion, sin, corruption, depravity.’

M. Senart has taken apāsinave as = appa-āsinave = alp-āsramaḥ, and has rendered the term by “le moins de mal possible” (op. cit., 2. 15). Professor Bühler took it as = apāśravatvam (with apā as the first component) in the sense of apāśravatvam, and rendered it by “sinlessness” (EI, 2. 249).

The bahu in bahu-kayāne seems to point clearly to apā standing for appa = alpa. And āsīnava, whatever may be its etymology, is explained in the second passage in the third pillar-edict, where we are told (EI, 2. 250 f.):—Imāni āsīnava-gāminī nāma z ti atha cha maḍīye nithūliye kōdhhe māne isyā; “these things verily constitute āsīnava; namely, hot temper, harshness, anger, pride, envy.”

² Rājūaṭaḥ cha dharmam z akhilaḥ; “and the whole duty of a king:” this is Professor Bühler’s rendering, The Laws of Manu, SBE, 25, 28.
edicts, Buddha is not mentioned at all, and the Saṃgha only once, in a passage in the latest of the pillar-edicts (see the next paragraph) which simply places it on a par with all the other creeds. The twelfth rock-edict is an express declaration of Aśoka’s desire to treat all beliefs with impartial toleration and encouragement. And the distinct object of both the rock and the pillar edicts was, not to propagate Buddhism or any other particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Aśoka to govern his realm righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings, and with considerateness for all forms of religious belief, and to acquaint his subjects with certain measures which he had taken to that end, and to explain to them how they might co-operate with him.

We shall come directly to the proclamations issued by Aśoka as a Buddhist. We must first notice a declaration made by him as to the duties of the Dhammahāmātās, the High Ministers for dhamma, the appointment of whom was made in the fourteenth year after his anointment, as recorded in the fifth rock-edict. A general description of their functions is given in that edict (EI, 2. 467 f.), and commences with the statement that they were concerned with all the sects. This statement is amplified in the circular part of the seventh pillar-edict, framed in the twenty-eighth year: Aśoka there says (EI, 2. 270, line 4 f.):— “My Dhammahāmātās are occupied with various affairs of a beneficent nature: they are occupied with all the creeds, both of wandering ascetics and of those who are living the house-life: they were appointed by me in order that they should be occupied with the affairs of the Saṃgha, and so also with Bābhānas (Brāhmans), Ājīvikas, Niggaṇṭhas (Jains), and (all) the different creeds: the various Mahāmātās (are occupied) with various specific (affairs): but my Dhammahāmātās are occupied with these (just mentioned) and all the other creeds.” We have here the only reference to the
Buddhist Saṅgha that is to be found in the rock and pillar edicts; and, as has been said, Buddha is not mentioned in them at all. The Saṅgha is mentioned here on equal terms with Brāhmans, Jains, etc. And we can plainly see that, in the twenty-eighth year after his anointment, Asōka was still treating all the religious sects with the impartial toleration and encouragement which is the express topic of the twelfth rock-edict (EI, 2. 470), and that, even if he had then begun to feel any leaning towards the Buddhists, he had at least not identified his interests with theirs. We are, indeed, sometimes told that Asōka convened the Third Buddhist Council in the seventeenth or eighteenth year after his anointment, and then despatched missionaries to propagate the faith in the border-countries. But there is nothing in that assertion. In the records of Asōka, there is no mention of the Council; and it is at least difficult to find fairly any allusion to missions of the kind described in the books. And neither by the Dipavamsa, nor by Buddhaghōsha, nor by the Mahāvaṃsa, are the occurrences in question attributed to him. The three authorities agree that it was Moggaliputta-Tissa who convened the Council and sent out the missionaries. Asōka is not mentioned by them in connexion with the missions at all. In respect of the Council, the Mahāvaṃsa fills out a verse by saying (Turnour, 42, line 12) that it was held rakkhāyat Āsōka-rājino, "under the protection of king Asōka;" but, beyond that, Asōka is mentioned in connexion with it merely by way of stating the date of it.

1 It is assumed that the reference here really is to the Buddhist Saṅgha. But the word saṅgha may denote any community whatsoever, and is explained by Mādhātithi under Mānavadharmaśāstra, 8. 219, as meaning 'communities and corporations of merchants, mendicants or monks, Chaturvēdins, and so forth' (SBE, 25, 293, note). The term in the text of the seventh pillar-edict, saṅghathasī, might be taken as meaning "the affairs of (all recognized) communities."
The only records of Aśoka which are Buddhist records and mark him as a Buddhist are the following:

(1) The Bhabra or Second Bairat edict: *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 198; IA, 20. 165. In this, the king, addressing the Māgadha Saṅgha, the Buddhist Community in Magadha, says:—"Ye know, Sirs!, how great are my reverence and favour towards Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha: everything, Sirs!, that was said by the Blessed Buddha was truly well said: and so far indeed, Sirs!, as I myself can foresee, I ought to feel confident (?)¹ that the true religion will thus endure for a long time." And the edict goes on to mention by name certain Buddhist texts which the king commends to the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, the monks and nuns, for constant study by them. This record is not dated: but it is plainly of later date than the seventh pillar-edict framed in the twenty-eighth year, and is certainly to be referred, along with Nos. 2, 3, and 4, to some time in the period of six years which is mentioned in No. 5 below.

(2) The Sārnāth edict: EI, 8. 168; and see JASB, 1907. No. 1. 1. Amongst other things, this prescribes, in line 4 f., a penalty to which Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis were to be subjected if they should break the rules of the Saṅgha: and a passage in line 9 f. connects it closely with No. 5 below. If this record was dated, the date was in lines 1 and 2, and has been lost.

(3) The Śaṅchi edict: EI, 2. 87, 367. This is very fragmentary: the extant remnant of it, however, mostly

¹ Cunningham's lithograph in *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, CII, 1. plate 15, shows *tavatave*: and the alteration of that into *tavam vatare* does not seem either necessary or satisfactory. I take the word as *tavița = tavitum*, *tōtum*, the infinitive of *tu*, 'to have authority, be strong.' Or we might perhaps take it as = *stevitum, stōtum,*—"I ought to give praise,"—with an exceptional change of *st* to *tt*, *t*, instead of *th*, *th.*

In the preceding clause we seem to have *diśyaṃ* as = *driśyaṃ*, the Vedic potential of *dṛiśi, *to see.*
coincides with line 4 f. of No. 2. Here, again, the date, if any was recorded, is lost.

(4) The Kōsambī edict: IA, 19. 126. This, also, is very fragmentary: but here, again, the extant portion mostly coincides with line 4 f. of No. 2. It seems not to have been dated.

(5) The edict which we have at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt in Northern India (Insers. de Piyadasi, 2. 166; IA, 20. 155; 22. 302), and at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jaṭīṅga-Rāmēśvara in Mysore (JA, 1892, 1. 486; EI, 3. 138). ¹ This record is a lecture on the good results of displaying energy in matters of religion. It is dated 256 years after the death of Buddha,² inasmuch as it quotes a short sermon which, it says, was delivered 256 years previously by the Vivutha, Vyūṭha, or Vyūṭha, i.e. Buddha.³

This last record is, by reason of its date, perhaps the most important of all the records of Aśoka. The Dipavaṃsa tells us (6. 1) that Aśoka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha, and (5. 101) that he reigned for 37 years (from the time of his anointment). We thus see that this edict was framed (256 – 218 = ) 38 years after his anointment, and one year, more or less, after the end of his reign. This last detail seems at first sight somewhat puzzling. But the

¹ For the Mysore texts, see also Epigraphia Carnatica, 11. Mk. 14, 21, 34, and plates.
² The meaning, of course, is 'at some time in the 257th year current, when 256 years had been completed.'
³ As regards some remarks by Professor Norman on page 13 f. above, I think I have made it clear (see this Journal, 1907. 521, and note 2) that I am prepared to concede that my proposal to render the appellation Vivutha, etc., by 'the Wanderer' is not to be regarded as final: the meaning which we must assign to lākhāpetavāya indicates that we must find for vicāsetavāya, and so perhaps for Vivutha, etc., some meaning which is not connected with the idea of 'wandering forth.' But the points will remain, that the appellation denotes Buddha, and that the 256 years mean the period elapsed since his death.
Brahmagiri text, which is the clearest version, discloses the explanation. There was a period of "somewhat more than two and a half years," during which Aśoka was a Sāvaka or an Upāsaka, a Buddhist disciple or lay-worshipper, without much exerting himself. That was followed by a period of "somewhat more than six years," including a specially signalized period of one year, during which Aśoka, having joined the Saṅgha, did exert himself strenuously; with the result (we are told) that the gods of Jambudvīpa (India) with their followers were proved to be false,— and (it follows) the doctrine of Buddha was established as the true religion. Further, the Mysore versions differ from those of Northern India in presenting a preamble, which tells us that the edict was issued from a place named Suvannagiri, and that it was communicated to the Mahāmātas, the High Ministers, at Isila in Mysore, not directly by Aśoka himself, but through the Ayaputa, i.e. the Prince, and the Mahāmātas, who were in charge of the district which included Suvannagiri. We have, further, the well-known statement of I-tsing, mentioning an image of Aśoka dressed as a Buddhist monk. And, putting all these details together, we see that the facts were as follows:—

Aśoka was converted to Buddhism and became a disciple or lay-worshipper about half-way through the 30th year

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1 I still hope to find leisure, some day, to demonstrate this matter by a critical comparison of the texts. Meanwhile, I think that anyone, able to read the originals, who will examine them in the light of what I say, will readily see that the facts were as I state them.

2 The word in the Rūpnāth text is perhaps sāveka: in the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddāpura texts, it is upāsake. In the Jātiṅga-Rāmsīvara text, this part of the record is hopelessly illegible. In the Brahmagiri text, while all the rest is remarkably clear, this word cannot be decided either way: owing apparently to some exceptional hardness of the rock at this point, it seems to have been left uncised, or almost so: but the preference is in favour of upāsake.

3 Takakusu, Records of the Buddhist Religion, 73.
after his anointment to the sovereignty.\(^1\) A little more than 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) years later, and consequently soon after the commencement of the 33rd year, he formally joined the Buddhist Sangha. A little more than 5 years after that, early in the 38th year,—when he had completed 37 years and something over,\(^2\) he followed a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian rulers, and abdicated, and, taking the vows of a monk, withdrew to spend his remaining days in religious retirement; perhaps (see page 485 above) installing Daśaratha as his successor, and anointing him with his own hand. And from that retirement, one year later, early in the 39th year, he sent forth this notification, proclaiming Buddhism as the true and established religion. In Northern India, which had formed his own dominions, he was still able to issue the edict without any intermediaries. But, in communicating it to a foreign power in Mysore, where quite possibly he was personally unknown, he had to send it through the channel of the officials of the district in which he was living in retirement. And to that necessity

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\(^1\) So also, practically, Professor Bühler, basing the result on his later and mature consideration of the Sahasrām, Rāpnāth, and Bairāt texts: "his conversion falls about the twenty-ninth year of his reign" (IA. 22. 302; compare El, 3. 138). Originally, guided by the Mahāvaśa, he had placed it in the fourth year (IA, 6. 153a). Professor Kern, treating the expression dāyādā ṭāṣānā in the Dīpavaśa, 7. 13 ff., as meaning that Aśoka was still, in the seventh year, only a "pretender" to the Faith, but holding it to be not improbable that he had become a convert in the twenty-eighth year when the seventh pillar-edict was issued, has nevertheless expressed the opinion that the Sahasrām, etc., edict must be placed after the latter date, because it stamps Aśoka as a decided Buddhist zealot (Manual of Buddhism, 114, and note 3).

It has been shewn above that the Sahasrām, etc., edict was framed 256 \(-\) 218 = 38 years after the anointment of Aśoka. On the other side we have \(2\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2} + 6 = 38\), with an indefinite but small "somewhat more" to be added in connexion with the \(2\frac{1}{2}\) and the 6.

\(^2\) The statement of the Dīpavaśa, that he reigned for thirty-seven years (from the date of his anointment), of course does not mean thirty-seven years exactly to the day; but it does mean that he had completed thirty-seven years.
we owe the interesting result that we can point, not merely to the locality, but perhaps to the actual abode in which Aśoka spent his closing days: we may find it in a cave-temple, measuring (see IA, 1902. 71) forty feet by fifteen, and containing in 1820 a Jain image and a stone couch, and occupied then by a Bairāgi, which exists in Suvaṇṇagiri, Sūnagiri, Sōngir, one of the hills surrounding the site of the ancient city Girivraja in Magadha, Behar.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

ON ŚIṢṬUPĀLAVADHA, II, 112.

In this verse Māgha, speaking of the šabda-vidyā, uses the words vṛtti and nyāsa. By these words the poet has been understood, already by Mallinātha, to allude distinctly to the Kāśikā Vṛtti and to a commentary on it sometimes called Nyāsa,¹ which was composed by Jinendrabuddhi; and the verse has then been made use of in an attempt to ascertain the time of Māgha as well as that of Jinendrabuddhi. We know now from epigraphical evidence that Māgha has to be placed in about the second half of the seventh century A.D.² I may nevertheless perhaps be permitted to point out that there is nothing to prove that the poet must necessarily have alluded to the Kāśikā Vṛtti, and that the allusion to

¹ In an introductory verse in the Deccan College MS. No. 34 of 1881–2, Jinendrabuddhi’s commentary is called simply Pañjikā (corrected to Pañchikā), and in the same verse it is intimated that the author made use of other commentaries, so that his work cannot have been the first commentary on the Kāśikā Vṛtti. In the same MS. the title given at the end of chapters is Kāśikā-vivarana-pañchikā (or -pañjikā), e.g. on fol. 45a, iti bōdhisinottadēṣyāchārya-Jinendrabuddhipāda-virachitāyām Kāśikā-vivarana-pañchikāyām prathamasyaśādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ. On the margin of the leaves the title in the same MS. is Kāśikānyāsa. In No. 284 of the Kashmir Collection of the Deccan College the title is Nyāsapañchikā, e.g. fol. 191b, iti śristhavirāchārya-Jinendrabuddhy-uparamchitāyām Nyāsapañchikāyāṃ devīyādyāyāṃ samāptah. In No. 285 of the same collection has on the margin of the leaves Kā nyā (i.e. Kāśikā-nyāsa). The title Nyāsa (which also denotes a gloss on Hemaśchandra’s Šabdāṇuvāsanavṛtti) I have not found in any of the five MSS. which I have examined.

² See the article referred to in this Journal, 1906, 728.
Jinendra-buddhi's commentary which has been found in the word nyāsa is solely due to a wrong interpretation of the verse. To show this I give the text of the verse with my translation and notes:—

Anutsūtrapadanyāsā sadvritto bhāti nā bhāti rājanitir-apaspaśā ||

"The policy of kings, even when it takes no step that is contrary to rule, and when it provides a livelihood (for dependents) and makes donations (for services rendered), by no means prospers without (the employment of) spies—just as the study of grammar does not prosper without (a knowledge of) the (introduction called) paspaśā, even when (in the interpretation of rules) no words are supplied¹ that are not in the sūtras, and when (the study is) aided by commentaries and the Mahābhashya."

An introductory verse of the Kāśikā Vṛtti tells us that that work contains the essence of the doctrines which were scattered about in the vṛtti (used in the singular and in a collective sense) and the bhāshya. Māgha here speaks of the vṛtti and the Mahābhashya as the two aids in the study of grammar, and, like the author of the Kāśikā Vṛtti, he by vṛtti does not mean any particular commentary, but commentaries generally of the Ashtādhīyāyi, whatever is Pāṇini-prāṇa-satrānāṁ vivaraṇam. This, of course, may include the Kāśikā Vṛtti, but it would equally include such commentaries as were composed by Kuṇi and other Āchāryas, and those composed by Chulli (?!),² Bhaṭṭi, and Nallūra, which according to Haradatta and Jinendra-buddhi were made

¹ Compare the use of the word nyāsa in the well-known arthāntara-
nyāsa.
² I am not sure about this name: the writer of the MS. which I have used seems to have altered Chulli to Bulli.
use of by the authors of the Kāśikā Vṛtti in the compilation of their work; and it is quite impossible to infer from the poet's words what particular commentary or commentaries he was acquainted with. On the other hand, the very unusual term nibandhana, which, in order to obtain a suitable word with a double meaning, he chooses to denote the Mahābhāshya, renders it highly probable that Māgha was acquainted with that verse of the Vākyapadiya, ii, 485, in which the Mahābhāshya is described as sarvēśhāṃ nyāya-bijānāṁ nibandhānam.

In addition to mentioning the two chief aids in the study of grammar, the poet also speaks of the proper method of interpreting Pāṇini's rules; and in using the expression anutsūtrapadanyāśā he clearly has in view, and actually paraphrases, a passage of the Mahābhāshya which will be found in my edition, vol. i, p. 12, last line: yō hy-utsūtraṁ kathayēn-ntūdō grihyēta, “if anybody (in interpreting a rule) should say anything that is not contained in the sūtra, such a statement of his would not be accepted.” Interpretation ought not to supply anything that is not contained in the sūtras themselves—a statement to which later grammarians have given the somewhat different and wider meaning, that the sūtras already contain all that is found in the commentaries and in the Vārttikas (sūrēśhāvēva hi tat-sarvām yadvṛttān yachēcha vārttike).

The grammarian, moreover, must not only interpret Pāṇini's rules in the proper manner and avail himself in the explanation of rules of such assistance as may be afforded by commentaries and the Mahābhāshya, but he must primarily be familiar also with those more general and fundamental questions regarding the necessity and the object of the study of grammar, the benefit to be derived from it and the ways to secure that benefit, and generally all such matters as are handled in the paspasā or introductory chapter of the Mahābhāshya, where no
individual rules of Pāṇini’s are as yet treated of. That Māgha, profound grammarian as he was, had himself studied that chapter, he shows by the very term anutsūtra-padanyāsā which he uses in the verse under discussion, and he shows it also, e.g., by the manner in which in two consecutive verses (xiv, 23 and 24) he speaks of the uśha and asamdeha, which are both treated of among the objects of grammar on the first page of the Mahābhāshya.

Any interpretation of the verse which would take the word nyāsa to denote here Jinēndrabuddhi’s gloss on the Kāśīkā Vṛitti would seem to me to be based solely, if I may say so, on the outward form of the word and its proximity to the word vṛitti, and would completely disregard the meaning and context of the poet’s interesting and scholarly statement. But apart from this, there probably is a very simple way of finding out whether Jinēndrabuddhi could possibly be older than Māgha, a way which I would strongly recommend to those to whom the MSS. of the Deccan College are readily accessible. Many years ago, when I myself was able to study those MSS., my impression certainly was that Jinēndrabuddhi had freely copied from Haradatta’s Padamañjari, and if this should prove to be correct it would make Jinēndrabuddhi decidedly much later than Māgha, because that poet is quoted, even by name, more than once in the Padamañjari.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

BHAGAVAT, TATRABHAVAT, AND DEVĀNAMPRIYA.

In an article on the child Krishṇa, Mr. Keith, above, p. 171 f., says that “in discussing Pāṇini, iv, 2, 98”—which is a misprint for iv, 3, 98—“Patañjali distinctly says that Vāsudeva is a sanjñā of the Bhagavant.” As
the same statement has already been made more than once and would be likely to be repeated, I need not apologize for drawing attention to the fact that it is based on a wrong reading of the Benares edition of the Mahābhāshya (saṃjñāisṭhā tatrabhagavataḥ). The true reading of the passage, uniformly given by more than half a dozen MSS. from different parts of India which I have compared, is saṃjñāisṭhā tatrabhavataḥ. Patañjali’s remark on the word Vāsudeva of Pāṇini’s rule may be compared with another remark of his, regarding the word Ka (=Prajāpati), in vol. ii, p. 275, l. 21, of my edition. There he says that Ka is not a pronoun (sarvanāman), but a proper name (saṃjñā chaishā tatrabhavataḥ), so that, e.g., the dative case of this Ka would be Kāya, not Kasmai. Similarly, the word Vāsudēva of P. iv, 3, 98, does not denote a certain class of persons descended from Vasudēva, but is the proper name of an individual called Vāsudēva (quite independently of the etymological derivation of the word). In either case the word tatrabhavataḥ, by which saṃjñāisṭhā is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being; the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being.

It is a curious fact that in the text of the Mahābhāshya the word bhagavat, with a single exception, is only used as an epithet of, or as a word denoting, Pāṇini, and that in the case of the exception referred to (in a verse in vol. ii, p. 97, l. 26) it is an epithet of Kātyāyana. In vol. iii, p. 467, l. 1 (in a Vārttika), we have bhagavataḥ Pānīnēḥ; in vol. i, p. 6, l. 14, vol. iii, p. 3, l. 22, p. 241, l. 20, and p. 467, l. 3, bhagavataḥ Pānīnērḥ āchāryasya. We have besides āha bhagavān or āha hi bhagavān in vol. i, p. 362, l. 10, p. 363, l. 9, and vol. iii, p. 293, l. 4, in each case with reference to certain rules given by Pāṇini; and similarly bhagavān denotes Pāṇini in vol. iii, p. 93, l. 21, and (in verses) p. 54, l. 3, and p. 189, l. 21. The
Mahābhāṣya itself was composed by the bhagavat Patañjali, as he is styled at the end of every Āhnika.

The honorific tatrabhavat, used in the singular or plural, in addition to the two passages already given, occurs twelve times in the Mahābhāṣya. We find tatrabhavān as an epithet of, or denoting, Viśvāmitra, Gādhi, and Kuśika, in vol. ii, p. 254, ll. 17, 18, and 19. Other Rishis are spoken of as tatrabhavantāḥ in vol. i, p. 11, l. 12, and vol. ii, p. 233, l. 13; authors of Prāti-śākhyas and Yājñikas in vol. i, p. 22, l. 23, p. 117, l. 23, and p. 38, l. 17; and Brāhmaṇs who speak pure Sanskrit even without having studied grammar, in vol. iii, p. 174, l. 10. We have besides tatrabhavantō Gṛggyāyanāḥ and tatrabhavantō Vātsyāyanāḥ (where the yuvan derivative is used to denote in an honorific way the vrīddha), and with reference to them tatrabhavantāḥ separately, in vol. ii, p. 265, ll. 23 and 24.

In the only remaining passage where tatrabhavat occurs, in vol. i, p. 3, l. 5, this honorific word—being used with reference to an author who composed a śloka which is described as sung by one who was not in his proper senses—appears to me to be used in an ironical sense. And so the word would have to be compared with the honorific dēvānāṃpriya, when used in an ironical sense in the well-known dialogue of the grammarian and the charioteer in vol. i, p. 488, l. 20, of the Mahābhāṣya. I may add that in imitation of this passage of the Mahābhāṣya the word dēvānāṃpriya has been used in a similar way by later writers (e.g. in the Śāmkarabrahmasūtrabhāṣya, vol. i, p. 176, l. 8; in the Kāvyaprakāśa, p. 255, l. 3, of Vāmanāchārya’s edition; and in the Padamaṇjarī, vol. i, p. 523, l. 19), and that to that passage is due in the first instance the meaning mūrkha, assigned to dēvānāṃpriya in more modern times. In grammar even Hēmachandra (in iii, 2, 34) only seeks to account for the form of dēvānāṃpriya (i.e. the retention in the compound of the
The worship of Krishna occupies such a prominent place in the Hinduism of the present day that everything which throws light on its past history is of interest. I hope I shall be pardoned, therefore, if I return to the subject which I discussed in my recent paper on “The Child Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars,” partly in order to add fresh matter, partly to discuss objections which have been raised, and to reply to the courteous and able criticism with which Mr. Keith has favoured me.

My paper had a twofold purpose: I sketched in outline what I conceived to be the history of the elder Krishna...
of Dwārakā; and I tried to show that the child-god of Mathurā was a totally distinct creation, who had a Christian origin probably derived from certain pastoral nomads, emigrants from Central Asia. For the proof of the Christian element in the Mathurā legend I depended upon Weber’s classical treatise, “The Krishṇajanmāśhtami.” That formed the foundation of my argument, and I tried to add to its probability by giving it a historical framework. Most of the objections I have heard apply to the Christian element in the legend, and are primarily objections to Weber’s theory. Mr. Keith, however, and some other friends, have commented on my sketch of the evolution of the elder Krishṇa. I shall first address myself to this part of the subject in the following remarks; I shall next consider the objections raised against the Christian element in the Mathurā legend; and I shall end with discussing the original character of Krishṇa—a point on which Mr. Keith and I fundamentally differ.

The Krishṇa of Dwārakā, in my conception of him, was a great semi-aboriginal deity, whose worship was confined to the Indus Valley and to Kabul. The Macedonians identified him with Dionysos, and the orthodox Hindus assimilated him to Indra, and more especially to Arjuna, the heroic counterpart of the celestial Indra. Vishṇu, on the other hand, according to my theory, long abstained from contact with the aboriginal deities; his worship was confined to the most purely Aryan communities; his elevation to supreme monotheist rank might be dated between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D.; and his rapprochement with Krishṇa, Buddha, Rāma, and other local gods and heroes represented the final stage of his career. I pointed out that in the case of Krishṇa the earliest evidence, whether literary or epigraphic, outside the Mahābhārata for his identification with Vishṇu did not go beyond 400 A.D.; while in the epic the later the passage the more complete the identification became. And some details in the epic
description of the siege of Dwārakā by Śālwa suggested to me that the identification was not everywhere admitted even a century earlier. Mr. Keith, on the other hand, carries back the connection to a very early date; chiefly, I think, because he will not admit that Śrīnu was originally a solar hero, and regards all his solar characteristics as derived from Vishnu, a question which I shall discuss at length. Mr. Keith quotes two passages of the Mahā-bhāṣya to show that there was a certain connection, he will not say identification, of the two gods in the days of Patañjali. Very possibly there was; the assimilation of Śrīnu to Vishnu must have been very gradual, and the passages in question show that in the north-west, where the rapprochement would naturally begin, Śrīnu was regarded by orthodox Hindus as a divine hero, while the binding of Bali and the killing of Kaṃśa were popular open-air spectacles. The story of Bali calls up Vishnu; but the story of Kaṃśa, like the story of Rāma, must have formed the subject of rustic dramas long before either Śrīnu or Rāma had become Avatars, probably long before they had any connection with Vishnu. Indeed, the story of Kaṃśa is so closely interwoven with the history of Śrīnu that it has never been superseded either by the part which Śrīnu played in the great war or by the Mathurā legend, and it still forms the climax of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā. To my mind it is a part of the nature-myth out of which Śrīnu was conceived, and is coeval with his birth. Patañjali’s evidence, therefore, although it proves the popularity of Śrīnu, goes very little way in proving his connection with Vishnu; that is still an open question. On the other hand, I frankly admit that the inference drawn from Śālwa’s siege of Dwārakā is weak. Not precisely for the reasons Mr. Keith assigns, nor because I regard the date of the passage which I quoted as uncertain (Milton’s mention of cannon in “Paradise Lost” does not furnish a more certain clue
to the date of that poem); but because the combat of Śālwa with Krishṇa has all the marks of an early nature-myth; and I regard the details of the siege as very possibly due to a late reviser.

I have said that the myth of Kamsa slain by his nephew, the youthful Krishṇa, is a very old one; the Asura Kamsa, chief of the powers of darkness, is slain by the youthful Sun-god bursting forth from the clouds. Such, at least, is my interpretation of the fable. But, it is said, does not this very story of Kamsa imply some history, not only of Krishṇa's birth, but of his infancy and boyhood? And may not that story have been the kernel round which other legendary accretions have subsequently gathered? To which I shall reply by a parallel from Greek mythology. Kamsa is a demon king, and his sister of the same race is the mother of Krishṇa, the solar god who is destined to slay his devourer. Apollo, too, is a god of light, born after hard travail of Leto κυνόπτεπλος, the 'dark night.' No sooner is he born than he proceeds to Delphi and slays the mephitic Python, emblem of the poisonous earthborn vapours of the valley.¹ It is the story of Siegfried and of many another solar hero. The fact that a god was born does not in the least imply that he ever went through infancy or childhood. The Mahābhārata mentions the birthplaces of various gods, but it describes the infancy of never a one. An Egyptian god, when he attained supremacy, claimed to be his own ancestor; he was the 'son of his son,' but Horus is the only child-god in the Egyptian Pantheon. Even the stars were, in Plato's theology, θεοὶ ὄρατοι καὶ γεννητοί, although they were ageless beings and fixed. All the gods have been born, so a Greek rhetor expressly tells us, although their birthplace may be disputed and their parentage obscure. For the high gods were born beyond the ken of mortal men in

the misty morning of the world; and when they appear before mankind they appear with splendour and with pomp, radiant in the might of celestial manhood. Such beings are ignorant of growth and of decay; they know neither the evolution of the years nor the weathering touch of time, being timelessly divine. And if the story of the youthful Apollo does not imply any story of Apollo's infancy and boyhood, why should we require it in the history of Krishṇa?

The Jain legends of the Antagada-Dasāo furnish us with some confirmatory evidence. They are obviously taken from the earlier Brahmanical story, but they know nothing of Yaśodā and Nanda and the pastoral nomads, or of Krishṇa's infant sports and childish pranks. On the other hand, they restore Dēvakī to the rightful place which Skanda Gupta's inscription shows us she once held in the Krishṇa legend. Moreover, they sharply distinguish between the three Krishṇas. These legends were unknown to me when I wrote my former paper, and I give the substance of them here. The first part of Krishṇa's history is the part most fully given in the Antagada-Dasāo.1 Devāi (Dēvakī), the wife of Vasudeva, had borne seven sons, of whom Kanhe (Krishna) was the last, but she was not allowed the pleasure of rearing them, for the Lady Sulasa had brought forth in succession seven infants which were stillborn in consequence of a curse. Now Sulasa was a devotee of the god Harine-gamesi, and prayed him for assistance. Her prayers and her devotion prevailed; so the god Harine-gamesi, in compassion for the Lady Sulasa, took away her stillborn babes and carried them to Devāi, taking back to Sulasa Devāi's vigorous offspring, and so Sulasa became their

reputed mother, and brought them up. Devai's six elder sons took no notice of her, but the youngest, Kaĉhe, a magnificent monarch, came every six months in state "to do homage at her feet." On one of these visits he discovered his mother's secret grief, and that she longed for the joys of motherhood. Thereupon Kaĉhe, by the magic of his fasting, induced Hariĉ-gamesi to grant Devai her desire, and an eighth son was born who became a Jaina monk, and ultimately an Arhat. The scene of the story is Bāravaî (Dwārakā), and the death of Kaṁsa is omitted, being repugnant to Jain feeling.

The rest of the story is told by way of prophecy. Kaĉhe asks the saint Ariṭṭhaṇemi (who, by the way, had married Kaṁsa's sister): "Sir, when I come to my death in my death-month, whither shall I go from here, where shall I be reborn?" And the saint said to him, "Verily, Kaĉhe, thou shalt be sent forth by thy mother and father's behest from the city of Bāravaî, when it shall be consumed by reason of strong waters, fire, and the wrath of Divāyane; together with Rāme and Baladeve thou shalt set forth towards the southern ocean unto Pandu-Mahura, unto the five Pandaves... in the Kosamba forest, underneath a goodly nyagrodha-tree... thou shalt be wounded in the left foot by a sharp arrow shot by Jarākumāre from his bow. So shalt thou come to death in thy death-month, and be reborn as a hell-dweller in a flaming hell in the third earth."¹—a fate which the hero of the Mahābhārata richly deserved. But the 'Beloved of the Gods' ultimately emerges from hell, and becomes the twelfth saint, Aname, and after many years he is beatified. Thus the Jain legend, despite its theological preoccupations, has preserved most markedly the distinction between the three Krishṇas as well as between the scenes of their exploits. The son of

Dēvaki is the hero of Dwārkā; then comes the hero of the great war; and lastly Krishna is purged, beatified, and glorified. The three stages are precisely those through which the worship of the elder Krishna developed, as I tried to show in my former paper. The Jains know nothing of Krishna's infancy and childhood, or of his pastoral companions. The Mathurā legend was apparently unheard of when the Jaina version was framed.

I next turn to the Christian element in the Mathurā story, or rather to the objections made against it; for it is not my purpose to repeat what Weber has set forth so well. The more important objections appear to be three:—

I. Stress has often been laid upon the resemblance in sound between the two names Krishna and Christos; but, it is urged in reply, our Lord has always been known in the Orient as the Messiah, and not as the Christ. This is certainly true of the Syrian Christians, and also of the Christians of Central Asia, if one may judge by the fragments in the Sogdian speech recently deciphered by Müller. The name Christos is not found in Pahlavi. On the other hand, the word for 'Christian,' which contains the root, appears to have been in fairly common use. And we have also to bear in mind the masses of Christians, subjects of the Byzantine Empire, settled by the Sassanians in Merv and Seistan. But it is evident that any argument based upon the mere resemblance of names is doubtful.¹

¹ The following note by Dr. McLean, of Christ's College, Cambridge, is of interest:—"The name 'Christ' does not appear to have been used by the early Syriac-speaking Christians. The N.T. has always : you will find that Brockelmann's Lexicon does not mention at all, and that Payne Smith's only authorities for it are a Bodleian MS. (Or. lix, of which the age may be ascertained from
II. It is further urged that many of the parallels noted by Weber are taken from the Apocryphal Gospels, and that the Apocryphal Gospels and the Hindu legends may well have borrowed independently from a common source. The existence of a common stock of folklore is undeniable. It appears in the Apocryphal Gospels, in the Krisha legends, in the history of Buddha, in Barlaam and Josaphat, and in the life of Apollonius of Tyana. Most of it was probably Syrian or Mesopotamian, the rest partly Greek and partly Indian. If the coincidences in question depended solely upon the Apocryphal Gospels, the evidence for a Christian origin would certainly be weak, although the Apocryphal Gospels admit of being dated roughly, and the priority of authorship is on their side. But the case does not depend on the Apocryphal Gospels. The birth in a stable, the star, the massacre of the Innocents, the details of the ritual, above all, that which appears to me the strongest point, the glorification of Infancy and Childhood—these things were not taken from folklore materials; the most natural explanation is that they are the result of actual contact. If this contact is otherwise probable, and if we find the novel cult accompanied by a violent dislocation of the older story, we have strong reason, I think, for admitting the Christian origin of the legend.

his catalogue) and two Syriac lexicographers, who give it as =םדמ. On the other hand, 'Christian' (בכש) appears in 1 Pet. iv, 16, and in early Syriac books, and some of its derivatives (such as בכש) are fairly common. But my impression is that the more usual words for 'Christian' are בכש and בכש. So that the evidence is not quite clear: only בכש must have been very rarely used, if at all." Dr. Mills says: "The nearest to your matter is the Kalasiyakh of Neriosangh at Y. 9. 75 (Sp.). Ner. seems to have seen a resemblance between كاتاني and Christos, so he coins Kalasiyakh to imitate ecclesia. The term Christos does not occur, so far as I remember, in the texts with which I have to do."
III. The worship of the infant Jesus involves a number of obscure questions on which liturgical students are much divided; many regard it as late. It is a subject, moreover, on which Weber was ill-informed, and his speculations regarding the connection between representations of Isis and Horus and the Virgin Mary were both unfounded and calculated to give just offence. For various reasons I avoided all reference to the subject in my former paper; but it is a point of capital importance which has been urged by way of objection; and fortunately the great doctor and poet of the Syrian Church, S. Ephraem Syrus, can furnish us with all the evidence our present purpose requires. S. Ephraem died in 373 A.D., and we have no better guide to the popular beliefs and practices of the Christians of Mesopotamia and the countries further east in the fourth century.

Now S. Ephraem devotes no less than thirteen of his ‘Rhythms’ or hymns, to the festival of the Nativity. These Rhythms show the greatness of the festival and the honour paid to Mary; they also show that the festival was celebrated in midwinter. Of Mary he says: ‘Who else will lull her Son in her bosom as Mary did? Who ever will dare to call her Son the Son of the Maker, Son of the Creator, Son of the Most High? Who ever will dare to speak to her Son as in prayer?’

In the Vishṇu-Purāṇa the gods hymn the praises of Dēvaki, and Dēvaki addresses her son: “God of gods, who art all things, who comprisest all the regions of the world in thy person, and who by thine illusion hast assumed the form of an infant, have compassion upon us.”

S. Ephraem celebrates the greatness of the festival in

1 Select works of S. Ephraem the Syrian, translated by J. B. Morris, Rhythm VI, p. 37 (Eph. Opp. Syr.-Lat., iii, 420 f. Professor Burkitt has very kindly revised Mr. Morris’ renderings for me).
2 Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, v, c. 3, p. 302.
glowing language. He invites in detail the years and days, the sun and moon, the winds and clouds, the air and the sea, angels and men and beasts and plants, to praise the "mighty lord that had become a little child in a little bosom." 1 "On the day of Krishna's birth," says the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, 2 "the quarters of the heavens were irradiate with joy, as if moonlight was diffused over the whole earth. The virtuous experienced new delight; the strong winds were hushed and the rivers glided tranquilly when Janārdana was about to be born. The seas with their own melodious murmuring made the music, whilst the spirits and the nymphs of heaven danced and sang; the gods, walking the sky, showered down flowers upon the earth; and the holy fires glowed with a mild and gentle flame."

Weber has given at length the Hindu ritual of the night preceding the Krishṇa-janmāśṭami. It closely resembles the practice of the Eastern Church. Mr. Morris says: "It was usual formerly to usher in all the greater feasts with a vigil"; 3 and of the vigil before Christmas S. Ephraem says: "Joyous were to-day the watchers that the Watcher came to wake us! Who would pass this night in slumber, in which all the world was watching?" 4 Clemens of Alexandria tells us that in the second century the Basilideans passed the night before the Epiphany (their Christmas) in readings and fasting and prayer. 5

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1 Select works of S. Ephraem the Syrian, tr. by Morris.
2 Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, v, c. 3, p. 542.
3 Select works of S. Ephraem the Syrian, tr. by Morris, p. 6.
4 Ibid., Rhythm I, p. 6. (Opp. Syr.-Lat., iii, 4006. Professor Burkitt says that Gabriel is called the Watcher in the Nestorian Epiphany Service (Rituale Armenorum, p. 327). Cf. Daniel iv, 10.)
5 "The followers of Basilides," says Clement, "celebrate the day of the Baptism as a feast, προξηπτεσαντες ξαναγεννώσατες. They say it happened in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, on the 15th day of the month Tybi, but some of them hold it on the 11th of the same month" (Strom. i, c. 21, p. 147 S.). These Gnostics held that the
The exact day on which S. Ephraem and the Eastern Church of his time celebrated Christmas cannot be ascertained from his words, but the general idea which fixed the date is clear. "In December,"¹ says S. Ephraem, "when the nights are long, rose for us 'the inexhaustible Day, the Beauty.' In Winter, when all the world is gloomy; forth came 'the Fair one' that cheered all in the world. Winter, that maketh the earth barren, virginity in it learned to bring forth. December,² that causeth the travails of the earth to cease, in it were the travails of virginity."

The essential point with S. Ephraem was that the festival should be in midwinter, when the sun begins to turn in its course and impart new life to creation; then, too, must the Sun of Righteousness have been born, "who brought life and healing to the world." This idea was not peculiar to S. Ephraem; the turn of the year, the preceding death, the commencement of new life, determined all the calculations regarding the date of the festival.

The people of Mathurā celebrate the birthday of Kṛṣṇa on Bhādrapāda badi 8th, forty-one days after the Sun-god has entered on his four months' sleep. It is held in the height of the rainy season, the dark and inauspicious season when no marriage may be celebrated, when the

Christ descended on the man Jesus at the Baptism; and this naturally suggested the month of Tybi, 'the first month of growth' in the Egyptian calendar, as an appropriate season for the festival. They avoided any connection with the great heathen festivals of the Egyptians, which were celebrated in the month preceding.

¹ 'December,' Syr. 'Kanun': Kanun i = December, Kanun ii = January. S. Ephraem gives no indication which is meant; his words would equally well suit January 6th.
² Select works of S. Ephraem, etc., Rhythm III, pp. 20, 21. Cf. Rhythm IV, p. 27: "The sun gave longer light, and foreshadowed the mystery by the degrees which it had gone up." "The increase of light at the time of the Nativity is noticed by S. Gregory Naz., S. Augustine, and S. Leo," says Morris.
heaven is covered with clouds, and the Sun-god has disappeared. The reasons which caused the people of Mathurā to fix their festival on this date are not very obvious, but whatever the reasons may have been, they had nothing to do with the Winter solstice or the first upspringing of new life, nothing therefore in common with the reasons which determined the date of Christmas. The height of the monsoon is appropriate to the festival of the dark Sun-god. Probably the festival was a very ancient one, in which the birth of Kṛṣṇa was celebrated (as it still is) with its necessary complement, the killing of Kaṁsa. And upon this ancient festival a Christian legend and a Christian ritual appear to have been superimposed at Mathurā, as the Christians superimposed their own Christmas observances on the brumalia at Rome. The contemporary history of the Turks shows how easy it was to adapt Christian practices to heathen use. In 591 A.D. Khosrou Parviz captured a large number of Turks from Central Asia who had come to the aid of his rival Bahram. Many of the captives bore a cross on their foreheads, and these he sent to his ally, the Byzantine Emperor, Maurice. The Turks, on being questioned by the Emperor, said that when they were children a terrible epidemic had ravaged the Turkish hordes, and at the suggestion of some Christians their mothers had saved them by marking their foreheads with the cross. Thus the sign of the cross was in a fair way to become a prophylactic against both pestilence and the sword.

One point remains, the original character of Kṛṣṇa, and it is a point on which my friendly critic Mr. Keith and I fundamentally differ. Mr. Keith regards Kṛṣṇa as a vegetation spirit, and every step Kṛṣṇa takes towards solar divinity is due, in his opinion, to a gradual assimilation with Viṣṇu. "It hardly seems possible," he says, "to ascribe to Kṛṣṇa an original solar character. His name tells seriously against it: the 'dark sun' requires
more explanation than it seems likely to receive, and the characteristics enumerated by Mr. Kennedy point with much greater likeliness to Kṛṣṇa having once been a vegetation spirit. If, then, we find Kṛṣṇa appearing distinctly as a solar divinity, we are fairly justified in saying that he was, in the poet’s mind, not far different from Viṣṇu.”¹ Now, in my opinion, the Kṛṣṇa of Dwārakā was a solar deity from the first. He appears to me to be the dark sun of the monsoon, born of the storm, the hidden sun who pastures the clouds and controls the storm-demons, and dives beneath the ocean. His elder brother is the harvest-god, and his mother is of the Asura race. His emblems show his essential character, and these are the thunderbolt and the ox-goad. The thunderbolt leaves no doubt that he is an atmospheric or storm-god, and as such he naturally associates with Indra. The ox-goad is equally a sign of his solar character, for the sun-gods were herdsman in many mythologies. Was not Apollo the herdsman of Admetus? Did not Herakles drive cattle? And had not Helios and Hyperion each his sacred herd? So also the Rig-veda says of Viṣṇu: “Three steps he made, the herdsman sure.”² But of all the Vedic deities, Pūshan, god of the setting sun, most resembles Kṛṣṇa. Pūshan is par excellence both warrior and hind. “He uses the ox-goad, which, however, according to Bergaigne, is a thunderbolt”;³ and the Rig-veda describes him as driving “the golden chariot of the sun among the speckled kine (the clouds).”⁴ Like Kṛṣṇa, he is the “god with the braided hair”;⁵ his mother is the night, and the dawn is both his sister and his mistress.⁶ Kṛṣṇa had an Asura for his mother, and was the lover of his sister. But Kṛṣṇa is much

¹ J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 171.
² Hopkins, “Religions of India,” p. 57.
³ Ibid., p. 54.
⁴ Ibid., p. 50.
⁵ Ibid., p. 52.
more of a purely solar deity than Pūshan, for Pūshan ate mush, and it was his business to recover strayed cattle. Now there is nothing whatever to connect the elder Krīṣṇa with real cow-herds or with actual cattle. The cows of Krīṣṇa are the cows of other solar deities, the heavenly cows, most probably the clouds. And this must not be conceived as a mere figure of poetic speech, for the savage regards the gods as living in heaven much the same life as men live upon earth; they have their houses, their chariots, their horses, and their cattle. Not, of course, in the shape which these things have upon earth, for, seeing that the gods are not like men, why should their animals have earthly shapes? A village watchman in India explained to me one night the connection between Orion and the Pleiades; he said that Indra spent the night in chasing the deer (which the Greeks called the Peleiades or doves) from the celestial fields. And by this he meant no figure of speech, but actual fact. If the elder Krīṣṇa had had any connection with cow-herds, how comes it that the Ahirins of Dwārakā practised the lāṣya dance which Pārvati had taught, while Krīṣṇa’s sacred dance, the rāṣamandalā, was known only to the Gopis of Vṛindāvana?

Nor is the dark sun at all a rare figure of mythology, as Mr. Keith supposes. Apollo himself descends "phoikos; and the dark Osiris, the sun of the night and of the dead, was worshipped by every Egyptian. To come to India, Mr. Hopkins says: “As Savitar and all sun-gods are at once luminous and dark, so Pūshan has a clear and again a revered (terrible) appearance; he is like day and night, like Dyaus (the sky); at one time bright, at another plunged in darkness. . . . He herds the stars.” Why may not Krīṣṇa be reckoned in the cycle

1 S. Lévi: “Theâtre Indien,” p. 299.
2 Hopkins: “Religions of India,” p. 52.
of the dark sun-gods, he who was born in the season of storm and rain, whose home was by the sunset, who dived under the sea, and who was the guardian of the city where the fury of the monsoon first breaks upon the shores of India?

Like most solar heroes, Krishna is a mighty warrior, endowed with great wisdom, and especially skilful in strategems and sudden surprises. His most famous feats are the capture of his brides by force from the neighbouring tribes, feats which the savage cannot sufficiently admire. But the great gods play many parts, for they are 'maids of all work,' in Sir A. C. Lyall's happy phrase, and good for everything. Apollo and Herakles, when they choose, are quite as good at healing as Æsculapius himself. And Mr. Hopkins says: "It must be recognised once for all that identical attributes are not enough to identify Vedic gods. Who gives wealth? Indra, Soma, Agni, Heaven and Earth, Wind, Sun, the Maruts, etc. Who forgives sins? Agni, Varuna, Indra, the Sun, etc. Who helps in war? Agni, Pūshan, Indra, Soma, etc.," and so on and so on.\(^1\) Krishna's principal rôle is that of a warrior, but he was worshipped by an agricultural people as well as by warriors, and that he was to some extent a patron of agriculture is probable enough. He is the younger brother of the harvest-god, and he is styled Dāmodara, the god "with a cord round his belly," a title possibly transferred to him from his elder brother, and now explained by a childish story. Moreover, the six elder brothers devoured by Kamsa must have formed a part of the original legend; and they may possibly have had something to do with the agricultural calendar, or they may only be the first six days of the dark half of Bhādra-pada, or we know not what. But the rustic side of the elder Krishna's character is far from prominent. Mr. Keith

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 51.
suggests¹ that the ox was his totem. But why the ox? Would not the bear do as well, seeing that Krishna married the daughter of the Bear-king? I confess I am very sceptical of totems, and if the aborigines and degraded Aryas of Dwārakā at all resembled the Bhils and other modern representatives, their reverence for the ox showed itself chiefly in a desire to eat him.

Mr. Keith seems happier in his suggestion² that the red colour adopted by the party of Kṛṣṇa in the mimic fight with Kaṁsa was an act of sympathetic magic. Possibly it was, although I doubt if any who now join in the fray would give this explanation; and some other explanations are more obvious. Both Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa are still black, but Kṛṣṇa's followers now daub themselves with yellow turmeric, and the throwing of red powder is relegated to the Holi.

In fine, I think it certain, so far as certainty in such matters is attainable, that the elder Kṛṣṇa was a solar deity of the monsoon and a mighty warrior, who had nothing to do with real oxen except by chance, and whose connection with agriculture was slight. Mr. Keith has not developed his theory of the vegetation spirit, and I for my part regard the vegetation spirit of the Golden Bough as anathema, a upas-tree which poisons everything. Forty years ago solar myths ruled the world. Sunrise and sunset, the dawn and the gloaming, the dying suns of Autumn and of Winter, the promise of the Spring sun slain by the Summer heats—these with the allied phenomena of the storm-clouds and the vapours of the marsh, or the gentle breeze which ushers in the morn, these and the like of these formed the tissue of all mythology and folklore. Atys, Adonis, Memnon, Dionysos, Baldur, and the rest were resolved into simple allegories by the new interpretation. But fashions change, and now the vegetation

spirit has entered into these selfsame divinities to rack and torment them; it is a parasite which threatens to choke and strangle everything. The older theory had at least for its basis some occasional truth and (frequently conjectural) etymology; it erred chiefly by vast excess. But the modern theory contradicts, as it seems to me, all the laws of savage thought. For instead of closely associating vegetable and animal life, and laying the greater stress upon the former, as Mr. Frazer assumes, savages, so far as my knowledge and experience go, distinguish in the sharpest way between them. Gods, men, and animals are three species of one genus, akin by nature and frequently interchanging, but plants have neither personality nor will; and the vegetable soul and metempsychosis into plants are among the latest developments of polytheist theology both in India and in Greece. But for a critique of such things volumes are required. Suffice it to say that solar myths and totems and vegetation spirits appear to me aerial creations of the Professorial laboratory, reared on the slenderest of foundations. Realms of fancy, infinitely ingenious, frequently poetic, I bid them all adieu, for I am disillusioned, and I know that although there may be universal laws of savage thought, there is no universal key to all the mythologies.

And so we revert to our original problem. The Mathurā legends are late. Mr. Hopkins 'tentatively' dates them after 600 A.D.¹ They substituted an infant god for a great warrior. If they were not of Christian origin, whence came they?

J. Kennedy.

¹ Hopkins: "Religions of India," p. 430.
THE DATE OF UDAYANĀCARYA AND OF VĀCASPATI MIŚRA.

In his Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum the late Professor Bendall assigned to Vācaspati Miśra, the well-known commentator on the philosophic systems, a date about A.D. 1164, accepting the view of M. Barth that the king Nṛga, under whom the Bhāmati was written, was Nṛga Visaladeva of the Delhi Siwālikh pillar, who was reigning at that date. At the same time he accepts for Udayana, it would seem, the view of Candrakānta that Udayana is earlier than Śridhara, who is dated about A.D. 991.

It is clear that one or both of these views must be wrong. For the most certain fact about Vācaspati Miśra and Udayana is that the latter in his Nyāyavārttika-tātparyaparīśuddhi commented on the Nyāyavārttika-tātparyatīkā of the former author. This is proved decisively by the first verse of the Pariśuddhi:—

vācetasor mama tathā bhava sāvadhānā |
Vācaspater vacasi na skhalato yathaite ||

This at once gives for Vācaspati an earlier date than that rendered necessary by his priority to Amalānanda, who wrote his commentary on Vācaspati’s Bhāmati shortly before A.D. 1260. For Udayana is cited by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa (A.D. 1252), and cannot therefore be well later

1 p. 120, and note.
2 A list of his works is given in his Bhāmati, see Candrakānta, Amukramanikā to his edition of the Kusumāṅjali, p. 16. Garbe (trans. of Sāṃskhyatattva-vakumudi, pp. 16, 17) praises highly his work.
3 Op. cit., p. 137. The difficulty of reconciling these views was noted in my Indian Institute Catal., p. 91.
4 Quoted by Cowell, Kusumāṅjali, p. vii; Candrakānta, op. cit., p. 10.
5 Op. cit., p. 120, n. 288.
6 Ibid., n. 289.
7 Hall, Bibliographical Index, p. 26; Rājendralāla Mitra, Tapa Aphorisms, p. lxxvii. Rāghava also mentions Vācaspati; see Hall, Sāṃskhyavāra, p. 40.
than A.D. 1225, and Vācaspati must be considerably earlier than A.D. 1200 to be commented on by Udayana.

So far the evidence leaves possible the attribution of Vācaspati Miśra to A.D. 1160. But it appears certain that Udayana was known to Śrīharsa, the author of the Khaṇḍanakhandakhādyā. Not only does Candrakānta report a tradition of a Śāstraśayavivāda between Śrīhira, father of Śrīharsa, and Udayana (a fact on which little stress need be laid), but in the Khaṇḍanakhandakhādyā Śrīharsa undoubtedly makes fun of a verse of the Kusumāṇjali, and his date is about A.D. 1150. It may be added that Śrīharsa also knew the works of Vācaspati. It becomes accordingly practically impossible to accept the proposed identification of Nṛga, since even Udayana must have been a good deal older than Śrīharsa to be deliberately attacked by the latter.

On the other hand, there is cogent evidence that Udayana preceded Śrīdhara. In the first place, it is at least possible, as suggested by Candrakānta, that in the Nyāyakandali Śrīdhara had before him a passage of Udayana's Kiranāvali. Secondly, it is certainly unlikely that the writer of the Kiranāvali could have ignored the Nyāyakandali had he known of its existence, as he does in the introduction to that work. Thirdly, Candrakānta quotes from the Nyāyakandali the date of its composition as tryadhikadusottaranavaśatalaśakāde (= A.D. 991), while

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2 Ibid. He has—

\[
\begin{align*}
tasmād asmābhir āpy asmian arthe na khalu duṣpaṭhā ||
tvadgāthaśrayanaḥkāram akyarāṇi kiyanty api ||
vṛgyāhato yadi śaṅkāti na cec chaṅkā tarastarān ||
vṛgyāhāvadhitir āśaṅkā tarkāḥ śaṅkāvaśadhitāḥ kutāḥ ||
\end{align*}
\]

See Kusumāṇjali, iii, 7. The only answer to this argument is to assume that in the Kusumāṇjali the verse is not original.
3 J. B. R., A. S., x, 31 : xi, 279 seq.
5 See Candrakānta, p. 20.
6 See also Bühler, Kasmir Report, p. 76.
Yadunātha, in his edition of the Ātmatattvaviveka gives for Udayana's date the following verse:—

\[
tarkāmbarāṅkapramiteṣu atīteṣu sakāntataḥ
\]

\[
varsēṣūdayonaś cakre subodhāṁ Lakṣānāvalīṁ
\]

which gives A.D. 984 as the date of the completion of one of his works.

It is only fair, however, to note a possible objection to this view. In the Sāṃkhya-tattvavākamudī, which is certainly the work of the author of the Bhāmati, is quoted a fragment of the Rājavārttika on the Sāṃkhya-kārikā, which is attributed to Raṇarāṅga Malla, i.e. Bhoja of Dhārā, whose date is certainly about A.D. 1010–1050. It is certainly very improbable that in the brief space between, say, A.D. 975 and 1000 could be crowded an early work of Bhoja's, Vācaspati Miśra, and Udayana. The most probable solution is to assume either that the attribution to Bhoja is false or that there were two princes of Dhārā and that they bore the same name, and that the Rājavārttika was the work of the earlier of the two. For this suggestion may be urged the fact that

1 Calcatta, 1900, Bhānikā.
2 He mentions a work on the Sāṃkhya in the Bhāmati, and cf. the end of the Sāṃkhya-tattvavākamudī.
3 The work seems only to be described on the best MSS. of the Sāṃkhya-tattvavākamudī as Rājavārttika (cf. Auprecht, Bodleian Catal., p. 237; Garbe's trans., p. 111), and it is quite probable that the attribution to Bhoja (cf. Garbe, Sāṃkhya Philosophie, p. 62, n. 2) may be incorrect, and may rest merely on a confusion with the Rāja-mārtanda, his commentary on the Yoga Sūtra.
4 There appears to be nothing to prevent us holding this, as far as the recorded history goes. Hall (op. cit., p. viii) believed (though for reasons other than ours) in two Bhojas. Bhoja as the name of a king is presumably a complimentary title, and to Rājaśekhara is attributed by Harikavi in the Haribhāravali (Peterson, Report, 1883–4, pp. 59 seq.) a Bhojaprabandha. Peterson refers this to Bhoja of Dhārā, the beginning of whose reign he sets in A.D. 966, but this view is not now tenable. Konow, Karpūrānājari, p. 196, thinks of the younger Rājaśekhara (A.D. 1347), but there was a Bhoja in A.D. 862–882, Epigr. Ind., i, p. 171, and the younger Rājaśekhara's work is, according to Bühler, written in barbarous Sanskrit prose.
Kavirāja in his *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* mentions a Muṇja of Dhārā. Now Kavirāja seems to have been imitated by Dhananājaya in his *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya,* which is certainly before A.D. 1140, and may be earlier than A.D. 900, since Rājaśekhara, who is almost certainly the dramatist, praises Dhanānjaya in one of his verses on famous poets. The date of Kavirāja may therefore go back to A.D. 800, in which case we must assume an earlier Muṇja of Dhārā. Presumably the king, Kāmadeva, under whom he wrote was one of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi (= Jayanti).

The evidence available seems to me to tell definitely against the identification proposed by M. Barth and accepted by the late Professor Bendall of Nṛga and Visaladeva. But the question of the exact date of both

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1. i, 18; see Aufrecht, op. cit., p. 121.
3. Cf. *J.R.A.S.,* 1901, p. 579. Peterson’s objections to this view (*Subhāṣītāvalī,* p. 101) rest on the former erroneous view of Rājaśekhara’s date; see *Epigr. Ind.,* i, pp. 170–1. The idea of regarding the verses as not the dramatist’s is peculiarly gratuitous; it is not suggested in one of the original authorities, and rests only on errors in dating the dramatist, but seems on the high road to general acceptance.
4. Cf. Peterson, *Report,* 1883–4, pp. 59, 61; *Ind. Ant.,* xiv, p. 4. Probably Rājaśekhara knew Kavirāja also. He states that Surānanda, who was most probably his grandfather or great-grandfather, surpassed the poets Kavirāja and Tarala. It is certainly in favour of the identity of the Rājaśekhara of the verses on poets and the dramatist that in the former Tarala appears also a great poet and a member of Rājaśekhara’s family.
7. Garbe (*Ber. der Königl. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.,* 1888, p. 9; cf. *Sāṁkhya Philosophie,* p. 61, n. 1) holds that Vācaspati belongs to the first third of the eleventh century, which date also would exclude M. Barth’s hypothesis. He bases his view, however, merely upon Cowell and Hall’s results.
Udayana and Vācaspati remains doubtful,¹ and I publish this note, written some years ago, in the hope that further light may be thrown on the matter by some student of Indian philosophy.

A. Berriedale Keith.

Ceylon Epigraphy.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Müller for his review of the second and third parts of the Epigraphia Zeylanica, which appeared in the October number of the Journal, and for his criticisms and suggestions in regard to the interpretation of certain obsolete words and phrases occurring in the inscriptions. I am still more grateful to him for recording his opinion as to the difficulty of my task. Anyone who has had the Professor's experience in treating these lithic records cannot fail to be convinced of the fact that it is far easier to edit and translate Sanskrit or Pāli, than Sinhalese, inscriptions, written as these are in a language more or less unfixed and containing a complex variety of words at different stages of philological decay, not to speak of words and phrases with obscure meanings.

It is in view of these difficulties that I have always emphasised the importance of supplying me with ample material in the way of 'squeezes,' photographs, etc., of

¹ Mention should be made of Rājendralāla's view (op. cit., p. lxxvii) that the Bhoja of Vācaspati Miśra is not the Bhoja of the eleventh century. Unfortunately he carries this view to the point of ascribing the Rājamārtanda on the Yoga Sūtra to the earlier Bhoja (pp. lxxxi, lxxxi) on the ground of the worthless Bhojaprabandha and of the fact of the existence of the astronomical Rājamārtanda. His objections are in the main removed by the fact that these works are, of course, not the king's own production, and the improbability of the Rāja- vārttika being Bhoja's is increased by the fact that the preface to the Rājamārtanda ignores that work.
inscriptions. It is not fair that I should be expected to edit an inscription from one single ‘estampage.’ I need, as a rule, two (if not three), for letters indistinct in one are often clear in the other, and vice versa. Photographs are only useful if they are taken after the inscription has been carefully cleaned, but not after its letters have been chalked over; whilst notes descriptive of the record itself and of the ruins near by are a sine qua non in the historical discussion of its contents.

Turning now to the Professor’s remarks, I may be permitted to state that I have always made it a point to give my authority in support of or against any theory I discuss. If I have not done so in some instances it must be by an oversight, but this has not happened in the case of the Pāli words daka-patti quoted by me. Had the Professor run his eye through the last paragraph of the page in question he would not have failed to see the reference to the Mahāvamsa Tikā (p. 471 of the Colombo edition of 1895).

I admit that better plates of the Mihintale tablets can be obtained, but those given in part iii of the Epigraphia Zeylanica are the best reproductions that could be prepared from the ink-estampages supplied to me by the Archaeological Department. They are, however, much more accurate than those in A.I.C. Compare, for example, the words siri-bar and kāta in line 1 of slab A (pl. 14) with siri-bara and kata in plate No. 121a of A.I.C.

It is equally true that the meanings of certain words and phrases are obscure, but I have duly drawn the reader’s attention to them, and have offered tentative interpretations for his guidance.

With regard to the two words vasag and damiya, I must submit that the Professor has no ground for thinking that I have given up my interpretation of them. I am still of opinion that the expression damiyen vasagak
means 'a measured quantity of provisions (vasaga) from the common store or almonry (damiya)', for reasons adduced on p. 83 of E.Z. In my translation I treated vasaga as a technical term, and left it untranslated just as one would the name of a foreign weight or measure. The word damiya was also treated similarly. It was printed in full-faced pica type, for the purpose of indicating the possibility of its having been a special name given to the common store of the Mihintale Vihāra.

The word pinis occurs in the slab inscription of Kassapa V (E.Z., p. 48, lines 38 and 41) under the forms pinis-vāvan and pinisvā in the phrases pirit satar bāvar pinis-vāvan, 'those who have made themselves versed in the four bhānavāras of the Paritta,' and avas dannāse pinisvā, 'having instructed them conformably to the known practice of the cells.' The first is a participial noun, and the second is the gerund of what seems to be a causative verb, pinis-vanavā, now obsolete. Though the exact meaning of this word is not quite clear, yet there can be no doubt as to its etymology. The causative suffix va and the cerebral n make it obvious that pinis is a derivative of the present stem of pra-ṇi-śri. The question whether the word pinisa, which means 'for the purpose of,' and which is sometimes (probably more correctly) written with a dental n, is another form of our word or not, I am unable to decide just now, considering the possibility of its connection either with Pāli upanissāya or upanisā.

Mudaliyar Guṇasēkara is perfectly correct in treating melāṭi as one word. This is quite obvious from the

1 Cf. the corresponding forms karavāvan and karavā from karavanavā, causative verb derived from the present stem of √kr.
2 Cf. Professor Geiger's Litt. und Spr. der Singhalesen, p. 81, § 65, and also the etymology of such words as pinī (Skt. pranīta), pinanavād (Skt. √pri) in his most useful Sinhalese vocabulary.
context wherever it occurs. Professor Müller's rendering of it by melāt and sī is, therefore, I submit, not tenable. Besides, sī is hardly ever used for Skt. śrī (P. sīrī, Sinh. sīrī), and it cannot be connected with rad kōl kāmīyen for the simple reason that neither in the slab inscription of Kassapa V\(^1\) nor in the Mihintale Tablets\(^2\) do these words follow sī or even occur in the same sentence.

The Professor's suggestion that mīndī may be a derivative of Skt. mentha (P. menda) is worth consideration, although we must not overlook the fact that Skt. or Pāli ē hardly ever becomes Sinh. ī.

The above are not the only difficult words and phrases in the two parts of the Epigraphia Zeylanica under review. I have noted several others, and I trust that Professor Müller will favour us with his views on them also. In the meantime I am sure he will agree with me that it is better to leave them untranslated than give a doubtful interpretation.

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January 3rd, 1908.

SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The Date of the Harivamśa; see J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 408 and 681.

The Harivamśa was certainly written before the middle of the fifth century, for an inscription of A.D. 462 speaks of the Mahābhārata as consisting of 100,000 ślokas, a total which it does not reach even approximately unless the Harivamśa be included.\(^3\) The Harivamśa does not deal by

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\(^1\) E.Z., p. 47, l. 18.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 97, l. 55.

\(^3\) The inscription in question is Gupta Inscriptions, No. 31, a record of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha, dated in the year 214. Its date is A.D. 533, the year being taken as the year 214 of the Gupta era: it would be A.D. 462 if the year were taken as the year 214 of the so-called Kalachuri
any means exclusively with the history of Krishna, or even with the other incarnations of Vishnu. In at least one place (ch. 216) it speaks of itself as a Purana, and its contents do in fact correspond very nearly with those of a Purana as defined in the well-known verse:—

Sargaśca pratisargaśca vamśo manvantarāṇi ca
bhūmyādisamsthānañcaiva purāṇam pañcalakshaṇam.

Sarga or creation is dealt with, for instance, in ch. 1–6, as well as in many other passages; pratisarga, or, as Dr. Bhandarkar interprets it, destruction, in ch. 195; vamsa or genealogies in ch. 9–15, 20, 25–38, and 222; and the manvantaras in ch. 7–8 and 194. Cosmology is the only element of the typical Purana that is wanting.

In the earliest enumerations of Sanskrit literary works we find the itihāsa-purāṇam mentioned in such a way as to imply that there was but one Purana, and that it was regarded as a supplement to the Itihāsa. As the latter name belongs par excellence to the Mahābhārata, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Purana in question was what has now become the Harivaṃśa. It must, however, have originally had all the five characteristics of a Purana, including a cosmological section, which was omitted most probably when the legends relating to Krishna and the other incarnations of Vishnu were amplified at the expense of the other constituents of the original work. The latter still survives in parts of the modern Puranas, all of which are derived from one common original, but now subsist as independent works, no longer connected with the Mahābhārata.

It is possible to gather from the geography of the Krishna legends in the Harivaṃśa some hints as to when or Chedi era, but that application, suggested at one time, is not really admissible. That, however, does not affect Mr. Jackson's general argument. The words in the record are:—Uktam cha Mahābhārata śatasāhasryāṁ samhitāyām.—J. F. F. J.
and where the transformation of the original Purāṇa into the modern Harivaṃśa took place. Besides Mathurā and Dvāravatī (Dvārkā), which are the main scenes of Krishna’s exploits, we find mention of various other places, all or nearly all in the West of India. When Krishna and Baladeva retire before the army of Jarāsandha, they go by way of Karavirapura and Krauñcapura to Mount Gomanta, and near the last-named place meet the Brahman hero Paraśurāma. Now Karavira is still the name of the territories of the Mahārāja of Kolhāpūr, while Krauñcapura is identified by the Harivaṃśa itself (ch. 84) with Banavāsi. Mount Gomanta, therefore, must be some peak of the Western Ghats near Barkalūr. Paraśurāma is addressed by Krishna as the conqueror of Aparānta (the west coast) from the ocean and the founder of the city of Śūrpāraka (Supārā, north of Bombay). We are brought to the west coast also by the legend of Mucukunda’s sleep in a cave in “the king of mountains” (adhirāja, H.V., ch. 113), an expression which is explained by the parallel name Śailendra given in ch. 220 to the Sahyādri range. Mucukunda’s cave is still shown in a hill near Chipēḷū in the Ratnāgiri district. Now, the legend of Paraśurāma in its earliest form was localised on the east coast of India, where his traditional retreat was Mount Mahendra in Gaṅjām (see Mbh., iii, 114, 117, vii, 70, and Rām., i, 76), and where, as on the west coast, he was fabled to have driven back the ocean. The transference of the legend from the eastern to the western coast was certainly complete by 100 A.D., for in the inscription of Ushavadāta at Nāsik mention is made of the Rāmakunda or Rāma’s pool at Supārā. This transplantation must have been the work of conquerors coming from the eastern coast, who can hardly have been other than the Sātakarnis or Andhrabhṛtyas, who came from Telīṅgāna to Paithana on the Godāvari. That the Harivaṃśa assumed its present form under the rule of this dynasty is not, however, very
likely. The Krishna legend centres round Mathurā and Dwārkā, and was elaborated by a northern race of cowherds. The Sātakarnīs are known from their inscriptions to have been familiar with the Vedic ritual and with the names at least of some of the leading Epic and Puranic heroes, but there is no evidence that they were acquainted with the legends of Krishna's childhood. The only literary works that we know to have been produced under their patronage were written in Prākrit, — the Brihatkathā and Saptaśataka.

On the other hand, the geographical horizon of the Harivamśa includes Rājputāna and Kāṭhiāwār as well as the coast tract, and it is in this region and under the Kshatrapa rule that we first find Sanskrit used for public and official purposes (inscription of Rudradāman at Girnār) and mention made of the study of rhetoric and poetics, whence we may infer that the Kshatrapas encouraged the composition of Sanskrit poetry.

The Kshatrapas of Gujarāt held sway over the west coast of India at two different periods. During the first, from about 100 to 125 A.D. (Nahapāna), they were still known as foreigners and used Prākrit in their inscriptions. In the second, which is only known from the occurrence of Kshatrapa coins of the period 218–300 A.D. in the Deccan, after the final fall of the Sātakarnīs, they were, as their names show, completely Hinduised, and they may well have followed the example of their great ancestor Rudra-dāman in encouraging Sanskrit literature. It is to this later period and to the Western Deccan or Konkan that the final redaction of the Harivamśa may in all likelihood be assigned.

Rājaña, Rājanya, Rājānaka; see ibid., p. 409.

The last of these three forms is, if I mistake not, the regular Sanskritised form of the title Rāṇā which is borne by various Rājpūt chiefs. Similarly, the title Rāwal is
Sanskritised as Rājakula; as in some of the Bhīmāl inscriptions.

Sok, Śaka; see ibid., p. 675.

Are the Sok-pa of Tibet connected with the Śakas?

Vedic Religion; see ibid., pp. 929 ff.

There is ample evidence of totemism and sacramental meals in modern India, but of course this proves nothing for the Veda. The so-called sacrifices that we have to do with there are performances of the nature of those which formed part of the Greek mysteries, or of the dances which are performed in secret by many savage races. The sacrifice of an ass to Nirṛiti is to be interpreted as a case of substitution of the victim for the sinner. This animal is in India regarded as the embodiment of incontinence, and as a beast of very low caste. The wearing of the skin is doubtless a penance. No connection with the Āśvins is necessary. Nowadays the ass is the vehicle of Śītalādevī, the smallpox goddess, who may stand in the place of the vaguer Nirṛiti.

The sacrifice of a human victim at the Agnicayana is merely a special case of the human sacrifice by which the stability of a building or embankment is assured. Authentic instances of such sacrifices in the case of forts and tanks are innumerable, and the people still believe that Government make such offerings in the case of large public buildings.

The Child Krishna; see ibid., pp. 951 ff.

New light is thrown on the history of Krishna by the discovery at Mandor in Mārwār of sculptures of certain of his exploits which cannot be dated later than the Christian era (see Arch. Survey Report, Western India, 1906–7, p. 33, para. 24). These show that the child Krishna is
much older than the Gujars. The argument in part ii of Mr. Kennedy’s paper depends upon the identification of Dionysos with Krishna and Herakles with Śiva, but there is much to be said in favour of the opposite view. The date I have assigned above to the Harivamśa also is against any special connection of Krishna with the Gujars, who seem rather to have been worshippers of the sun. It is likely enough that the Krishna legend was developed among northern pastoral tribes, but they must have belonged to an earlier swarm than the Gujars, perhaps to the Ahirs of the Yue-chi period.

A. M. T. Jackson.

KASUR.

In a note published in this Journal for 1906, p. 1000, it was suggested by Dr. Hoey that the town of Kasur in the Lahore district of the Panjāb (lat. 31° 9’, long. 74° 30’) possibly marks the spot at which Alexander erected his twelve altars. Recently I have had an opportunity of visiting Kasur, but found little to support the proposed identification. The site of the old city, situated immediately to the east of the modern town, is plainly marked by an elevation of the soil extending over some 400 acres. Most conspicuous is a small mud fort about 50 feet high; on its top is the tomb of Kam Chishti.

According to local tradition, the old town was founded by a body of Pathāns belonging to an invading Mughal army on their return from Dehli—some say in the time of Timūr, others in that of Bābar or Akbar. But the existence of Kasur before Mughal times is evidenced by a copper coin found on the spot, which Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., has identified as belonging to Muhammad Tughlaq. The date appears to be a.h. 751. The occurrence of large-
sized bricks also points to the fact that there was a town here at an early period. It is a common belief among Hindūs that Kasūr and Lāhor were founded by Rāma's sons Kuṣa and Lava, and named after them Kuṣapura and Lavapura, from which the modern names are supposed to be derived.

The new town of Kasūr, in any case, dates only back to the eighteenth century, when in Muḥammad Shāh's reign the old city had been plundered by the Sikhs and deserted by its inhabitants. The twelve fortified divisions, indicated by the name of kōṭ, of which the present town consists, are therefore of quite recent origin, and cannot be adduced in favour of Dr. Hoey's identification. Nine of them are named after their founders, such as Kōṭ Uthmān Khān, Kōṭ Khwāja Husain Khān, Kōṭ Bādrūd-dīn Khān, etc., names which do not betray an Alexandrine origin.

It is true that Kasūr was once situated on the west bank of the Biās, apparently up to about 400 years ago, when the river is said to have changed its course. But the capriciousness of the Panjāb rivers is such that there is little reason to assume that the course of the Biās was the same in 325 B.C. as in the fifteenth century A.D. It is also to be noted that Alexander's altars were built of stone, and that Kasūr is situated at a considerable distance from the hills. The nearest place where stone can be had is some seventy miles away. The houses and fortifications of Kasūr are all built of brick. The only inscription which the place possesses—a Persian inscription dated A.H. 1074 and originating from old Kasūr—is incised not on stone but on a tablet of wood.

It is difficult to imagine how Alexander could have built his stone altars, which are said to have been "equal in height to the loftiest military towers, while exceeding them in breadth," at a place where stone is so extremely difficult to obtain. It seems, indeed, much more probable
that the altars—if they ever existed at all—stood somewhere near the Hills, as supposed by Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 66, in one or other of the three districts Gurdaspur, Hoshyarpur, or Kangra. The same view was held by Sir E. H. Bunbury, who thought it probable that they were situated at some distance above the confluence of the Bias and the Satluj, and not very far from the point where the Bias emerges from the mountain ranges. He points out that throughout his advance Alexander kept as near as he could to the mountains; partly from the idea that he would thus find the great rivers more easily passable, as being nearer their sources; partly from an exaggerated impression of the sterile and desert character of the plains farther south (cf. M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 349).

J. PH. VOGEL.

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THE RĀNĀS OF THE PANJĀB HILLS.

Dr. Grierson has suggested in this Journal for 1907, p. 409, a connection between the word rājaṇa (i.e. rājaṇa = Skt. rājanya) occurring on coins, and the title rājanaka found both in the Rajatarangini and in Sāradā inscriptions from Kangra and Chamba. So much is certain that the latter term, as first pointed out by Dr. Stein, corresponds with the modern rāṇa, used either as the title of a petty chief or as a caste-name. In the present note I wish to summarise the information derived from epigraphical and literary sources and from tradition regarding the history of this word and of the class to whom it is applied.

The title rājanaka, as used in the inscriptions, denotes a feudatory chief, and is synonymous with the sāmanta of classical Sanskrit, and with the modern thākur. In the
Baijnath Praśastis we meet with a race of rājānakas who were settled at Kiragrāma (Baijnāth), and owed allegiance to the Rājās of Trigarta. Inscriptions discovered in Chambā State in the course of the last three years have thrown additional light on the position held by those "barons of the Hills." They show that in the Highlands of the Panjāb rājānakas once existed in considerable number. The ruins of their strongholds are pointed out up to the present day, and still clearer evidence of their former importance is afforded by huge carved slabs, frequently inscribed, which they erected over cisterns constructed for the heavenly bliss of deceased relatives. Such inscriptions contain the name and sometimes the pedigree of the local rāṇā to whose piety they are due.

There is a widespread tradition in the Alpine Panjāb that at a remote time the rāṇās were independent and held sovereign sway over their baronies, although these, in most cases, do not seem to have extended beyond a few villages. This tradition is supported by the negative evidence of an epigraph recently discovered near the village of Svāṁ in the Himgiri parganā of Chambā State. It is incised on the base of a stone Devī image, and records that this object was made by order of Rājānaka Bhogata, son of Somaṭa, born in the district of Kiskindha. The inscription is not dated, but, judging from the characters, must belong to the eighth century. It is the earliest known document in which the word rājānaka occurs.

It is of interest that in this inscription no mention is made of a liege lord, whereas the rājānakas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries date their inscriptions usually both in the Śāstra era (Lokakāla) and in the regnal year of the rājā to whom they owed allegiance. In the fragmentary fountain inscription of Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi, dated in the seventeenth year of Rājā Lalita-varman of Campā (Chambā)—the Śāstra date is unfortunately lost—it is mentioned that the local Rāṇā Nāgapāla received
from that prince the title of rājānaka.¹ The author of the Praśasti was the rājaguru Kamala-lāñchana.

A carved slab of considerable size (6' 6" by 7') is found near Sālhi in the Sēchu Nālā (Pāñgi). The inscription is dated in the Śāstra year 46, and in the twenty-seventh year of the same Rājā Lalita-varman. The date must be A.D. 1170, and consequently that of the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi inscription about A.D. 1160. The Sālhi stone was set up by a Rājānaka Ludrapāla. Up to the present day his descendants live on the spot. They no longer hold the position of feudatory chiefs, but still retain the title of rānā, which practically has become a caste-name.

It is obvious that in the passage quoted from the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi inscription there is question of the investiture of a vassal by his overlord. But it appears from the Rājataraṅgini that frequently the title rājānaka came to be given to high officials as an honorary distinction. Thus we read (Rājat. vi, 261) that Queen Diddā called her favourite Haravāhana into the council of ministers and conferred on him the title of rājānaka. This practice apparently had become so common that in Kalhana's days the term was regarded as almost synonymous with 'minister.' This is clear from the following passage, in which the chronicler says of king Parvagupta (Rājat. vi, 117): "Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of king (rājan) and Rājānaka."

In this connection it is interesting to note that in a copper-plate issued by Soma-varman of Chambā about the middle of the eleventh century two Rājānakas, Rihila and Kāhila by name, figure as Prime Minister (mahāmātya)

¹ Tām Nāgapālam Lalita-kṣitiśāca-kāra rājānaka-sabda-vācyam (10th verse). I must note that the reading rājānaka is due to a restoration, which fits with the metre, and is confirmed by another inscription in which Nāgapāla is called rājānaka.
and as Great Chancellor (mahākṣapatañīka). Presumably these two dignitaries were ruling rānas, but their position at Soma-varman's court explains the peculiar meaning of the term rājanaka as a mere title which the word assumed in Kashmir. The old feudatory rānas of the Panjāb Highlands belonged naturally to the warrior caste. On the Chambā fountain slabs we see them rudely pictured as knights on horseback, armed with sword and shield. But the high officials on which the honorary title of rājanaka was conferred were very often Brāhmans, and thus the word has survived in Kashmir in the form Rāzdān as a Brahmanical family name. "It was borne," Dr. Stein writes, "by Rājanaka Ratnākara, the author of the Harivijaya (ninth century) and by many Kashmirian authors of note enumerated in the Vamśapraśasti which Ananda Rājanaka (seventeenth century) has appended to his commentary on the Naiṣadhacarita." It may, however, be questioned whether Ratnākara bore the title rājanaka in his own time, and whether, at so early a date, the use of the term was extended to Brahmanical officials.

It is curious that, as Dr. Stein remarks, in the later Kashmir chronicles the same title is used to designate Muhammadan officers of rank. This accounts for the use of the word Rān in Kashmir as a Muhammadan krām name, which, as Dr. Stein observes, corresponds exactly to Rāzdān (Rājanaka) as a family name of Brāhmans.

I noted above the frequent occurrence of rājanakas in the Chambā inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It is remarkable that in the numerous later inscriptions found in that State they are never mentioned. There is no record to show in what manner the Rānas lost their position and power. We can only surmise that those numerous and warlike vassals—not less turbulent probably than the Dāmaras of Kashmir—constituted a constant danger to the supreme position of the Rāja. It must have been his policy to curtail their power.
This end he may have attained partly by main force. But what has been remarked above indicates that, on the whole, the policy of the Rājas was the same as that followed by the kings of France in reducing their big barons: the vassals were converted into courtiers. It is indeed curious how the history of the word rānā is analogous with that of titles of nobility in Europe.

The word rānā has finally become a caste-name, and is now used as such in the Kangra valley and Chambā State. I quote the following passage from the Kangra Gazetteer, vol. i, 1883-4, p. 88, borrowed almost verbatim from Mr. Barnes' Settlement Report for that district (pp. 63 f.): "Another class of Rājpūts who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty chiefs or Rānas, whose title and tenure is said to have preceded that of the Rājas themselves. These petty chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed in the larger principalities. Still the name of Rāna is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by the Miáns.¹ The principal families are those of Chari, Giro, Kanhiari, Pathiáir, Habrol, Súmbar, Dadwál, and other localities. Besides these, the following races occupy a high rank: the Indauria, Malhotar, Salária, Harchandar, Ludhiárah, Patiáal, Chib, Jarál, Bhugáhia, and others which it would be tedious to record. All these tribes affect most of the customs of Rājpūts. They select secluded spots for their dwellings, immure their women, are very particular with whom they marry or betroth in marriage, but have generally taken to agriculture. In this particular consists their chief distinction from the Miáns."

¹ Mián, i.e. Miyān, is the title given to the Rājpūts of the Panjāb Hills. It dates apparently back to the time when the sons of hill chiefs used to stay at the Mughal court, and was, so it seems, originally applied to them exclusively. It has gradually become a caste-name for Hill Rājpūts in general.
In Chambā State the position of the Rānās is not different from that of the agricultural castes with which they intermarry. There exist, however, in Chambā a few Rānās in the original sense of the word, who still hold the position of their ancestors, the Rājānakas of the inscriptions. Chief among them is the Rānā of Trilōknāth, the famous place of pilgrimage on the Upper Chandrabhāgā, whose barony extends over a large portion of Chambā Lahul.

Regarding the position of the Rānās in Chambā, I am indebted to Dr. J. Hutchison, of the Presbyterian Mission, for the following information: "The common (i.e. agricultural) Rānās," he writes, "are all free from begār (forced labour) or any kind of State service except personal attendance on the Rājā if he is in their neighbourhood and on special occasion in Chambā. When any of the principal (i.e. ruling) Rānās dies, his heir has to come to Chambā to obtain a patta (charter) from the Rājā, and in the case of the Trilōknāth Rānā a small khilat (robe of honour) is given. The son of the Trilōknāth Rānā is addressed as Tiku."

J. Ph. Vogel.

Zaidān’s Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids.

Apart from all personal considerations, I regret the appearance of Mr. Brooks’s review of this book in the J.R.A.S., because it reflects on the whole body of modern Eastern writers, who must not all stand or fall by Zaidān, and dictates a course of conduct to the Gibb Trustees, who are recognized authorities on Moslem history. His review is open to objection alike whether he can or cannot read Arabic. If he can, how comes it that he has not consulted the original, and is unaware that many of the authorities quoted exist only in Oriental editions? If he cannot,
whence does he know that Tabari should have been used, and how can he venture to correct the translation? His correction 'exclusiveness' for 'chauvinism' as the rendering of 'asabiyyah suggests that he does not know the language; for the Arabic word certainly means 'exaggerated patriotism,' which is the definition of 'chauvinism' given in the Encyclopaedic Dictionary. It is worth while observing that the reviewer of the book in the Revue du Monde Musulman says: "parmi les pages intéressantes de ce livre, celles consacrées au chauvinisme arabe méritent, tout particulièrement, d'être signalées." This reviewer differs from Mr. Brooks entirely as to the merits of both author and translator.

Another puzzle is the statement that there are few signs of acquaintance with European works in Zaidan's book. I fear that anyone who does not find the signs of von Kremer's Culturgeschichte and Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge everywhere in the book can have little acquaintance with European works on Islamic civilization himself.

With regard to the detailed criticisms, they are not all intelligible. Why must the statement that the first Turkish leader suckled a wolf be a slip or misprint? The dictionary referred to says 'suckle' means (1) to nurse at the breast, (2) to suck. The latter sense, which the context determines, is not wholly unknown, though it may be rare, as my authority implies. The story of one mother having forty-one children would not, I fancy, be set down by medical authorities as a sheer impossibility. The sentence at page 222. 7—"It is not surprising that the Caliphs became a mere instrument in the hands of the Turks, the Caliph being on the winning side whenever there was a struggle between them for power"—ought not to puzzle a writer in this Journal. I feel almost ashamed to explain that 'being' is equivalent to 'being found.' And indeed, in the other cases of faults for
which I am responsible, a considerable effort is required to misunderstand most of the passages, which I feel sure few readers will make.

The right to issue a translation without comment has not, I think, been questioned hitherto. How much will be intelligible will depend on the amount of knowledge with which the reader starts. Thus we might expect the reviewer of a book on Islam to know that the name Jurj indicated that its bearer was a Christian, but we see from Mr. Brooks's case that a reviewer may lack this information. A translator who undertook to provide for every possible form of ignorance in his readers would find his life draw to a close before his translation was ended.

D. S. Margoliouth.

Bhamaha and Dandin.

Mr. Narasimthiengar contributed in this Journal, 1905, p. 535 ff., an interesting article on Bhamaha, the Rhetorician. Through the kindness of Professor Rangacharyar, of Madras, I secured a transcript of the manuscript of Bhamaha's work. In this communication I propose to discuss some of the points raised by Mr. Narasimthiengar, and to make a few observations on other points connected with the subject.

I demur to the conclusion arrived at on p. 535 that Bhamaha was a Buddhist. My transcript reads the introductory verse differently from the manuscript used by Mr. Narasimthiengar, and presents the name Sarva instead of Sarva. This shakes the foundations of his theory. Sarva is a well-known name of Siva.  As to the word

1 प्रश्न्य श्रवं सर्वज्ञं मणिवाक्षायकर्मभि:।
2 देशर: श्रवं देशान: शंकर्षकशिखर:। (Amara, I, i, 30). Compare also Bhamaha's own words: संदर्णेऽयु पुमांडिम्यया यत्च च शिखते। यथाह वषषाविनिष्टो मथो श्रवो मुद्राधिबित।। (Bhamaha, vi, 32).
Sarvajña, it cannot be argued that it is applied exclusively to Buddha. Mr. Narasimhiengar has cited the Amarakosa, I, i, 13, as giving Sarvajña as a name of Buddha, but has overlooked what occurs a few lines farther on. Amara himself says that Sarvajña is also a name of Śiva. This fact, together with the reading Śarva in Bhāmaha's introductory verse, takes away almost all the ground from under the feet of Mr. Narasimhiengar. The transcript in my possession reads, in the other verse quoted from Bhāmaha, sārvas sārviya ityapi, and not sārvas sārviya, as that of Mr. Narasimhiengar does. As the introductory verse contains a salutation to Śarva, i.e. to Śiva, the derivation of the words sārva and sārviya does not prove anything either one way or the other. The two words simply mean 'well disposed to all.' It is doubtful whether Pāṇini (v, 1, 10) regards sārva as a name of Buddha. On the contrary, it seems very probable that he applied the word to anything that was well disposed or beneficial to all. The name Rakrilagomin cannot prove much. When the Buddhists had lived for centuries on good terms with their rivals in religion, it is quite possible that some of the names peculiar to the Buddhists might have been adopted by the followers of Brahmanism. A remarkable point militating against the view that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist is that there is not, in the whole of the work, a single quotation or verse bearing a distinctive mark of Buddhism, while all the verses refer to the Brahmanic gods and to Brahmanic ideas. Compare in this respect the commentary of Namisādhu, which bristles with quotations from Jaina writers. For all these reasons, I think that it has not been proved that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist. On the contrary, I have shown good grounds for saying that he was a Hindu and a worshipper of Śiva.

1 कृषानुपास: सर्वदो धर्मान्तरीनिवलोहितः। हर: etc. (Amara, I, i, 35).
As to the age of Bhāmaha, I am glad to see that Mr. Narasimhiengar arrives at the same conclusion as that which I independently reached in my essay on the history of Ailaṃkāra literature (not yet published). He incontestably proves that Bhāmaha is later than Daṇḍin. He omits, however, one point bearing on the relation of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. There is one verse common to both. The verse is given by both as an example of the figure Preyas. Daṇḍin, it is generally supposed, does not borrow any verse, except the much-discussed one, limpativa tamo, from any writer. If this be correct, then we must regard the verse in question as composed by Daṇḍin. In that case it would furnish another argument for saying that Bhāmaha is later than Daṇḍin.

On p. 542 Mr. Narasimhiengar discusses a passage from Namisādhu and comes to the conclusion that there were two rhetoricians, Medhāvinanda and Rudra, and finds fault with those who regard Medhāvirudra as the name of one author. The evidence, in his opinion irrefutable, that he produces, will not hold water, if properly examined. Because Bhāmaha and Namisādhu give quotations under the name Medhāvin, Mr. Narasimhiengar supposes that Medhāvin is quite distinct from Rudra in the passage quoted by him from Namisādhu. Mr. Narasimhiengar overlooks the fact that, when a person's name is compounded of two separable elements, he is often referred

1 The Bombay University awarded to me a gold medal for this essay in 1906.
2 Compare, however, the following verse from the Mahābhārata:

चतुर्भुजः पञ्चाळ भ्रातानुविद्यमणी ।
विकटविद्यमाणी विज्ञेयमः
(Udyogaparvan, lxxxix, 24). The verse common to both is:

चतुर्भुजः पञ्चाळ भ्रातानुविद्यमणी ।
कालिनी भविष्योत्तरस्वार्थास्तु
(Udayādarśa, ii, 276, and Bhāmaha, iii, 5).
3 गनु दण्डमेधभावमम्महादिकुतानि सक्षेपवांकारशास्त्राणि (Namisādhu on Rudra, i, 2).
to by the first component only or sometimes by the second, e.g., Dharmakirti is quoted as Kirti, Bhartrihari as Hari, and Bhīmasena as Bhima. In the same way, Medhāvin may be a shorter form of Medhāvirudra. This would not be an unusual name, for a Mālavarudra is mentioned by Kshemendra in his Auchityavichārachāchā. The strongest argument, however, against the theory that Medhāvin and Rudra are two distinct rhetoricians is that, while Namisādhu often quotes Daṇḍin, Medhāvin, and Bhāmaha by name, there is not a single quotation expressly taken from Rudra. If Rudra were an eminent and ancient rhetorician as Mr. Narasimhiengar supposes, we naturally expect that Namisādhu, in his voluminous commentary, should have at least once quoted him, especially as he quotes many times from the three others who have been joined with the supposed Rudra. I am, therefore, led to the conclusion that the rhetorician Rudra, the predecessor of Bhāmaha, is an imaginary person.

On p. 543 Mr. Narasimhiengar accepts the end of the sixth century as the date of Daṇḍin. There is a line of evidence which has apparently not been investigated by anyone up to the present, and which might go far to settle the question of Daṇḍin’s age. Daṇḍin, in his Kāvyādarśa, refers to a king Rājavarman. The date of Rājavarman would help us in determining the date of Daṇḍin. I hope that antiquarians will take up my humble suggestion. Pandit, in his masterly introduction

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1 Under verse 15: यथा वा मालवसत्रथ्रः श्रभिनववधूरोपवलादः करियतनन्तन्त्ररमात्रजनायकध्रुवमूर्तिरसमी- रणः। मनितिविभक्तविश्राविव बुद्धिमंत्रणा रवेविरहिष्वनिताववैष्क्रीपम् विभ्रति निष्ठावः।

2 सोम: सुधैरमकाुतिब्वोमि होतास नावो जलम। इति श्वापशाविधिम्य लो कदाहु देवे के वयम। इति साचायरूं देवे राबो यद्राजवस्मा। प्रीतिधकारयन तस्य प्रेय रत्नवगम्बताम। (Kāvyādarśa, ii, 278–279).
to the Gauḍavaho, has pointed out that Śaṅkarāchārya mentions a king Rājavarman in his Bhāṣyā on the Chāndogya-Upanishad.¹

There is a commentary ascribed to a Bhāmaha on the Prākritapraṇaṣa of Vararuchi. It is noteworthy that the introductory verse contains a salutation to Ganeśa.²

If some scholar proves the identity of the two Bhāmahas, he would render a great service to the cause of Sanskrit studies.

P. V. Kane.

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Inscription at Kāl'ah-i-Sang.

In 1902 I had the honour of reading a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society entitled “Historical Notes on South-East Persia” (vide J.R.A.S. for October, 1902). In it I described my discovery of Kāl’ah-i-Sang, an ancient capital of the Kirmān province, and gave the purport of an inscription which was chiselled in honour of Sultan Ahmad, ‘Imād-ud-Dīn of the Muzaffar dynasty of Kirmān in a.H. 789 (1387). My first visit to these ruins, the importance of which has since been fully demonstrated in Mr. Guy Le Strange’s “The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate” (vide pp. 300 et seqq.), was in 1900. Four years later I was fortunate enough to be able to make a second inspection of this interesting site, and this time I was accompanied by a competent Persian scholar, who carefully copied the pulpit inscription. Moreover, thanks to my cousin, Mr. H. R. Sykes, I am able to illustrate

¹ यथा पुराष्ठवर्मणाः सेवा भक्तपरिधानमातचपन्न | राजवर्मणेन सेवा राज्यतुब्धपेलेन्त तद्रत् | (Chhāndogyapanishadhbhāṣyā, ii, 23, p. 104, Poona ed.).

² जयति मदवद्वितम्भुकरमधुरसंताक्षबन्धविनियोजः | करविहित- नगछक्षुविनोदमुखितो गदाधिपति: |
these historical ruins by two remarkably good photographs, which add considerably to the value of my description. The inscription, as copied by the learned Afzal-ul-Mulk of Kirmān, and the translation run as follows:

1. في زمان السلطان
2. العابد العادل المظلفر من السماء بالنصر
3. والعز والقوة والسمو عماد الحق والدين الواثق
4. بالملك السعد ابا الخيرات السلطان احمد خلد
5. الله سلطانه اتلي معا في البلاد تطلب سلطان

"In the time of the Sultan, the Pious, the Just, the Victorious from Heaven, with Victory and Honour and Conquest and Greatness, the Pillar of Justice and Religion (‘Imād-ul-Haḳḳ wa’d-Din), the believer in the Eternal King, the Father of Good Deeds (Abu-l-Khairāt), the Sovereign Aḥmad. May God make his rule everlasting. The Smallest of the Inhabitants of the Provinces, Kuṭb Sulṭān... in the year 789."

P. M. SYKES.

British Consulate General, Meshed.
January 18th, 1908.

THE HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM BOGHAZ KEUI.

Since my publication of the Hittite Cuneiform tablets in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for last October, I have received another fragment of the larger tablet (No. I) from Dr. McKenzie Newton, of Smyrna. This shows that the word which I have transliterated KUR Kib-iṣ-ma ought to be transcribed arki su-ma, 'after this,' the group of wedges at the beginning of it forming
ENGRAVED ROCK AT KAL'AH-I-SANG, FROM THE NORTH.

STONE PULPIT AT KAL'AH-I-SANG, FROM THE SOUTH.
a single character (arki or EGIR) and not two (KUR kib), while the character which follows, though written like is, turns out to be intended for su. Hence on the Reverse we have a list of mountains, of which the words which follow the ideograph of 'mountain' may be the names.

A. H. SAYCE.

Dahabia Istar, Luxor, Egypt.
December 31st, 1907.

P. C. RAY'S ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

P. C. Ray's English translation of the Mahābhārata is a convenient and useful work, and does credit to the translator, whose native language was Bengali and not English. It is, however, well known that in places it is not accurate, and sometimes partakes rather of the nature of a commentary than of a true rendering of the Sanskrit original.

In several passages the translator animadverts with considerable emphasis upon the defects of the older Bengali translation, made under the auspices of Raja Mahtab Chand of Burdwan. I have lately had occasion somewhat minutely to compare the long Śānti Parvan of the epic in its original form with the English translation, and I find that where the latter varies from the Sanskrit it agrees with the Bengali version. In fact, the English rendering seems to have been made from the Bengali and not from the Sanskrit. As an example take MBh. xii, 13144. The Sanskrit text runs—

Aniruddha iti prōktō lōkānām prabhavāvyayāh.

The Bengali translation is—

Aniruddha-rūpē ukta han; tāhā haite-i lōk sakalēr utpatti o lay hay.

The English rendering is, "He is otherwise called Aniruddha, and is the source of the Creation and Destruction of the universe."

Both versions are no doubt based on the commentary, but the English is a literal translation of the Bengali.

George A. Grierson.

Camberley.
January 30th, 1908.

The Nasik Hoard of Nahapâna's Coins.

The last number (lxii, p. 221) of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society contains an account by the Rev. H. R. Scott of the Nasik Hoard of Nahapâna's Coins, discovered in the early part of last year, over 9,000 of the coins being counter-stamped by Gotamiputra Satakarni I, the conqueror of Nahapâna.

For a full account of this interesting and important find, numbering about 15,000 coins, readers must be referred to the Bombay Journal, but there are one or two points that might be noted and a conjecture hazarded.

The coins, Mr. Scott points out, represent the king as of various ages, "some of the faces being young enough to be twenty years of age and others old enough looking to be that of a man of seventy."

It will be remembered that this was the case with the four specimens, hitherto the only ones known of Nahapâna's coins, described by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, the inference he drew being that the coins represented Nahapâna at different periods of his life.

Mr. Scott, with thousands to work upon, instead of four, sees strong evidence against this theory in the fact that not only do the faces vary in age but in every feature,
and he comes to the conclusion "that not one face is represented, but many." Examination of the coins has shown also the fact that the purer and more perfect form of the Greek lettering is frequently found on coins with the older heads, while those with the younger heads have the Greek lettering in a more or less corrupt form.

Mr. Scott's solution of this difficulty (which he himself admits to be somewhat far-fetched) is that the heads represented are those of members of Nahapāna's family, who "caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged, as he was the founder of the family." This does not seem to meet the case, and here it might be suggested that these faces are not likenesses at all, but merely copies of Roman coins with Greek inscriptions. If this is correct it would account for the fact that the correctness or corruptness of the letters does not correspond with the apparent age of the king.

This surmise is strengthened by the figures on plates ii--iii, where the headdress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and, above all, the shape of the head and features are very similar to the heads on coins of the Roman emperors of from 30 B.C. to 150 A.D., and the figures on these plates, if examined with no previous knowledge of where they came from, might easily be mistaken for Roman coins, especially those of Alexandria bearing the Greek legends.

One other fact in support of this theory is that, none of these salient features appears on the coins of Nahapāna's successors, which show a different style of headdress, long curling hair, moustaches, and quite a different type of features.
In the Manṭiq-ut-tair, edition De Tassy, line 2271, occurs this passage:

"Everyone who constantly shares bed and board
With the seven-headed dragon in Tamūz (July),
In this pastime incurs many ills,
Death on the gibbet is to him a very slight thing."

This dragon is compared to the lover who thirsts for his own blood, and must therefore expect to be beheaded like a dragon (line 2258). Again, in the life of the Sufi martyr Husain bin Mansūr Hallâj in the Taẓkirit-ul Auliya some Arabic verses are ascribed to him wherein he declares that his beloved has allotted to him the gibbet and the headsman's mat "like one who drinks wine with the dragon (at-Tinnin) in summer." The Persian rendering is Dar shay Ab, 'in the hot mouth of Ab.'

Who is the dragon here referred to? The constellation Draco (at-Tinnin), which is said to spread over seven signs of the zodiac, does not seem to satisfy the problem. Neither do the ascending and descending nodes of the moon, which are called the head and tail of the dragon, and figure in horoscopes. Is the dragon the Persian Azhidahâk, whose story as told in the Bundehesh and other Pahlavi texts bears a strong family likeness to that of the seven-headed dragon of Revelations xii? The mention of the Syrian months Tamūz and Āb perhaps indicates a Syrian origin for the myth, or it may be a variant of the Babylonian Tiamat myth?

Can anyone explain who or what is meant by this seven-headed dragon?

E. H. WHINFIELD.
THE NAVASAHASANKACHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA.

With reference to some remarks in this Journal for 1907, page 1072, Dr. Zachariae wishes it to be made known that the translation, given in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pages 149–72, of the article by him and Professor Bühler, published in 1888, on the Navasahasānkacharita of Padmagupta, was made and published without his knowledge and co-operation, and that he is consequently not responsible for any details in it being not quite up to date. For the information of readers who are interested in the subject of the poem, it may be added that the text, edited by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, was published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series in 1895.

**HISTORICAL CONGRESS.**

An Historical Congress will be held at Berlin from the 6th to 12th of August, 1908. It is divided into eight Sections; the first is the History of the East, of which Professor Sachau is the President.

The Organization Committee consists of Dr. Reinhold Koser, Carmenstrasse 9; Dr. Eduard Meyer, Gross-Lichterfelde (West) Mommsenstrasse 7/8; and Dr. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Westend, Ahovnalle 12.

The subscription to the Congress is £1.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LIFE AND LABOUR OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By
ABDULLAH YUSUF-ALI.

Mr. Yusuf-Ali not only possesses the pen of a ready writer, but he uses it with the skill and feeling of an artist. At the same time he is both an official in the highest grade of Government service in India and a native knowing the wants and aspirations of the subject population, and can therefore speak with an inside knowledge of affairs. He exposes the failure of administrative effort, and with tact lays bare the weaknesses of his fellow-countrymen, suggesting both the line of amelioration from above and the direction of self-help from below. Nothing could be more accurate than the description of town life, as picturesque as it is accurate, and the experienced resident will recognize the justice of the strictures passed on the lack of an earnest faith in a common good, the absence of social aims, and the hollowness of professed ideals. Similarly, the sketch of village life, full in details, correct in proportion, is as vivid as though painted in colours on the canvas of the artist. It shows the administration, the economy, the structure of the village as a unified, cohesive community, having self-contained, mutually-supplied wants, and free social intercourse within well-adjusted restrictions: at the same time, the defect of sanitation is not passed over, and the author traces the gradual adaptation of the old order to new conditions, a transition fortunately so far accomplished without a rupture of that frank understanding which has always existed between the people in villages and their exotic governors.
We are furnished in the chapter on the leisured classes with a sharp analysis of the causes which have brought about a marked change in the general social fabric, illustrated, among other instances, by the pitiable condition of the followers of the old or traditional learning, to which some still cling in the face of modern thought. For these men, who are gradually sinking into poverty and neglect, Mr. Yusuf-Ali pleads in a vein of by no means barren sympathy, for he suggests a means of assistance which cannot hurt their pride, while it meets an administrative need.

The much debated topic of education in India is handled with honest fearlessness; and there is much reason in the condemnation of the perfunctory, lifeless work of our schools, elementary and higher, to which is largely attributable the failure of our Indian University system to turn out young men of ordered intellect and well-proportioned mind. The chapters on industrial and economic problems, and that on civic life, bristle with criticisms and suggestions conceived in fair spirit and expressed in free and thoughtful language, which should stimulate to action the author's fellow-citizens, without whom advance on a sound basis is not possible. The State cannot do everything for all men even in India. Social tendencies are discussed with breadth of view, and the chapter devoted to this subject illustrates most fully the clear perception and power of close observation which Mr. Yusuf-Ali possesses.

It is on the subject of woman in the East that an Oriental writer finds it as difficult as does the European to speak, but for Mr. Yusuf-Ali there is no mystery attaching to the *pardah*, and his tact is great, as is his experience. He has given us glimpses of the brightest and best pictures of Indian home life, not always open to the European, and has shown by examples from both the past and present the possibilities of a future expansion
of the field open to Indian women in literature, public life, and private spheres of duty. The honest optimism, and the strong faith in the people themselves and in the good intention of the British system of government in India, which characterize this book throughout, mark it out as one to be recommended to all who have an interest in our Indian Empire.

W. HOEY.

HOW TO LEARN HINDÜSTĀNĪ. By Major F. R. H. CHAPMAN. HINDŪSTĀNĪ GRAMMAR SELF-TAUGHT. By Capt. C. A. THIMM.

Major Chapman must have observed, as many others who teach Hindūstānī have done, that the mere reading of a grammar or the learning of rules by rote, will not enable any person to speak Hindūstānī correctly, and that the application of the rules must from the earliest stages be illustrated by sentences rendered into that language by the learner. He has also realized that the reading of native literature and correspondence requires familiarity with the written character rather than with the type-printed (loha-khatti) books issued by European presses. The result is a useful book, giving in Part I the alphabet and rules of orthography and accidence, in concise and clear form, and in Part II the essential rules of syntax with exercises illustrating the rules. The author has wisely refrained from etymological speculation and discussion of the views of others, which disfigure and uselessly pad out some grammars. He has merely stated grammatical facts, leaving them to be accepted by his pupils, and has carefully illustrated the rules laid down.

In Part III of the work, exercises, consisting chiefly of connected passages which have already been set in examination papers at Calcutta or Madras, have been collected for translation into Hindūstānī. A good vocabulary
has been provided. With Major Chapman no fault can be found for including the passages such as they are, but it is fair to remark that some passages which have been set in the examinations for military officers seem to demand too close a knowledge of the idiom of native historical writings on the one hand or of military terminology on the other. This induces the 'cram' of set phrases. In both teaching and examining the aim should be to stimulate the acquisition of a free and ready knowledge of the language of every-day life. Major Chapman has out of the thousand and one passages set from time to time selected but few presenting these objectionable features.

In Part IV we have a new departure in the inclusion of letters, samples of familiar correspondence, among the documents given for manuscript reading. Few Englishmen can write a friendly (non-official or private) letter to a native gentleman, and yet occasions requiring such communications do arise. Anything which would help an English officer to be independent of the munshi is welcome. To know the style and methods of the people themselves is a primary help.

Capt. Thimm's Grammar is throughout based on the romanized alphabet. It is compressed into a small compass, and is intended to enable a learner to teach himself the Hindūstāni language. This is the second edition of the work, and is in respect of arrangement a great improvement on the first. It is to be regretted that Mr. Bilgrami's illness prevented him from revising the original work, but fortunately Mr. Blumhardt undertook the task, and his painstaking care is everywhere apparent, more especially in changes in the presentation of grammatical points and in the addition of matter noticed in the Preface. The potential usefulness of the book has been increased, but it is open to doubt if the romanized character answers the purpose of a teaching instrument in the case of
Oriental languages. It certainly is not in that way equal to the native character itself, for it loses the aid of the eye, which would convey the image of the sound, so to speak, of the strange letter and of the new words, and thus help the student's memory. Perhaps some people think that the path of the learner is rendered easier by the use of familiar letters, even though extraneous dots and dashes be added, but despite this impression and the adoption of this conventional mode of writing, it is certain that for one who aims at real knowledge, not to say scholarship, "the longer way round" by the native alphabet is "the shorter way home." There is no royal road to learning.

W. Hoey.


At first sight the subject of this great work would appear to lie entirely outside the sphere of interest of the Royal Asiatic Society and its Journal: whatever extension one may be disposed to give to the term 'Asiatic,' it cannot in any sense, ethnological, linguistic, or other, be made to take in the little group of islands that dot the straits lying between Australia and New Guinea. Nevertheless, apart from the acknowledgment which is due to the courtesy of the Cambridge University Press in presenting this work to the Society's library, there is a certain amount of justification for noticing it in a periodical devoted to Asiatic research. From the point of view of linguistics, the greater part of the islands of the South Seas (excluding the island-continent of Australia) are virtually fragments of Asia; the languages which are spoken throughout almost the whole of this vast and
scattered insular region belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family, which is undoubtedly of Asiatic origin and affinity. It is true that the languages of the Torres Straits islands do not fall within this category. But in geographical position they lie very close to the borders of the Melanesian languages, a branch of the great Malayo-Polynesian family, and an investigation of their characteristics is not altogether without bearing on the problems connected with their Melanesian neighbours.

Mr. Ray's book is a large one, exceeding 525 pages quarto. The first half of it is taken up with grammars, vocabularies, and texts of the two languages of Torres Straits. These are all very full of detail, very interesting, and in every way models of their kind. The second half of the work deals, of course more briefly, with the languages of Cape York Peninsula (North Queensland) and British New Guinea. The reason for including these in the survey lies in the fact that the Torres Straits languages are not homogeneous; there is a Western language which is Australian in origin and affinity, and an Eastern one which is related to the Papuan languages of the neighbouring coast of New Guinea. The circumstance is rather curious, because it appears that the Torres Straits islanders are quite Papuan in physical characteristics and not Australian at all. But such seeming discrepancies between the evidence of anthropology and linguistics are after all common enough in various parts of the world.

The two languages of Torres Straits, belonging as they do to two quite distinct families of speech, are treated separately in this book. From the point of view of grammar, though both are sufficiently complicated, the Western would appear to be somewhat the simpler of the two. It uses suffixes only, whereas the Eastern one uses prefixes as well. Both, like the Australian and Papuan languages with which they must respectively be classed,
are in the agglutinative stage of development. In the Western tongue there appears to be a remarkable identity of verbal and nominal suffixes: it would seem that the same machinery is made to express relations both of time and space, if (as I imagine) the case-suffixes are, in the main or altogether, originally of locative import. The Western language possesses numerous ways of forming the plural of substantives; the Eastern one has no such formation at all. The Western language uses particles to indicate gender and, strange as it may seem, includes large things with females, small ones with males. The Eastern language has nothing of the kind: even in the third person of the pronoun it makes no difference of gender.

In both tongues the verb is exceedingly complex. The Western language does not modify its form to indicate person, but on the other hand the Eastern one indicates person with reference to the relation existing between the agent and object and the speaker. The number of objects also, in both languages, affects the form of the verb. In both languages the verb has many different moods, and in the Western one numerous tenses. Altogether the description of the verb is most interesting, but must have been an uncommonly difficult piece of work to do. In both languages postpositions do the work of our prepositions, but numerals properly so called extend only to 'two,' though by means of composition they can be made to go as far as 'six.' In modern times English numerals have been introduced wholesale, affording an excellent illustration of the facility with which such loan words can be adopted by primitive forms of speech. Although these languages had no true numerals (beyond 'one' and 'two'), there was originally a very curious system of counting by reference to parts of the body, beginning with the little finger of the left hand and going up the arm to the shoulder, across the body, and down the other arm and
hand. Out of this prolix and rather variable method a definite numeral system might ultimately have been evolved, if the need for one had been felt before these races fell under the spell of European influence. But it is now obsolete, the English numerals being no doubt found much simpler and more convenient. The syntax of the two languages, Western and Eastern, is much the same: the subject and the direct object (and also usually the indirect object) precede the verb, as likewise does the adverb. Attributive adjectives, nouns, and possessives (pronouns) precede the word they qualify. The syntax is thus quite the opposite of the Malayo-Polynesian system, in which qualifying words follow those that they qualify.

The vocabularies of the two languages given in this book are copious. There is an index of the English equivalents which adds immensely to their utility for comparative purposes. The texts are numerous and lengthy enough to illustrate the peculiarities of these languages, and they are especially valuable as being the genuine work of natives, in fact the first attempt, among these races, at anything approaching literary composition. They are also of intrinsic interest as being mostly concerned with native legends which have hitherto been handed down by oral tradition only. Many of these stories are of a childlike and somewhat incoherent character, which no doubt reflects faithfully enough the mental attitude of the race and makes them on that account the more valuable.

The second half of the book has a wider scope, including as it does a number of grammars and comparative vocabularies of Australian, Papuan, and Melanesian languages. More than a hundred different languages are enumerated and, as far as the circumstances permitted, described in this part of the work. Here Mr. Ray has had to draw largely on materials collected by others, such materials
being often much less representative and complete than those that he has collected himself. Thus the data available for the study of the Australian languages of Cape York Peninsula (North Queensland) are scanty, and do not appear to throw very much light on the subject of the Torres Straits languages, though the affinity between the Western language of Torres Straits and some of the North Queensland ones seems to be established beyond a doubt.

For British New Guinea the materials are somewhat more copious. It was Mr. Ray, it will be remembered, who first pointed out the existence in this region of the class of languages which he denominated 'Papuan' as something quite distinct from the Melanesian languages, and this discovery, with which his name will always remain associated, was of vital importance in connection with Oceanic ethnology. It afforded a clue to what had till then been a very puzzling problem, namely, the circumstance that languages of Malayo-Polynesian affinity were spoken in the islands known as Melanesia by more or less Negroid tribes that could not possibly be correlated anthropologically either with Indonesians or Polynesians. Yet it was plain that the Melanesian tongues were ultimately of Indonesian descent, and thus here again the linguistic and the anthropological evidence appeared to contradict each other. Mr. Ray's discovery that among some of the tribes of New Guinea the entirely alien languages, now termed 'Papuan,' had survived, helps one to get over the difficulty: it raises a strong presumption, amounting to practical certainty, that in former times these Papuan languages were spoken throughout the whole of the region where Negroid blood prevails, but have been in part superseded by the invading Melanesian tongues, which are simpler in structure and (for that reason as well as their association with a somewhat higher standard of culture) tend to replace the more
complex Papuan ones wherever the two come into direct contact with one another.

Much, it must be confessed, remains still to be worked out. The whole conception of 'Papuan' languages is at present hardly more than a negative one: it denotes something that is neither Melanesian nor Australian, nor anything else that can, as yet, be classified in any of the other known families of language. It would seem that the Papuan tongues differ so much amongst themselves that it must for the present, at least, be considered doubtful whether they can be classed together as one family, though they do apparently fall into a number of groups, within each of which there is undoubted affinity. Nothing could emphasize more strongly the state of primitive isolation in which the different Papuan tribes must have lived hitherto, than this extraordinary divergence in language. And, of course, though it does not necessarily imply original diversity of speech, such a condition of things makes the assumption of the existence of a Papuan family of languages a very hypothetical matter. It must be said that Mr. Ray has in no way prejudged this question: he does not postulate the existence of such a family of speech, but, on the contrary, expressly asserts that the languages he terms 'Papuan' fall into several very distinct groups which have no common grammar or vocabulary.

Nevertheless, there is sufficient *prima facie* reason for the hypothesis that these distinct Papuan groups may be ultimately connected; at any rate, enough reason to justify further investigation into the question from that point of view. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this line of research will be pursued till the problem of the relation of the different groups of Papuan languages with one another is finally cleared up; assuming that the thing is possible with the aid of the data that are at present or may in the near future be available, there is no
doubt that Mr. Ray would be the man best qualified to undertake the task, and one may reasonably hope that he will find time to do so.

The Melanesian languages spoken in some regions of British New Guinea are somewhat more remotely connected with the main subject of the book; but in approaching them one feels that one is, as it were, a step nearer to terra firma. These languages have been known for a longer period than the others, and they are all related together and connected with a family of speech that has been carefully investigated by eminent scholars for many years past. Also, being really of Asiatic origin, they are less unfamiliar in type than the Australian and Papuan tongues. To what extent the Melanesian languages owe such divergence as they exhibit from their ancestral Indonesian type to the influence of the racial peculiarities of the Negroid races on whom they have been imposed, and the characteristics of the Papuan languages that they have supplanted, is a question which does not fall within the scope of the present work, but which I trust that Mr. Ray will some day deal with. It is evident that in syntax the Melanesian sometimes represents a compromise between the Indonesian and the Papuan. Thus, whereas adjectives used attributively follow the substantive they qualify, which is also the typical Malayo-Polynesian order, it appears that if the qualifying word is itself a noun, there are differences in the Melanesian usage, which are difficult to explain. The typical Indonesian order, wherein the qualifying noun follows the qualified one, is the exception in the Melanesian of New Guinea and the usual order is the reverse of the Indonesian type. Again, in the use of the pronouns as possessives Melanesian draws a distinction between cases when they can be suffixed and others in which they are prefixed to the qualified noun: the suffixing is admitted only in a limited class of nouns,
and appears to imply a peculiarly close relation. Likewise postpositions appear to be more usual than prepositions. Evidently the syntax of Melanesia is a hybrid product.

In the various sections of the work, as I have briefly enumerated them, there are many other matters of great interest, to dilate on which would take up more space than can be spared here. In the Melanesian section I would especially draw attention to a very valuable chapter on the numeral systems of the Melanesian languages (which in this department represent a marked advance on the Papuan stage of development). Even here there appear to be a few traceable instances of Papuan influence, in the shape of languages which possess no proper word for 'four,' and have to use either 'two and two' or 'many'; showing that their numeral system formerly stopped at 'three,' at furthest. In the first section of the book I should have mentioned also the chapters on the Jargon English, Gesture Language, and Fire Signals of the Torres Straits islanders; with the exception of the first-named these are the work of some of Mr. Ray's colleagues. The Jargon English is also based mainly on materials collected by Dr. Haddon, the leader of the expedition. It is a curious hybrid, throwing a somewhat peculiar light upon the language used by the European sailors and settlers from whom it was acquired, as well as on the mentality of the natives who have fashioned it into its present form. It is apparently obsolescent now.

At the end of the work Mr. Ray briefly discusses and sums up the linguistic position of the different groups of languages that he has described. He rightly takes a firm stand against the rubbish that has hitherto been written as to the possible origin and affinities of the Australian languages. There would appear to be a sort of fatality dogging the efforts of linguistic scholars in the southern hemisphere when they try to transcend
the mere collection and arrangement of actual concrete materials, and attempt to draw inferences from the facts they have got together. Their want of any true scientific method leads them infallibly to the most impossible conclusions. The results which they have arrived at, so far as the Australian languages are concerned, are, *inter alia*, (1) that they are related to the 'African' (though which of the several distinct African families of speech, is not quite clear); (2) that they are related to Polynesian, Melanesian, Dravidian, and Aryan; (3) that they are related to Malay, with resemblances in Semitic. Mr. Ray also mentions a fourth theory, put forward by a German scholar, which would connect them with Andamanese. A method which leads to these various and mutually inconsistent conclusions stands self-condemned.

On the other hand, it may be questioned whether Mr. Ray does not insist a little too strictly on the necessity for an absolute identity in syntax as the only safe guide and *sine qua non* in establishing the connection of languages. Syntax is not an unchangeable constant in any family of languages, more especially when the influence of an alien tongue or a foreign race is brought into play: the differences between Indonesian and Melanesian syntax already referred to are a case in point. On Mr. Ray's hard and fast principle, it is difficult to see how any relationship could be admitted between these two allied sub-families, or indeed, for the matter of that, between Hindustani and English: for in the test sentence selected by Mr. Ray himself, viz. "What is your name?" the Hindu says, "Yours what name is?" Here Mr. Ray's principle would seem to be in need of some degree of qualification. Still, it is far better to have a principle that is somewhat too rigid in its application to some particular cases, than to be at the mercy of any chance resemblance of words, as the Australian and Polynesian etymologists commonly are. Mr. Ray's brief summary of the position of these different
groups of languages is, at any rate, a series of definite statements on the soundness of which one can depend, not a string of unproved and unprovable nebulous hypotheses, such as make up the bulk of what has been written on Australasian philological matters by many others.

In conclusion, one may confidently affirm that the work now under review is one on which everyone concerned with it is to be congratulated; and not least, the students of language as a science, for not only does it enlarge very considerably the material of their studies, but it is in itself a model of the way in which such material should be arranged and handled. There are four useful maps. The one thing wanting is an index.

C. O. Blagden.

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI.

The second volume of this important contribution to history deals with a comparatively short period; but it is a period in which stirring events were happening. We have several accounts of the capture of Fort St. George in 1746. But one and all are usefully supplemented by the daily jottings of the diarist at Pondicherry.

The expected arrival of a French fleet on the coast in 1746, more powerful than the British squadron already there, seems to have been the means of calling into existence the ambitious scheme of conquest which Dupleix partly carried out. In March the outline of it was generally known to the natives along the whole coast; and there was some consternation in consequence among the native merchants at Fort St. George. Ranga Pillai records the bazaar opinion at Pondicherry that fortune would change from the English to the French cause. He attributes the reason for this opinion to the knowledge that three misfortunes to the English had happened
together—(i) the death of the gallant Commodore Barnet, (ii) the wreck of an English ship, (iii) the imprisonment at Devikottai of an English commander and twelve sailors. By the simultaneous occurrence of these events they were persuaded that the goddess of Fortune had left Madras for Pondicherry. Dupleix took advantage of these rumours and pushed on his preparations for war, heartily assisted by Ranga Pillai and the native community, who had no doubt about the meaning of the omens.

Dupleix was well supplied with information by his own spies and correspondents here and there; and he was greatly helped in this matter by Ranga Pillai, who had his business agents at every important centre. By these means he was kept informed of the feelings and opinions of all the more important persons and communities round about.

De la Bourdonnais with his fleet of eight ships of war arrived at Pondicherry on the 8th July after an indecisive engagement with the English fleet of six ships under Commodore Peyton. Both fleets required a good deal of repair after the engagement. The failure to destroy the English fleet was only a small part of the trouble which awaited the French admiral. He was the Commander-in-Chief of a gallant fighting force. At Pondicherry he was treated as to honours and salutes on a par with a Deputy Governor. He had the orders of his King to destroy the English fleet; and he brought orders to Dupleix to assist him in whatever manner he required to accomplish this object. Dupleix, on the other hand, took upon himself to mark out for the admiral another course of action, and instructed him to carry it out. The word jealousy has hitherto sufficed to explain the cause of disagreement of the two men. It was not entirely jealousy. The Admiral refused to recognize the assumed authority of the Governor and to go beyond his own instructions. There were strained relations; and
the Governor confided to Ranga Pillai his intemperate opinion of the Admiral. Ranga Pillai fed the flame of ill-will by repeating to the Governor all the bazaar gossip he heard about the Admiral. He tickled his vanity by the most audacious flattery; and impressed upon him that public opinion on the coast was in favour of his project of capturing Fort St. George.

De la Bourdonnais decided at first to carry out the King's instructions, and he embarked on the 3rd August with this intention. But it is certain that he had not made up his mind entirely. He suffered Dupleix to load up store ships with military stores for land service, including every kind of siege requisite; and he took these ships with him. Twenty days later he returned to Pondicherry, and permitted the embarkation of horses, soldiers, and more stores. During his absence Dupleix had loaded up a ship with ladders, spades, pickaxes, tents, and live stock. But the Admiral still hesitated. Dupleix ordered him to sail for Madras on the 24th August; he refused. He had been long enough in the settlement to see that Dupleix was dominating his Council, and was in political matters acting without it. Dupleix sought an interview with the Admiral. The latter repeated what his orders were, and added, "If you order me to attack Madras, I will do so; but I must have the written orders of your Council." The Council was accordingly summoned; but the members declined all responsibility, as they had had no orders from their Company. For the time being the expedition was given up.

The object of the visit of the French fleet to Madras on the last day of August has some light thrown upon it by Ranga Pillai's record. Without the consent of the Council De la Bourdonnais could not carry out Dupleix's scheme of unprovoked attack. But it was possible to provoke an attack by sending his ships to be fired upon. And if this result luckily happened, he could attack the town on his
own account without any orders from Dupleix, and reap the benefit for himself and those under his command. It did happen. The fleet arrived at Fort St. George, and fired a broadside at the "Princess Mary" lying at anchor. The fire was returned by the ship and also by the Fort. That was all De la Bourdonnais wanted. After a little more firing, in which little or no harm was done on either side, the French fleet retired and returned to Pondicherry.

Ranga Pillai records that Dupleix paid a visit to De la Bourdonnais, and returned out of temper and angry. No wonder; the settlement of the matter was taken out of his hands and assumed by his rival. Three days later, on the 4th September, a remarkable conversation took place between Dupleix and the diarist, in which Dupleix denounced the Admiral without any official reserve as a petty-minded pauper, a tyrant, a dog, and so on. The Admiral's opinion of Dupleix is not recorded. He simply ordered all the various stores and provisions to be embarked, and he sailed with the fleet on the 12th September to accomplish Dupleix's purpose in his own way and for his own advantage. The Fort was taken. There was joy at Pondicherry. But De la Bourdonnais made his own terms with the English merchants, and would not allow the civilian nominees of Dupleix to have any share in the administration of affairs until he had secured the treasure and looted the warehouses for the benefit of himself and his sailors.

It is plain that the officers of his fleet did not understand which of the rivals was really acting in the name of the King whose commission they bore. When Dupleix's nominees attempted on the 2nd October to assert themselves by calling upon De la Bourdonnais to take the oath of allegiance, the naval officers remained silent; and the civilians enjoyed a short triumph. But as soon as it was made clear to them that the King had given the Admiral discretionary power in the conduct of the war, and had
directed Dupleix to keep him supplied with everything he required, they understood that the cause of the Admiral was the cause of the King; and they sided with him in destroying the brief authority of the Pondicherry civilians, and in assisting De la Bourdonnais to do as he pleased. His pleasure was to get as much as he could out of the venture, and to exclude Dupleix from a share in it. He left the administrative power in the hands of Governor Morse. He embarked the Pondicherry soldiers and sepoys, and garrisoned Fort St. George with his own men. Messengers from Dupleix were told to mind their own business, and his letters were left unanswered.

All this time, however, the Admiral was not without misgivings as to his attitude towards Dupleix. He was uncertain as to the extent and nature of his political authority. In this state of vacillation an incident of not much importance caused him to reverse his policy on the 12th October. It came to his knowledge that one or more of the English merchants had buried a portion of their treasure. He summoned Governor Morse and the other Englishmen to his presence; reproached them for deceiving him; tore up the agreement he had made with them; placed them in confinement; landed the Pondicherry troops to garrison the Fort, and embarked his own men. He then wrote to Dupleix, "Please send officials to take charge." On the 13th he wrote, "I have restored Madras to the English." On the 14th he wrote, "I have neither placed it in charge of the Pondicherry officials nor restored it; I am undecided what to do." Ranga Pillai commented in his diary upon his indecision: "His ways are like those of natives and Mahommedans . . . it seems probable that he will get into difficulties."

On the 13th and 14th October a violent cyclone destroyed a portion of the French squadron, and severely damaged the remainder. A great deal of the treasure was lost. The ships that were not wrecked put
to sea for safety, leaving the Pondicherry troops and the Admiral in possession of the Fort and the town. Ranga Pillai recorded in his diary his satisfaction at the Admiral's discomfiture; he looked upon the storm as the vengeance of the gods upon an opponent of his master.

The portrait of Dupleix in this diary is microscopic. Ranga Pillai was sufficiently shrewd to recognize his good and bad qualities, and he records them in the most simple way. He shows us Dupleix in his various moods and in the midst of his various intrigues as that distinguished Governor never intended himself to be known.

As for Ranga Pillai himself, he preferred his independence to being the Governor's dubash; but he served his master as if he were dubash, prime minister, private secretary, and intelligence officer all in one. On the other hand, without the Governor's knowledge, he had the confidence of his writers and interpreters; whether they were in his pay or not does not appear; but he certainly knew the contents of all letters and documents which passed through their hands before the close of the day of their arrival or dispatch. Although he was such a devoted admirer of his chief, the French Governor did not trust him entirely; sometimes his plain speaking amounted to rudeness; but when Fort St. George was taken he showed his appreciation by promising to give him anything he liked to ask. The disinterested character of Ranga Pillai is seen in the requests he made. He asked for nothing for himself, but (1) for the release of all prisoners and debtors, (2) for a reduction in the fixed price of tobacco and betel leaf, and (3) that some dismissed subordinates should be reinstated in the Government service.

The diary makes it quite clear that there were traitors to the English cause both at Mylapore and Fort St. George. The story of the French sergeant at the Fort, of the
catechist and priest at Mylapore, and of the letters which Madame Frances Barneval wrote to her stepfather, the French Governor, make it plain that the English suspicions, from which the Roman Catholics suffered subsequently so much, were justified, though they could not at the time be fully proved.

Sir Frederick Price and the Superintendent of the Records at Fort St. George are to be congratulated on the completion of the volume. There are a few printer's errors, but these are so obvious that they will cause no difficulty. One would be glad to know exactly what terms Ranga Pillai used when referring to the different settlements on the coast. He is made in the translation to use the term Madras, for instance. What word did he actually use? 'Priest' is not an accurate translation of the word 'guru.' The unidentified place Sirppai (p. 308) is probably Tirupatti.

F R A N K P E N N Y.


It is a little difficult to see exactly for what class of readers is intended Mr. Horrwitz's Short History of Indian Literature. It can hardly be said that popular expositions of that literature are wanting when there are available Mr. R. W. Frazer's Literary History of India and Professor Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, and, although there may be room in England for a less scientific work on the lines of Professor Oldenberg's Litteratur des alten Indien, the author hardly brings to his work that commanding grasp of principle which renders Professor Oldenberg's popular sketch of value even to scholars. It is, too, unfortunate, in view of the brief compass of the work, that so much space should be assigned to comparative etymologies, some of which (e.g. that of anavār, p. 101) are not even accurate.
We doubt also whether it is really wise to exaggerate the absolute value of Indian literature. In doing so Mr. Horrwitz has indeed the example of Professor Rhys Davids, who, in his preface (p. xvii), tells us that the first attempts of the Indian intellect at the investigation of medicine, astronomy, philology, geometry, and law, were "all of a high degree of excellence," but he goes beyond what Professor Rhys Davids would probably accept when he says (p. 52) that "in depth of thought and soundness of argument" Śāṅkara's Bhāṣya "ranks by the side of Kant's famous critiques." We need not be Kantians, nor need we underestimate the value of the Vedānta—which we are glad to see Mr. Horrwitz prefer to Buddhism (p. 92)—to say that such a comparison is quite misleading. Nor is a History of Literature quite the place for an expression of opinion (p. 58) from which it would seem that the author really believes that political disaffection in India is due to missionary teaching, and that technical education and Vedāntism are the best hopes for Indian progress. We fear that a true Vedāntin would hardly disturb himself much for the furtherance of such education.

The author of a Short History must, of course, be allowed to select the views he regards as most probable, but Mr. Horrwitz hardly seems to us always happy in his choice. We are by no means as sure as he is that "none of the epical or legal literature of the Hindus was composed before Buddha" (p. 11), and we do feel pretty confident that Kālidāsa¹ was not the friend of Vikrama, a Vallabhi, in the first half of the sixth century (p. 98),

¹ See J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 579. The results of the researches of Professor Bühler and of Professor Kielhorn (whose death deprives us of one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars) are not affected by later work (e.g., J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 186; 1904, p. 166). It is impossible to doubt that Vatsabhaṭṭi (A.D. 472) knew the Meghadūta and Rtuṣeṃhāra, and for reasons given by Bühler that Kālidāsa was not a contemporary of Vatsabhaṭṭi.
and that, whatever Harṣa was, he was not a successor of Vikrama and a "devout Buddhist." Nor would we regard the Raghuvaṃśa as a happy mingling of philosophic reflection with descriptive verse in the manner of Wordsworth (p. 129). We would hesitate to ascribe much literary merit to Bāna's Harṣacarita, and it is as certain as anything of the sort can be that he did not write the Ratnāvali (p. 137), though no doubt in this, as in his view that Laṅkā in the Rāmāyana is Ceylon (p. 31), Mr. Horrwitz can cite authority in support of his opinion.

We have offered these criticisms because we gather that Mr. Horrwitz proposes to make further attempts to present Indian literature in popular guise, and we consider that such attempts are of value so long as a high standard of accuracy is maintained, and some due proportion observed in the evaluation of the works treated of.

A. Berriedale Keith.


Though not one of the surprises of Assyriology (for the discovery of such documents as form the subject of this work is always to be expected), the inscriptions presented to the world therein are sufficiently noteworthy. They go back as far as the time of Sargon of Agadé, and treat of events as late as the seventh century B.C. Several of the documents—the Omens of the time of Sargon of Agadé and Naram-Sin, the Dynastic Chronicle, and the Legend of Sargon—were known before, but have been repeated here apparently for the sake of completeness, and because of the bearing which they have on the new texts published.
From the Chronicle referring to Sargon of Agadé we now know that those Assyriologists were right who denied that there was any statement that he had crossed the Mediterranean to Cyprus—there is a mistake in the tablet of omens based on the history of his reign—it was the Eastern Sea (the Persian Gulf), not the Western Sea, which he crossed. Nevertheless, Sargon’s authority on the Mediterranean coasts seems to have been very real, and he set up images of himself there. After treating of the reign of Sargon, the text speaks of Dungi, son of Sur-Engur, who seems to have spoiled Babylon and its great temple, É-sagila, thus bringing upon himself the displeasure of Bel (Merodach). The next paragraph relates that king Ura-imitti set Bêl-ibni (Professor Clay would naturally read Ellil-la-ibni) on the throne, “that (the dynasty) might not come to an end,” giving rise, as the author points out, to the story in Agathias concerning Beleous and Beletaras. This tradition is well discussed in the first volume of the work now under review.

The second chronicle, which is a continuation of the first, overlaps it somewhat, and after repeating the history of Ura-imitti and Bêl-ibni, speaks of the reign of Hammurabi, and his struggle with Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, and also of Ur, whose cities he captured. This probably refers to what took place either in the 8th or the 31st year of Hammurabi’s reign, when attacks, apparently on Emutbālu, Rim-Sin’s domain, were made. On the first occasion the king of Larsa would seem to have escaped, to be captured later by Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi’s son. From the way in which Rim-Sin is written, it is clear that he is not identical with Arioch, as this name probably means ‘Servant of the Moon-god,’ whilst the former signifies ‘Sin’s wild bull.’ This being the case, the probability is that Rim-Sin, as Thureau-Dangin suggests, was Arioch’s (Eri-Aku’s) brother.

Another important point revealed by these tablets is that
the 'Dynasty of Uru-azaga,' which in the chronological list of Babylonian kings immediately follows the Dynasty of Babylon, that to which Hammurabi belonged, is in part contemporary with it. This naturally brings down the period of Hammurabi's dynasty by about 118 years, and makes the high date attributed by Nabonidus to Sargon of Agadé still more improbable than it has been held to be. Whether the position of the paragraph referring to Dungi, which is immediately after those referring to Sargon, shows that Dungi was one of Sargon's immediate successors, is uncertain, notwithstanding that it accords with the indications of the city-deposits at Niffer. Further light is needed on this question, and will doubtless be forthcoming sooner or later. The volumes are a most valuable contribution to the history and chronology of Babylonia and Assyria.

T. G. Pinches.


The activity of Germany in the matter of Oriental excavation is beyond all praise, and will bring to her lasting honour, not only on account of the results, but also for the thorough and scientific way in which the work is carried on. The excavations at Boghaz-köi began where fragments of tablets had already been found, namely, on the declivity of the hill at Böyük-kale, and the fragments increased in size as the explorers went higher, until the large tablets were in places complete. They are evidently

1 Otherwise 'the dynasty of the land of the sea.'
a portion of the royal archives. Another mass of records was found at the foot of the hill, by the ruins of the temple. It was in the upper find that the Babylonian version of the treaty between Rameses II and the Hittite king Hattušil, in Babylonian script and language, was found, and from the records discovered it is now clear that, as in the case of Assyria, city and country bore the same name—it was the city Ḥattu in the land Ḥattu. The founder of the dynasty was Šubbiliuma (the name read Sapalulu in the Egyptian contract of Rameses). He was apparently a conqueror, whose overlordship the state of Mitanni acknowledged. After an interval, during which his son Aranda reigned, another son, Muršil, the Mavrasar of Egyptologists, came to the throne. There seems to be among the records a kind of chronicle of his reign, and a whole row of unknown regions are mentioned. After this ruler came Mutallu, who was succeeded by Ḥattušil, the well-known Chetasar of Egyptology. His queen was Pudukipa, and their son Dudhalia (a name which recalls the Tidal of the 14th chapter of Genesis, and the Tudhula of the tablets which apparently refer to Chedorlaomer and his allies). Many historical details are outlined in the numerous tablets belonging to his reign, and one fragment is part of a letter from Kasašman-Turgu, his Babylonian contemporary, or, as he calls him, his 'brother.' Professor Winckler quotes a considerable portion of a long letter concerning the relations between Ḥattu and Babylonia, complaining of the misrepresentations of Itti-Marduk-balatu, the Babylonian representative. One of the letters refers to the alliance between the Hittites and Egypt, and has a paragraph concerning the mischief caused by a certain Banti-Šinni, against whom the Babylonian king is invited to come and take legal action.

It would take up too much space, however, to go over all the points of this interesting communication, which is the forerunner of others still more important
to come. Other texts enable us to understand many things which before were either doubtful or incomprehensible. The Sa-gas-people of the Tell-el-Amarna letters are now shown to be the same as the Habiri, and their comparison with the Hebrews is thereby strengthened, though in that case it is probable that they were not the Hebrews who came out of Egypt, but kindred tribes who remained in the country. References to a physician and an incantation-maker show that these officials were sometimes exchanged. Impressions of a royal seal, with a Hittite and a cuneiform inscription, will probably prove to be of importance for the interpretation of the Hittite hieroglyphic characters. Unfortunately, the Hittite text is mutilated, but the latter reads as follows:

"[Se]al of the edict of Arnuanta, the great king, son of Du[dhalia],
[Se]al of the lady Tawassi-??, the lady Mu-ni-Dan,
the great queen,
. . .?, daughter of Dudhalia[a]."

Professor Winckler states that Dudhalia's wife was also his sister, giving a further example of sister-marriage in the royal house, which, as with the Pharaohs, had probably a mythological and religious origin. Like the Pharaoh and the Inca, the king of Hatti was also 'the Sun,' showing in what lines the thoughts—and the conceit—of kings ran in those distant lands in ancient times. This is reflected in the very interesting translation of the treaty between Šubbiluliuma and Artatama, king of Harri, in which the former is designated 'the Sun.'

Numerous, too, are the references bearing upon the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, throwing much light upon the time to which they belong, and showing that (at least in a few cases) what was thought to be due to Egyptian influence is in reality due to the influence of the Hittites. Important information concerning the
mythology may also be expected, as is shown by the occurrence of the names of Mithras and Varuna. Twelve process-blocks reproduce pictures of antiquities and remains of buildings, all likewise of considerable interest.

Professor Hugo Winckler and the Deutsch Orient-Gesellschaft are greatly to be congratulated on the success of their work at Boghaz-köi.

T. G. Pinches.


This is a very useful continuation of Professor R. E. Brünnow’s Classified List of simple and compound Cuneiform Ideographs, and contains, as far as published, 5,543 entries, dealing with 370 characters, some of which appear in a classified list for the first time. Though less elaborate in its system than the pioneer work of Brünnow, it is nevertheless exceedingly important, as it brings together groups from very varied publications, in which they were practically buried. Among Dr. Meissner’s successful restorations may be mentioned Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, pt. xi, pl. 15, lines 37, 38:

\[ \text{ganšiš} \begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline \varepsilon & \nu \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \hline \end{array} \text{ētutum}, \text{gloom.} \]

\[ \text{ganšiš} \begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline \varepsilon & \nu \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \hline \end{array} \text{iklitu}, \text{darkness.} \]

Also there is no doubt that he is right in restoring \[ \varepsilon \varepsilon \] in part xii, pl. 18, of the same publication, col. 1, where he correctly reads birku instead of biršu and restores rému. Interestingly is his suggestion that the Semitic reading of \[ \text{Malkatu}, \text{probably the name of the queen of heaven.} \]

and he has very acutely suggested that the mutilated non-Semitic value of 𒃏 𒂠 in Cuneiform Texts, pt. xii, pl. 18, may be de-el-lu. All these I had independently noted as possible from the traces. Full use has been made of the lists published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, which are thus made more accessible to students.

To find fault with such a useful book would be an ungrateful task, and I confine myself therefore to indicating one or two additions from my notes. For 𒃏𒅔 I have also the Sumerian value of giš-nu as a synonym (in all probability) of 𒃏𒂙, nàrû, 'light'; and the same for the first character written vertically, with the addition of a sign like qa, making the group 𒂙 QA. In Cuneiform Texts, pt. xii, pl. 31, fragment 38885, rev., the character explained in lines 7 and 8 seems to be 𒅔𒂙, and in that case the Sumerian values given are probably 𒅔𒅔, lu-û, and 𒅔𒅔, lu-ul, with the first character in each case written as 𒅔𒂙. In the case of 𒃏𒅕 I copied, as the Sumerian value, 𒃏𒅕, bi-ib, instead of 𒃏𒅔, du-ûr, and revision rather confirmed this reading, but it must be admitted that I do not feel any confidence in it. Instead of 𒃏𒅕𒅕 (2940–1), my copy has 𒃏𒅕𒅕, which is supported by the Semitic meaning qarnû, 'horned.' Also, I have noted that the Sumerian pronunciation of 𒃏𒅔 is galga, the dialectic form being 𒃏𒅔 LeBron, ma-al-ga. Though the meanings of the words are not given, the work is of considerable value to the specialist, who hardly needs them. For an autographed book, it is exceedingly well written, and leaves nothing to be desired as to the method of production—typography alone could surpass it.

T. G. Pinches.
BODHICARYAVATARA. Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas; poème de Śāntideva. Traduit du Sanscrit et annoté par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POSSIN, Professor de Sanscrit et Grammaire comparée à l'Université de Gand. Paris Librairie Blondet Cie, 1907.

While engaged in editing the Bodhicaryāvatāra, with the commentary of Prajnākaramati, for the Bibliotheca Indica, Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin has found time to prepare a French translation of this justly celebrated work, which has been compared by Professor Barth to the Imitation. It is well known that Professor Poussin has written much on the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, and he seems to take special interest in the doctrines of the Mādhyamikas, the followers of the Via Media, who are characterized by Professor Kern as “complete Nihilists,” though he considers that “their system is the legitimate outcome of the principles underlying ancient Buddhism, and in so far they are entitled to the glory of being more orthodox than the orthodox.” He holds that their Nihilism is an adaptation of the scholastic Vedānta. Indeed, the Vedantists have been styled by their philosophical opponents crypto-Buddhists, so great is the resemblance between the systems to Indian eyes. Like the Vedantists, the Mādhyamikas recognise two kinds of truth, a higher truth intended for philosophers, according to which the phenomenal world is a mere illusion, and a lower form of truth, intended, apparently, to meet the requirements of practical men of the world. In fact, as Professor Kern says, “the second kind of truth is no truth at all.” One is, perhaps, inclined to expect that with philosophers holding these tenets, the moral virtues will assume the position of “sky-flowers.” But this is by no means the case.

Professor Poussin shows from his text that those who
take the vow to become Buddhas for the good of the world are bound to be compassionate saints, eager to practise charity, to acquire wisdom, and even to suffer martyrdom, in order to benefit their fellow-creatures. But they are not required to carry self-sacrifice to absurd lengths. Even with regard to the much despised body, a certain amount of common-sense seems to have characterized the ascetics of the Great Vehicle. "The body should be a ship, coming and going as its possessor wishes; take care that your body be under control, in order that you may save creatures." The body, in fact, is to be treated as a servant; it is to be paid its wages and nothing more. But it is to be cared for as a useful instrument. One must not sacrifice it for any one who is not as charitable as oneself, otherwise the acquisition of Bodhi for the good of all creatures may be impeded. It would appear that some of the fantastic instances of self-sacrifice that we read of in the Pali Jātakas would not have met with the approval of Śāntideva.

As is well known, the Bodhicaryāvatāra is divided into ten chapters. The tenth chapter has not been translated by Professor Poussin, as it has little interest from a philosophical point of view, being principally remarkable for invocations to Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, and Mañjuśrī.

The first chapter is entitled "The commendation of the Bodhicitta," i.e., of the determination to become a Buddha for the welfare of all creatures. The second chapter, though entitled "Confession of sins" (pāpasāna), deals also with the ritual cult (pūjā) of the Buddhas, the good law, and the sons of the Buddhas, viz., Avalokita, Mañjuśrī, and all other great Bodhisattvas that form the holy community. It is noteworthy that the Buddhas are to be worshipped with flowers, garments, perfumes, incense, lamps, and umbrellas, just as if they were deities. The third chapter deals with the subject
of the assuming of the vow to become a Buddha. It contains, inter alia, directions for prayers to the Buddhas, in order that they may preach the law, and retard their nirvāṇa. The fourth chapter treats of avoidance of distraction (apramāda), in the vow to become a Buddha. The difficulty of obtaining birth in the human race, and the importance of making the most of it, a commonplace of Buddhist, as also of Jain philosophy, is insisted upon at considerable length. The fifth chapter is entitled "The keeping of control," and deals with morality and the observance of disciplinary rules. It is worthy of note that the Bodhisattva is directed to show the same respect for the law of the Little as of the Great Vehicle. The sixth chapter treats of the virtue of patience, and recommends the restraint of anger by arguments, which resemble very nearly those used by the Stoics, and which, no doubt, prove equally efficacious. The seventh chapter inculcates the virtue of manly force, or energy in pursuit of good, condemning the vice of 'accidie,' as well as all attachment to pleasure, and commending legitimate pride and a buoyant self-confidence as accessories of energy. The eighth chapter is devoted to the virtue of meditation (dhyāna). Here Śāntideva does not dwell on the ecstasies, which form a part of the ordinary Buddhist equipment, but turns his attention rather to the moral benefits of contemplation. He explains how the believer, calm and concentrated, sustained by the ideal at which he aims, and the virtuous habits already rooted in his nature, can persuade himself of the non-existence of what is called 'Self.' From that it is an easy step to making no distinction between oneself and one's neighbour (parātmasamata). Then by a more noble effort one is enabled to substitute one's neighbour for oneself (parātmaparivartana); to treat one's neighbour as one is, unfortunately, accustomed to treat oneself, and vice versā. Cultivated in this spirit all the virtues, charity
and the others, will be easy; they will be pure and free from vanity, for "having adopted my neighbour as myself, how can I be proud of my charity or my patience, how can I desire or expect any personal advantage from acts which I must henceforth consider egoistical and not meritorious?" In this part of his subject Śāntideva displays a considerable amount of humour. He even attains to a high flight of poetry in passages in which he paints in vivid colours the delights of retreats in the solitudes of the forest or the mountain. His descriptions remind one of some of the most impassioned stanzas in the Vairāgya Śataka of Bhartrihari. Of course, we do not escape the inevitable Aśubhabhāvanā, a line of thought which seems to have fascinated the emperor Marcus Aurelius, but is not in accordance with modern canons of taste in the West.

But, after all, the moral virtues, charity, patience, etc., are, in the system of Śāntideva, merely a preparation for science, which his, in his conception, much the same as nescience. "Real truth is the suppression of the obscurity produced by the knowable." In this part of his work Śāntideva defends the doctrine of śānyatā against the Yogācāras, another sect of followers of the Great Vehicle, who affirmed the existence of thought only, and also against the adherents of the Little Vehicle, as well as against the followers of the Śāṅkhya and Naiyāyika systems.

This chapter is, undoubtedly, the most difficult in the whole book, and Professor Poussin, who has, as a rule, taken care in his translation of this poem to distinguish by brackets the text of Śāntideva from the explanations of Prajñākaramati, has found himself compelled occasionally in this chapter to fuse text and commentary together. He has certainly succeeded in rendering this darkest corner of the Mādhyamika abyss as intelligible as in the nature of things it is possible for it to be. The dialectic of the
chapter is subtle, but wearisome, and I venture to say, to a Western mind, unconvincing. We are told that meditation on the Infinite Void is the only road to true emancipation from sin and sorrow, but at the same time we are warned not to fix our minds too intently on vacuity, lest we should be led insensibly to attribute to it a kind of objective existence. No negation is possible without implying a possible affirmation, and therefore even negation is dangerous. The following extract from Professor Poussin’s translation sums up the Mādhyamika confession of faith in uncompromising language: “Donc il n’y a jamais ni anéantissement, ni existence : tout cet univers est exempt de naissance comme de destruction ; les destinées successives des créatures sont [illusores] comme des rêves, vides comme la tige du bananier. Il n’y a aucune différence réelle entre les créatures délivrées et celles qui transmigrent. Les choses sont vides : rien ne peut être acquis ou dérobé, personne ne peut être honoré ou méprisé par qui que ce soit ; plaisir, souffrance, agréable, désagréable sont de vaines fictions, et on a beau chercher la convoïtise, on ne trouve nulle part la convoïtise.”

It is difficult to understand why, on the supposition of universal vacuity, Śāntideva should think it worth his while to frighten sinners with the messengers of Yama and the hell Avīci. This contradiction seems to run through all the book, and to be intended by the author. No doubt he is at one time speaking from the point of view of sanvṛiti, and at another of paramārtha. But whatever may be thought of the metaphysical theories of the ninth chapter, it may safely be asserted that the moral reflections of the first eight chapters, though from the point of view of the orthodox Mādhyamika they may be ancillary to the great doctrine of Prajñā, will constitute for the European reader the principal charm of the Bodhicaryāvatāra.
I see no reason why the book should not have an attraction for European readers, and find “fit audience though few.” Undoubtedly it smacks of the Porch rather than of the Garden. The following passage has the true Stoic ring about it: “Où trouver assez de cuir pour recouvrir toute la terre, ses épines et ses aspérités? un simple soulier de cuir et toute la terre est couverte. [De même pour la vertu de force:] est-il en mon pouvoir de tenir en respect le monde extérieur? je retiendrai ma propre pensée, le reste importe peu.” With this might be compared the following saying of Marcus Aurelius: “It is in our power to have no opinion about a thing, and not to be distracted in our soul, for things themselves have no power to form our judgements.” In other words, σῴζειν τὸ καταληπτικὸν.

The enlarged spirit of philanthropy which characterized the Roman emperor finds a parallel in this reflection: “L’homme aime ses pieds et ses mains parce qu’ils sont les membres du corps: les êtres vivants ont droit à la même affection parce qu’ils sont les membres du monde des vivants.” So we read in the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius: “My city and my country, so far as I am Antonius, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world. The things which are useful to these cities are alone useful to me.”

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations, especially as the resemblance which I imagine myself to have detected is more apparent in the spirit than in the letter, but I cannot help thinking that, if Matthew Arnold had known of Śántideva, he would have found as much good to say of him as he did of his Roman counterpart. Strange to say, the Roman Stoic felt the same longing to retire into forests and mountains as Śántideva felt, but he kept it severely under control.

Prof. Poussin’s translation seems, so far as a foreigner can judge, spirited and forcible, without straying too far
from the original text. The following passage seems to be rather puzzling: "Nous sommes comme les poissons que [les Orientaux] gardent vivants [pour s’en nourrir]." The natural sense of this passage from the European point of view would, I submit, be that the Eastern nations keep fish in vivaria for the purposes of the table. The custom was not unknown in England in the days of Chaucer, for we read of the Franklin that—

"Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
And many a brem and many a luce in stewe."

But I should rather interpret the passage in Prajñākaramati’s commentary as applying to the inhabitants of the East of India. However, perhaps the French expression does not necessarily bear the meaning that I have assigned to it.

In considering Professor Poussin’s translation, one must not leave out of sight the Introduction and the Preliminary Notes prefixed to all the chapters. They are calculated to put the reader in the best possible position for judging of the merits of the author. The footnotes elucidate difficult points, and those who are able to understand Tibetan will, no doubt, profit by the quotations from the Tibetan version of this philosophical poem.

Sāntideva has been fortunate in meeting with so sympathetic an interpreter, and those of us who try to penetrate into the arcana of Mahāyāna philosophy may esteem ourselves equally fortunate in finding a guide who is so thoroughly at home in the subject.

C. H. T.
MSS. A second Sinhalese palm-leaf MS. added to his collation for this, the remaining half of the work, enhances the value of his results in view of the absence of any authorized printed edition existing in the vihāras of Ceylon. It is to be regretted that he laboured without the assistance of the fine Rangoon edition of the Tipitaka. This second volume is longer by one-fifth than the first, and contains also an index of proper names and one of gāthās. Stealing time to do this labour of love entirely from holidays and leisure moments, the editor was unable to supply an index of words and subjects; but this, there is every reason to hope, will be made good by Miss Mabel Hunt in the forthcoming P.T.S. Journal for the current year.

The Paṭisambhidāmagga, as I have already suggested in this Journal, should prove, on competent and matured investigation, of no small significance for interpreting the history of the Canon. This opinion is confirmed by even the superficial survey, which is all I have as yet been able to take of the second volume. We know that, with respect to the whole of the Khuddaka, or miscellaneous Nikāya, "Buddhists themselves, from the very earliest times, have been divided in opinion about it; some of them considering it as an appendix to the Sutta Piṭaka, some of them considering it as an appendix to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka."¹ And as one turns the pages of this volume, now the former conclusion seems the more plausible, now the latter. The following observations will illustrate this vacillating impression.

The method and scope of the work are consistently maintained throughout. We have presented a sort of anthology of homiletic analyses of ethical doctrine and of ethical consciousness. Now it is Vimokkha (deliverance, release) which is the theme, now it is the first term of

¹ Rhys Davids, American Lectures, p. 65.
the Four Sublime States or Moods (appamaññāyo, brahma-vihārā), now again it is some passage occurring in the Four Nikāyas, not given as a quotation like those from the Pārāyanavagga in the Saṃyutta Nikāya (e.g. ii, 47), but with all the air of an original record. Thus we find passages from Dīgha, ii, 33, 35; Saṃyutta, ii, 36; iii, 27; iv, 54; v, 46, 70–2, 246, etc., followed by brief disquisitions, analyzing, classifying, elaborating. Again, in vol. i, the subject of Ānāpāna-sati, or regulation of the flow of consciousness in connection with regulated respiration, associated more usually with Yoga than with Buddhism, is fully dealt with. In the Dhammasangāni, where we should have expected to find such a subject, there is no mention of it. Once more, where the exegetical Commentaries, interwoven with the text both of our present work and of the Vibhanga, happen to coincide as to subject, the two Commentaries do not repeat each other. For instance, when the Four Saṭipaṭṭhānas are the subject, the Paṭisambhidā makes way, as it were, for the Vibhanga, commenting only on the word bhāvanā, for bhāveti, which is not commented on by the Vibhanga. Or it can be taken the other way: the Vibhanga supplements the more numerous omissions in the Paṭisambhidā Commentary. Yet another curious feature is that the Paṭisambhidā, in elaboration and amplification of the simple and brief categories of the great Nikāyas, goes in places beyond the Abhidhamma books. Take, for instance, the ten moral balāni or powers, instead of the seven of the Dhammasangāni; and the elaboration of iddhi, beyond the four pādāni, into ten modes, only met with till now in Buddhaghosa (Asl. 91). The Brahma-vihāra of Love or Caritas, again, is elaborated into that more general and more specialized projection of the emotion which in a Jātaka Atthakathā (ii, 61: Araka-Jātaka), and in the Nidāna-kathā (Jāt. i, 80, 81), appears as anodissaka and odissaka—the reading here being
anodhiso and odhiso. Again, the cultivation of an infinite catholicity of benevolent sentiment by a sort of geographical distribution prescribed in the Nikāyas—the disa pharaṇā, or suffusion in turn of each quarter of the horizon and beyond, with overflowing good will—is here elaborated into a tenfold orientation, such as we meet with in the Sinhalese work entitled by the editor The Yogāvacara’s Manual (pp. 72, 76; edited by Rhys Davids, P.T.S. 1896).

Once more, there are terms in the volume which bring us alongside of the Patthāna, such as sahajāta-, aūṇa-maūṇa-, nissaya-, sampayutta-, vippayutta-paccuyā, and the term, incessant in the latter work, paṭisandhikkhaṇe. Abhi(ni)ropanā, on the other hand, as an exponent of sammāsankappo (140 and passim) is quite Dhamma-sanganič.

Many more points will suggest themselves no doubt to more thorough and more competent investigation. I will only add that, for the beginnings of later doctrine, the distinction drawn, in the elaboration of the balā, or powers category, between the ‘powers’ of an Arahant and those peculiar to a Tathāgata (the usual dasabalāṇi) may not be without significance for the study of Buddhology.

Nimittam, once more, and pavattam, as contrasted and complementary terms is to me a significant innovation in terminology. The latter, rare in the Piṭakas, is a staple word in Buddhaghosa’s psychology. Right insight is said to be the discernment of nimittam in the Impermanent, of pavattam in the Painful, and of both nimittam and pavattam in the Soul-less.

Enough, anyway, has been said to indicate that the world of Oriental scholarship owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Arnold Taylor for this valuable gift. May the spirit of disinterested devotion to the building up of the temple of Truth leave him no rest till he begin again!

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

It was while engaged in himself completing the noble English version of the great Jātaka collection, of which he was editor, that Professor Cowell passed away. Dr. Rouse, who, at his request, had begun the revision of the veteran scholar's translation of this volume, carried on and finished his work, Cowell's MS. breaking off at p. 165 of the English. Full twelve years have elapsed since the "guild of Jātaka translators, creshṭhi-pūrva vayam crenih"—as the editor picturesquely dubbed them—launched their first volume; and it is hard on a quarter of a century since Professor Rhys Davids, drawn from his studies in Jātaka history and translation by the greater problems indicated in his Hibbert Lecture, approached Professor Cowell as to the desirability of such a guild of co-operating scholars carrying out the long task of translating the 547 numbers. A long period in all as human lifetimes go, if but a flash when compared with the age of these most venerable tales. The work is not even now completed according to the announcement made in the first volume. We were led to hope that a complete index would be given at the end of this volume vi. Wisely, as I venture to think, the translator has only added, in symmetry with the rest of the work, an index to these last ten lengthy tales. To such a wonderful mine of folklore and so much else as is the Jātaka Book there should now be compiled a full index, equal in bulk, or nearly so, to any one of the six volumes. I have had more than once to plough a path with mixed feelings through the total contents, and can testify how great a desideratum is such an index which shall, as to the matter of the collection, be all to us that Professor Dines Andersen's index volume to the text is in respect of proper names
and verses. The several indices appended to each volume are only adequate where Dr. Rouse has been the compiler; and of course a great deal of time is lost in consulting six instead of one. I earnestly hope, in the interests of historical investigation and of lexicographical advance, that the edition may not be judged complete till this very important additional task has been carried out.

There is certainly, in wealth of archaeological and philological interest, no falling off in this concluding book. We read on and on, as much absorbed in all the play of folklore as in the insight with which the translators cope with the difficulties of the text, or the unfailing wealth of resource—\textit{appati\text{\`{v}aniyam asecanakam ojavam}—with which Dr. Rouse renders the condensed Pali g\text{"{a}}\text{"{t}}\text{"{h}\text{"{a}}}s into excellent jingle of English ballad flavour. If we turn, for instance, to any one of the ten tales, or clusters of tales—the first—we at once come upon the moon deity being invoked by sterile wives, the chief queen being named after the moon, on some quaint lore of the nursery, and a variety of other superstitions; then on a public announcement being written on a gold plate, which is another instance in the evidence given in B"{u}hler’s “\text{"{A}lter der indischen Schrift}” (p. 5); and finally on the almost unique appendix, paralleled only in vol. iv, naming ancient Theras of Ceylon, the historical interest of which has been discussed by Professor Rhys Davids in this Journal (J.R.A.S., October, 1901).

Continuing, and confining ourselves to only a few of the more salient points of interest, we note the god Sakka, or Indra, and not the moon goddess, terminating the queen’s sterility, and intervening in the rebirths of the Bodhisat, as he was aspiring, after a spell in Sakka’s heaven, to higher heavens, by advising him to be reborn on earth. A little later we see Sakka not devising, but merely discovering a rebirth of the Bodhisat in progress (pp. 2, 20). On p. 22 we come on a god’s daughter as
guardian of the sea, carrying the drowning brine-soaked Bodhisat to land.

The Nimi-Jātaka tells of a king being shown both Hell and Heaven in the celestial chariot of Sakka, the charioteer acting the part of Dante's Vergil. It is highly interesting to compare the Dantesque Inferno with that of the Jātaka, noting to what extent the convictions of crime and the allotted punishments differ. And it is much to be regretted that such pertinent material was not accessible to M. E. Blochet, when he was writing his valuable essay on "Les Sources Orientales de la Divine Comédie" (1901). King Nimi we know from the Makhādeva-Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, in which the ride through the Inferno is asked for by the king, but is not described.

In the Khaṇḍahāla-Jātaka is an interesting aperçu of the growing influence of the 'dhamnikā samanabrāhmaṇā', as opposed to the brahmanic ritual, somewhat analogous to the position of prophet versus priest in Hebrew history. A brahmin, in constructing a proper place for a special sacrifice, surrounds it with a fence, "lest some righteous ascetic or brahmin might come and stop the rite."¹ Now cruelty to and violence done on animals is among the crimes most sharply punished in the description of hell mentioned above; Dante, I believe, does not include any such deeds as having incurred damnation. On p. 252 the account of a famine opens up the long perspective of these still chronic visitations, and comes in grim contrast to the quaint miniature of an old Indian announcement, three pages back, of "Dinner is served"—

"The mendicant calls aloud,

'God bless King Sivi! come to meat!'

The evil omen of a throbbing right eye (p. 287) is good food for the folklorist, as is the libation poured on the

¹ Cf. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India," p. 241. It was to the interest of the priests, who were paid for building the altars, each time anew, that there should be no permanent structure.
right hand as sealing a donation (p. 293). The unfortunate mother, Maddi, who was, by this agreement, given away, is a *varia lectio* of that depressing staple dish of old literature, patient Griselda. Old-world gambling is nowhere more interestingly illustrated than in the detailed account of the dice game between Puṇṇaka and the king (p. 137), as Professor Lüders has found in his monograph on "Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien." The similes alone, in this one volume, are a veritable thesaurus, and reveal many omissions in the Simile Index in last year’s Pali Text Society’s Journal. That of the moth flying into the lighted candle, applied, not as is usual in the West, but to "the idiot who has adopted a naked mendicant’s life," is possibly unique. It was conceivably suggested by the usual word for asceticism—*tapo*—although that word does not occur, ‘*naggabhāvanī*’ embracing the last three words of the English.

No time or space remains to discuss such renderings as ‘I will live the life of a Buddhist priest’ for *samaṇadhamma karissami* (29), ‘the goal of mystic insight’ for the (very unusual) expression *vipassanadhuram pūretum* (38), ‘nirvana’ for *paraṃ* (54), ‘Fate’ for *Maccu* (17), nor were it worth while, where the work as a whole is so admirable. The difficulties of translating these last lengthy Jātakas, so teeming with verses and obscure verse-idiom, must have far exceeded those encountered in the previous volumes, and the translation has worthily met these more exacting demands. Quaintly new are the phrases of courteous inquiry after the health of a great sage on the part of a layman in one of these latest tales:—

"Are your vital airs not wasted? Are your movements unimpeded? Is your sight unimpaired?" May the distinguished translator of nearly one-half of the whole Jātaka collection be able to respond no less confidently than that sage in the affirmative!

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

The word 'papyrus' has lately assumed a fascination which it has not possessed for many years past. The world still rings with the sensation caused by the latest finds which bring the reader right back into Biblical times, and are so replete with historical facts and possibilities that much time will be required to gauge their importance and to reduce them to their proper proportions. Meanwhile we must not neglect other gifts of papyri unearthed from the same soil, and although these are more than a thousand years later than the others and appeal to a much smaller circle of students, their claim to our attention is by no means less. These are the Arabic papyri, eloquent witnesses of the changes that had overtaken the land of the Pharaohs, and of the new culture introduced into the country by Islam.

Arabic papyri have been known for a long time, but a systematic study of them for historical and palaeographical purposes was hardly possible till Professor Karabacek began to publish the results of his investigation of the large Erzherzog Rainer collection. Much additional material is now available in the Scott-Reinhardt collection, which has come in the possession of the University library of Heidelberg, and it is a small group of these papyri which forms the subject of Dr. Becker's present work.

He is to be congratulated not only on the choice he has made, but also on not having delayed the publication of this volume till the description of the whole collection entrusted to him is completed. The glimpse he allows the reader of some interesting specimens of the collection is very promising, particularly as regards the earliest strata of Mohammedan tradition, fuller communications on which
will be awaited with impatience. The first instalment, now lying before me, is a fine volume, and contains a selection of some twenty documents and fragments, being government dispatches sent by Qorra b. Sharik, the Khalifa Al Walid's viceroy of Egypt, to the prefects and inhabitants of various districts. The importance of these documents, several of which are in a very good state of preservation, can hardly be over-estimated. Dating from 90–91 H. (708–9), they belong to the earliest Arabic scripts known, and add considerably not only to our knowledge of Mohammedan administration of conquered lands, but also of the development of Arab writing and, in some measure, Arab philology.

In his prefatory remarks Dr. Becker gives an interesting survey of the material now available in the various libraries for the study of ancient Arabic documents on papyrus, parchment, and paper, and reproduces the beginning of a letter written on a piece of bone which, he considers, belongs to the first century of the Hijra. It is not sufficiently known that a considerable number of old documents, mostly written on parchment and paper, are preserved at the University library of Cambridge. Many of these documents show even wider distances between the lines than the facsimiles of Qorra's papyri, and having come into the hands of private persons were converted into palimpsests, often of great literary value. A noteworthy feature of some of the Qorra documents is also the wide distance of non-connected letters belonging to one word, as well as the breaking of words at the end of a line, of course only after disconnected letters. The latter feature also appears in the second papyrus, published by the late Dr. Loth (Z.D.M.G., xxxiv, p. 687), to which Professor Karabacek has justly assigned a greater age than assumed by Loth. At all events, the Heidelberg papyri, being dated, are quite invaluable for the history of Arab writing. In connection with others of the same class and
several inscriptions published in Dr. Moritz's Arabic Palaeography, they are a surer guide than some other inscriptions, especially those of Harran and Zebed. The evidence they offer for this theory is not, however, convincing.

Dr. Becker's discussion of the original character of the various imposts and poll-taxes adds several new points to the literature already extant on the subject. His theory that jizya was at first a tribute only, is very plausible. The term jāliya was probably in the first instance employed by, or concerning, Jews. Also kharāj means originally tribute, and is used in this sense in the Targum Lament, i, 1, and other places. In the Talmud it assumes the meaning of poll-tax (B. b. 55 vo.). The vocalization of the word is, however, doubtful, and might be karga or k'rāga. The word is not of Aramaic origin (see Fraenkel, Aram. Fremdwörter, p. 282). From the employment of the word in Meccan passages of the Qurān, we might conclude that it was known in Arabia prior to Islām, and was probably introduced by the Jews of the Hijāz. This might also explain Dr. Becker's statement that the term does not occur in the Egyptian papyri of the first century of the Hijra.

The word qanqal might possibly give a clue to the difficult לַכְּלָם in the Elephantine papyri published by Professor Sachau. It seems that also the latter term denotes a measure. The Hebrew לַכְּלָם will hardly help to explain it, whilst the interchange of ל for ע is accounted for by several cases in ancient Aramaic inscriptions. If this be so, the use of that measure, or, at least, its name might have been of much older date in Egypt than is evident from the Qorra document.

In a little Arabic document, dated Cairo, 1100, there occurs three times the term דַּמְּם, meaning a certain weight larger than a karat (Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1904). The word is in this sense not to be found in the
dictionaries. Although *daimūs* in the Qorra document means a measure and not a weight, it almost looks as if 

In his transcription and translation of the documents Dr. Becker shows great care and reliability, and there are few passages in which one would differ from his opinion. His hesitation in translating 

*I seize* (ii, 11) by 'I seize' is somewhat strange. The tone of the letter in question is by no means so mild as appears to him, but rather severe, as can best be seen from lines 39–40: "Satisfy me in this matter, and I will not find fault with thee," etc. Some of the letters convey the impression that the severity of the tone is just a little influenced by religious prejudice. In the threat uttered in iii, 63, a slight sneer is observable, particularly in the words 

Фатема هي أمانكتُ ودمنكت, "for this is but thy creed and religious duty." The allusion to the religion of the addressee is quite uncalled for. The writer's religious bias is even more openly expressed in the standing phrase at the conclusion of letters, "Peace be upon him who follows the true guidance." This is much more than mere 'provocation.'

Dr. Becker calls attention to the linguistic importance of the documents, which belong to the oldest specimens of secular Arabic prose. Their language is in every way classical, and even the few apparent vulgarisms (see this Journal, July, 1907, p. 691) must be considered from a different standpoint. The style is heavy and occasionally lacks clearness, because the writer has to grapple with new conditions for which the vocabulary at his disposal was hardly adequate. This, of course, only adds to the interest attaching to the letters.

The get up of the work is worthy of its contents, and the author, as well as the authorities who rendered the publication possible, deserves the thanks of all friends of Arabic literature.

H. Hirschfeld.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.
(January, February, March, 1908.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 14th, 1908.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.
The following were elected members of the Society:—
Mr. Francis Hill Baynes, M.A.,
Professor Henry Freer Bray,
Mr. Ernest Klippel,
Mr. Girdhari Lall Maheshwary,
Professor Jakob Wackernagel.

The Chairman made mention of the loss to the Society sustained by the death of Major-General Sir Frederic Goldsmid, and spoke with high appreciation of his merits, both public and private. A vote of sympathy with his family, seconded by Dr. Thornton, was passed.

Mr. E. H. Walsh, I.C.S., read a paper on the "Coinage of Nepal." A discussion followed, in which Professor Rapson, Dr. Hoernle, and Mr. Lane-Fox Pitt took part. The paper will appear in the July Journal.

February 11th, 1908.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.
The following were elected members of the Society:—
Mr. S. Kuppuswami Aiyangar,
Dr. S. Daiches,
Mr. K. N. Gopal,
H.E. Mahmud Hassib Bey,
Mr. Maung Maung,
Mr. Maung Thein Maung,
Mr. R. V. Russell, I.C.S.,
Mr. U. Aung Zan.

Mr. Pargiter read a paper on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Grierson and Mr. Maheshwary took part.

Dr. GRIERSON said: We may congratulate ourselves that it is in this room that the important paper which we have just heard has been read, and that it is in our Journal that it and the accompanying map will be published. Only those who have studied the Mahābhārata can have an idea of the immense labour involved in its preparation—labour which has deterred other scholars from a task that has long been known to be necessary. Mr. Pargiter is the one Englishman competent to undertake it, and we have just learnt that he has succeeded.

Many theories about Indian Ethnology will have to be reconsidered in the light of this map, and I do not propose to discuss them on the present occasion. I shall content myself with offering a few remarks on one point that it has illuminated in a remarkable manner.

As Mr. Pargiter says, the sum of the whole is that the war was really one between Paṅcāla and the south Madhyadēśa on the one side, and the rest of India on the other. While he has based his account on the Mahābhārata as a whole, as we have it now, and has, quite rightly, avoided all questions of literary criticism, I venture to commence with the ordinarily accepted account of the growth of the poem, as described by Professor Hopkins on pp. 397 and 398 of The Great Epic of India. It consists of the following strata:—
B.C. 400. A collection of Bhārata lays, in honour of the Kauravas.

B.C. 400–200. A Mahābhārata tale. The Pāṇḍavas are now the heroes. Kṛṣṇa is referred to as a demi-god.

B.C. 200–100 or 200 A.D. Kṛṣṇa is now the All-God.

Insertion of didactic matter.

200–400 A.D. The Introduction and later books added.

The question arises whether the geography of the earliest bards is the same as that of our present recension of the poem. Here we must judge by probabilities, and these lead me to think that while the later editors very possibly added countries in accordance with wider geographical knowledge, they left the actual country known to the bards untouched. I do not think that the original poets can have, for instance, known of the tribes of eastern India, say, beyond Āṅga, as anything but barbarians, and any reference to settled kingdoms in that locality must be ascribed to later writers. Indeed, this is manifest from discrepancies in the poem itself, a kingdom being in one place described as barbarous and in another as Aryan. But we may safely assume that the original statements about central and western India have been on the whole preserved.

It is well known that the Aryan conquest of India was a very gradual one, and that there was a slow migration eastwards along the Gangetic plain. It is also known that the vanguard of this migration, i.e. the more eastern of the Aryan tribes, was less subject to Brāhmaṇ influence than were the tribes further to the West. The wise old men of Kōsala and Vidēha were Kṣattriyas, not Brāhmaṇs. Here it was that Janaka flourished. Here the Śāmkhya philosophy arose. Here, too, Buddhism and Jainism were founded by Kṣattriyas. At the time of the Great War even so western a country as Pañcāla was unorthodox. Drupada, its king, furnished
the original cause of the war by refusing to acknowledge his old schoolfellow Drōṇa, the Brāhmaṇ. He even consented to the polyandrous marriage of his daughter with the Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍavas themselves, as Hopkins (p. 376) says, had no Brahmanical standing and were evidently a new people from beyond the pale. If we accept this, then the real protagonists of the early epic were the Kauravas and the Pāṇcālas, and the Pāṇḍavas were allies of the latter, who rose to power on the ruin caused by the contest. But, in any case, the great ally of the Pāṇḍavas was Krṣṇa Vāsudēva, the traditional founder of the anti-Brahmanical monotheistic Bhāgavata religion. Its followers called themselves Sātvatas, and these Sātvatas were prominent on the Pāṇḍava side. Another of their allies was the king of Cēdi, whose father, Uparicara Vasu, was intimately connected with the same form of belief (MBh. xii, 12711 ff.). Other tribes to be noticed, subjects, at the time of the war, of Pāṇcāla, were the Srṝjayas and Sōmakas mentioned by Mr. Pargiter. The Srṝjayas were a very ancient tribe who had immigrated to India from the neighbourhood of the Helmund (Hillebrandt, \textit{Vedische Mythologie}, i, pp. 105 ff.), which was their home in the days of the ancient Vedic king Divōdāsa. In the Atharva Vēda (V, xix, 1) they are referred to as enemies of Bhṛgu, i.e., of the family which, under Paraśurāma, was the great vindicator of the Brāhmaṇs against the Kṣattriyas. According to the Aitarēya Brahmana (vii, 34) one of their chiefs in Vedic times was named Sōmaka. The Srṝjayas and Sōmakas of Mahābhārata times would therefore naturally take the Pāṇcāla side.

From this point of view the war resolves itself into a combat between Brahmanism (the Kauravas) and anti-Brahminism (the Pāṇcālas and Pāṇḍavas), the former to the West and the latter to the East. We shall also see that it was at the same time a struggle between the
later (represented by the Kauravas) and the earlier (represented by the Pañcālas) Aryan immigrants to India.

Now let us go back to Vedic times. In the sixth mandala of the Rg Veda, Divodāsa is in Arachosia, mixed up with the Śṛnjayās, the Paṇis, the Brsayas, and others. In the seventh mandala we are with his descendant Sudās, in times when Divodāsa had already become relegated to the cloudy region of myth. We are now, not in Arachosia, but in the North-West Pañjāb. Sudās is the leader of one of the latest waves of Aryan immigration into India. He rules the Bharatas, a name used in later times for the most famous of the lunar kings, who was an ancestor of the Kūrus. There are plenty of earlier immigrants to his cast with whom he has much fighting to do. His family priest is a Brāhmaṇ, Vasiṣṭha, and we have a forerunner of the cult-war of the Mahābhārata in the famous struggle between him and Viśvāmitra, the Kṣattriya priest of Kanyākubja, for the sacrificial gifts of Sudās. This battle is idealized in the Rāmāyāna (I, 51 ff.). Here the object of the struggle is a magic cow, not priestly plunder, but the tradition of the Western origin of Vasiṣṭha and of his connection with the trans-Indus country persists. The army with which he fights Viśvāmitra is composed of Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, and Barbaras, the very people whom Mr. Pargiter has shown were fighting on the side of the Kauravas. There are none of these foreign western nations on the Pañcāla (Kṣattriya) side. The Mahābhārata also includes Piśācas and Nāgas, whom, for other reasons, I have elsewhere placed with the Daradas beyond the North-West Frontier.

In the Great War the Kṣattriya party prevailed over the Brahmanical one, but the conquerors were ultimately compelled to yield to those whom they conquered.

1 See Hillebrandt, Vedic Mythology, i, pp. 96-111.
Nothing is more instructive in the history of Indian civilization than the skill and characteristic astuteness with which the Brāhmaṇs gradually drew their opponents, the Bhaṅgavatas, and their opponents' allies, the followers of Sāṃkhya-Yoga, into their fold, and enlisted their aid in the life and death struggle with Buddhism. This has been admirably brought out by Professor Garbe in his recent works on Sāṃkhya and the Bhagavad Gītā.

The treaty of peace which sanctioned the alliance is found in the pages of the latter poem. Originally composed a century or two B.C., but added to, Brahmanized, and incorporated formally in the Mahābhārata in the course of the following three or four centuries, it is now the textbook of the Brahmanized Anti-Brahmanists. Later than this came the long Nārāyaṇiya section of the Śānti Parvan, in which the fusion is still more complete, and the authority of the Vēdas still more fully admitted. The next stage in which we meet it is in the systematized form given to it by Rāmānuja in the twelfth century A.D., which with, as I believe, additions taken from early Christianity forms the foundation of the bhakti religion of the India of the present day.

May I add as a postscript a suggestion for another line of enquiry by scholars who have made Vedic times their special study. Mr. Pargiter has drawn attention to the fact that the Solar dynasty is scarcely mentioned as taking part in the Great War. Most of the members of the Lunar dynasty sided with the Kaurava (or, as I call them, the Brahmanist) party. The only exception is the eastern Rājā of Kāṣī. In fact, we might almost call the original western bardic poems with Kaurava heroes as the Lunar epic, in contradistinction to the eastern Rāmāyana, the Solar epic. Now the Lunar dynasty is just as often called the Sōma-vamśa as the Candra-vamśa. We have already noted that Bharata was an important chief of the Sōma-vamśa, and that Sudās, the patron of Vasiṣṭha, was chief
of the Bharatas. In the Vēdas a sharp distinction is drawn between sunvants and asunvants. The former are the orthodox pressers of soma; the latter were the unfaithful who did not worship Indra and who did not press soma. We have no right to assume that the asunvants were necessarily non-Aryan. There were Aryans on the banks of the Rāvi and of the Jamnā in Sudās's time whose speech was unintelligible to the Bharatas (Hillebrandt, p. 114). According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, ii, i, 24) he who speaks an unintelligible speech is a Mlēccha or Barbarian, and in the preceding verse Asuras, who seem to be there considered as unorthodox Aryans, are represented as speaking a Prakrit of Eastern India.¹ Is it possible that the Sōma-yamśa really represents tribes who considered themselves as orthodox soma-pressers, sunvants, as distinct from the unorthodox earlier immigrants, whose language they could not understand? The connection between the Vedic soma and the moon has often been discussed, and I need only refer here to Professor Hillebrandt's well-known work, which has been frequently quoted in the preceding pages. Of course, it will be understood that I do not put this forward as a well-defined theory, but I think that it offers a line of enquiry which is worth following up.

The paper appears in this number of the Journal.

March 10th, 1908.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Sofiullah Saifuddin Ahmad,
Dr. A. Büchler,
Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Bux,

¹ They say hē 'lavō for hē 'rayō.
Mr. W. Coldstream, I.C.S. (ret.),
Mr. Kumar Padma Gopal Menon,
Mr. Pyare Lal Misra,
Mr. Mya Ü.

A vote of condolence with the family of the late Dr. Pope, for the loss they had sustained in his death, was adopted.

Dr. Grierson read a paper on "The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works." A discussion followed, in which Miss Ridding, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Kennedy, Sir Alfred Lyall, and the Rev. J. E. Padfield took part.

The paper appears in this number of the Journal.

II.—Principal Contents of Oriental Journals.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESSELLSCHAFT.
   Bd. xxxi, Heft 4.

Hultzsch (E.). Die Tarkakaumudi des Langākshi Bhāskara.
Oldenberg (H.). Vedische Untersuchungen.
Horn (P.). Ross und Reiter im Śāhnāme.
Goldziher (I.). Kämpfe um die Stellung des Ḥadīt im Islam.
Schmidt (R.). Amitagati’s Subhāṣitasamādoha.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xxii, No. 4.

Franke (O.). Dipavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa.
III. Journal Asiatique. Série x, Tome x, No. 3.
Addai Scher (Mgr.). Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l’archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir.

—— Les Lolos.
Forke (A.). Das arabische Alphabet nach dem Tien-fang tse-mu chieh-yi.

V. Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Vol. i, Faso. 2.
Ballini (A.). Il Vāsupūjyacaritra di Vardhamasūri.
Chajes (H. P.). Note sulle Meḥabberoth di Immanuel Romano.
Guidi (L.). Di alcuni inni abissini.

Besnard (H.). Les populations moi du Darlac.
Chéon (A.). Note sur les dialectes Saê et Muông.

Scott (Rev. H. R.). The Nasik Hoard of Nahapâna’s Coins.
Modi (J. J.). Bombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A.D.

—— A few Notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view.
Vithal (Shamrao). The Parāṣariya Dharma Śastra.


Gray (L. H.). On certain Persian and Armenian Month Names as influenced by the Avesta Calendar.


Hall (H. R.). The Di-hetep suten Formula.
Sayce (Professor A. H.). Notes on Assyrian and Egyptian History.
—— Karian, Aramaic, and Greek Graffiti from Heshān. Murray (Margaret). The Coffin of Ta-āth in the Brassey Institute at Hastings.
Robinson (W. A.). A Monument from Tshok-Göz-Köprüköe.
Thompson (R. C.). The Folklore of Mossoul.


Pinches (T. G.). The Legend of Merodach.


The Editor. Recent Discoveries in Egypt.
OBITUARY NOTICES.

EDWARD LYALL BRANDRETH.

In the Obituary list for the past year is the name of one of the oldest members of the Society, Mr. Edward Lyall Brandreth, Honorary Vice-President, who passed away on the 10th December, 1907, in his 85th year.

The event was referred to by our President, Lord Reay, in his opening address at the first General Meeting of the present year, and in proposing a vote of condolence with the family his Lordship gave a statement of the services rendered by the deceased to the Society. The statement was necessarily very brief, and as an old friend of Mr. Brandreth, and a fellow-worker with him in India and on the Council, I ask leave to give a few further particulars of his career.

Mr. Brandreth was a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, the third son of Mr. Joseph Pilkington Brandreth, M.D., of Liverpool, and grandson of Mr. Joseph Brandreth, the eminent physician. He was born in 1823 and a cotemporary at Eton and subsequently at Haileybury College, and a friend through life, of our late Honorary Secretary, Dr. R. N. Cust. At Haileybury he was a medallist in Persian and in Sanskrit, and throughout his career took a keen interest in Oriental studies, and latterly more especially in the vernacular languages of Northern India.

In India Mr. Brandreth received his earliest training as Civil Servant in the "North-Western Provinces," one of the most historic and interesting portions of the Bengal Presidency; situate in the region of the upper Ganges and its tributaries, with Benares, Agra, and (at that time) Dehli among its cities—the home of Sanskrit learning, the centre of Patān and Mughal sovereignties, and still the show-ground of their architecture, and, from a linguistic point of view, the cradle of Hindi and birthplace of Urdu literature. Such were some of the surroundings of his earlier Indian service. And here he was a cotemporary of two distinguished Orientalists; of William Muir, who, great as administrator and economist, was also great in Arabic, and his brother, John Muir, the well-known Sanskritist. With the latter, indeed, Brandreth, when Assistant Magistrate at Benares, for some time, shared a house.

But he was soon afterwards moved from the "regulation districts" of his province and attached to the Political Agency of "Ājmere and Mairwarra," two British districts in the heart of Rājputāna—Ājmere picturesquely situated on a rock-hemméd plateau, with a fort and capital of the same name, where in A.D. 1615 the 'Great Mogul,' Jahāngīr, received Sir Thomas Roe, first founder of our Indian Empire, and where, in recent times, the establishment of Mayo College, the 'Eton of the Rājputs,' has done much to stimulate Imperial loyalty; Mairwarra (the 'realm of the Mairs') a hill-tract in the Aravallis adjoining Ājmere on the south-west, once the home of hereditary plunderers, now, thanks to irrigation and

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1 A name which after the annexation of the Punjab became misleading, and has been recently changed to that of the "United Provinces of Agra and Oude."
2 Now spelt 'Merwāra.'
3 Now in the jurisdiction of the Rājputāna Agency—then under the Government of the N.W. Provinces.
recruiting, and the benevolent energy of Dixon, a land of peaceful cultivators and loyal soldiery. In this interesting region he remained until the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, after which he was transferred as Deputy Commissioner to the Cis-Satljaj States Division of the new province, and made his first acquaintance with Panjābī. In 1857, the year of the great Mutiny, he was on furlough; but soon after his return Dehli and four adjacent districts were transferred from the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces Government to that of the Punjab. This led to the formation of two new Punjab Divisions—that of Hissār and of Dehli. In 1859 he was appointed Commissioner of the Hissār Division, and in 1861 transferred in the same capacity to that of Dehli, where his calm judgment, serene temper, and warm sympathy with the natives of all classes, combined with tact and firmness, specially fitted him to restore confidence, after rebellion had been crushed, and deal wisely with the difficult questions of law and policy arising.

In 1863 he was transferred, as Commissioner, to the Rawalpindi Division, in the north of the Punjab, with its summer headquarters at Murree in the Western Himalayas, which gave him a new field for linguistic investigation. Here he worked as Commissioner till 1867, then served for two years as Member of the Legislative Council for India, and in 1870, while on furlough in England, retired from the service. Meanwhile he had been called to the English Bar in 1863, and had become a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex.

He joined the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857, was appointed a member of Council in 1872 and Honorary Treasurer in 1886, a post he filled for seventeen years, retiring in 1903. When the rank of Honorary Vice-President was created he was one of the first on whom it was conferred.

In June, 1877, he read a paper before the Society (Sir E.
Colebrooke presiding) on the "Non-Aryan Languages of India," a subject dealt with by Professor Max Müller thirty years previously, since when, however, much additional information had become available.

Dividing the languages into six main groups—the Dravidian (or Southern), the Kolarian, the Tibeto-Burman (subdivided into nineteen classes), the Khâsi, the Tai, and the Mon-Anam—each group comprising many separate languages and dialects, about one hundred and fifty in all, the paper gives a scholarly account of those among them of which a grammar or vocabulary was then available, a work of no small labour; while annexed to the paper is a language-map of India, coloured so as to show the position and extent of the several non-Aryan groups. There was a full discussion, in which Sir Walter Elliot, Sir George Campbell, and Messrs. W. W. Hunter, Lewin-Bowring, and Forbes took part, and the great interest attaching to these languages and the necessity for further investigation were strongly insisted upon.

On April 21st, 1879, at a meeting of the Society attended by Sir Henry Rawlinson, he read the first of two papers on the "Gaurian as compared with the Romance Languages."

"Gaurian" or "Northern" is a name given by Dr. Hoernle to the languages of Northern India in contradistinction to 'Dravidian,' applied by Caldwell and others to the languages of South India; and is here applied by Mr. Brandreth to those languages which Beames in his Comparative Grammar refers to as 'Modern Aryan,' and which may be perhaps more fitly designated 'Neo-Sanskrit'—languages bearing the same relation to the Sanskrit as the Romance or 'Neo-Latin' languages to Latin. They comprise the following vernaculars:—Hindi, Panjâbi, Sindhi, Gujarâthi, Marâthi, Orya, Bangâli, on the Sanskrit side, and Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, and French on the Latin side; and the main object of Mr. Brandreth's paper is
to show that there is a remarkable resemblance in the changes by which Sanskrit had become 'Gaurian' and Latin Romance.

The second paper was read on July 5th, 1880, the two being the result, not indeed of independent research, but of careful and detailed study of the works of Beames, Trumpp, Hoernle, Diez, Littré, and Brachet.

The first part deals chiefly with phonology, and seeks to demonstrate that the letter-changes in the development of the Indian vernaculars from their Sanskrit base present a remarkable similarity to those occurring in the development of Romance languages from Latin.

In part ii he shows that certain characteristics common to both Sanskrit and Latin, e.g. the neuter gender, had generally disappeared in the derived languages; that the loss of case-endings was supplied by particles or prepositions; that special forms of tense and mood all tend to disappear, the present indicative and the imperative remaining as root-forms, to which the required shades of meaning—past, future, or (as the case may be)—are imparted by a particles prefixed or added to it; that there is a change of cases and other minor developments, and concluding with a brief account of the prevailing rules of syntax.

Sir Henry Rawlinson took great interest in the papers and presided on both occasions.

On June 14th, 1898, Sir Raymond West in the chair, Mr. Brandreth read a paper on "Landscape in Indian Poetry," which led to an interesting discussion.

In addition to being the author of these papers, he was a most useful member of Committees.

But his energies were by no means confined to his work for the R.A.S.; he was a member of the Council of the Philological Society and a regular attendant at its meetings, and was for years one of the Honorary
Sub-editors of the "New English Dictionary." In 1879, when that great work was restarted under the auspices of the Oxford Press and the editorship of Dr. Murray, Mr. Brandreth enrolled himself among the volunteer helpers, and worked indefatigably as such, until a few weeks before his death, in collecting and arranging illustrative quotations, sub-editing the text of sections, re-examining work already done, and latterly in making research at the British Museum among printed books and manuscripts not available at the Bodleian. In the preface to vol. v of the Dictionary (the last volume published) Mr. Brandreth's services are specially recognised not only for assistance rendered in sub-editing, but "for great research into the literary history of Oriental words"; and in estimating the value of the work done by him Dr. Murray writes as follows:—"Among the many volunteers whose work has contributed to making the New English Dictionary what it is not many have had the capacity and qualifications, the willinghoo, and the as our honoured friend has done. forgotten when the story is told!" he was for years Chairman of the Indians, and also of the New Cottage Home Schools at Banstead, an institution which he took a leading part in establishing, and in which he always took the deepest interest.

All his work, both in India and at home, was painstaking and thorough, and, being blest with excellent health, he was enabled (to quote the words of the obituary notice in the Times of December 14th) "to live a life of continuous activity until a few weeks before his death."

His bearing was singularly quiet, and he was a model of courtesy, and the charming hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Brandreth (the latter passed away in 1897), both in
India and at Elvaston Place, will never be forgotten by
the many friends who were privileged to enjoy it.

Mr. Brandreth leaves an only child, a daughter, now
the wife of Mr. J. G. Butcher, K.C., late M.P. for York.

January, 1908.

T. H. T.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERIC JOHN GOLDSMID,
K.C.S.I., C.B.

The death of Mr. E. L. Brandreth at the ripe age of
84 has been quickly followed by the death of another
Honorary Vice-President, the distinguished officer above
named, who passed away on the 12th January at the
still riper age of 89.

The deceased was a good specimen of a class to which
the world in general, and India and the East particularly,
are much indebted—a class of which our late Director,
Sir Henry Rawlinson, was a fine example—the Military
Civilian; combining indomitable energy, mental as well as
physical, quickness of perception, accuracy of work and
statement, together with the military instinct of respect
for orders and instructions.

The subject of this memoir had all these virtues and
many more. Besides being a good soldier he was a
remarkable linguist. Having lived in France and Italy
when young, he spoke French equally well with English
and Italian with facility; at college he distinguished
himself in classics, and made himself, as time went on,
master, in more than a colloquial sense, of Persian, Arabic,
and Turkish, in addition to Urdu, Sindi, and other Indian
vernaculars. In Sind he proved himself a good Magistrate
and Judge, with a keen interest in education, and a
careful investigator of complicated questions of tenure
and the like; in political work he was tactful as well as energetic; and in later years he was a good director of the work of others—a chief under whom it was a pleasure to serve, for he always gave subordinates full credit for good work, minimising his own performances, and stimulating by example rather than by criticism; a good writer—at times, perhaps, voluminous, but always clear and forcible, and in describing scenery and journeyings particularly bright and interesting; a valued contributor to reviews and the Encyclopædia; and author, *inter alia*, of "Telegraph and Travel," "Eastern Persia," and, above all, of the "Life of Outram." In character a man of singular modesty; "a fine soldier and administrator," says one of his biographers, "with the heart of a little child"; of deep religious feeling, without a trace of bigotry; a most genial companion and, to his friends, one of the most lovable of men.

Sir Frederic was born at Milan in 1818, the only son of Mr. Lionel Prager Goldsmid, an officer of the 19th Dragoons. On his father's side he was of Jewish descent, the scion of a well-known City family, but through his grandmother, Mrs. Benjamin Goldsmid, his branch of the family became Christian, and Sir Frederick himself was through life a member of the Church of England.

He was educated partly at an English school in Paris, partly at King's College School, and King's College, London. He was destined for a military career, and in January, 1839, entered the Madras Army, joining his regiment, the 37th Madras N.I., in the April following.

Of his subsequent career as soldier, administrator, diplomatist, and writer, a brief but good account is given in the *Times* of January 13th, and those who would know more of his religious life and work after retirement and the "beauty and simplicity and unselfishness" of his personal character should read the obituary notice in the *Church Times* of the 24th.
The year during which young Goldsmid joined the Army was the year of the first Afghan war. He did not take part in that campaign, but in August of the following year his regiment was ordered to proceed to China, and he there took part in the actions at Canton and along the coast, which preceded the treaty of Nankin—receiving the Chinese war medal. While the campaign was in progress he was appointed Adjutant of his regiment; it was then that he turned his attention to the study of Eastern languages, in which he became afterwards so remarkably proficient, and in 1845 he qualified as interpreter in Hindustani.

In 1846 he had to return to England on medical certificate, but did not lead an idle life, acting during the two years of his residence in England as orderly officer at Addiscombe. In 1848 he returned to India, and, continuing his studies, passed the qualifying examinations, and was appointed in 1849 Interpreter for Persian and in 1851 for Arabic. In the same year, having obtained his company, he was appointed to act as Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Nagpur Subsidiary Force. It was at this juncture that, through the influence of the great General John Jacob, he entered Civil employ in the recently acquired province of Sind, first as Deputy Collector and then as Assistant Commissioner for Special Enquiry into “the Settlement of Alienated Lands.” He quickly mastered Sindi, passing the examination for Interpreter, and was recognized as a very promising officer.

In 1855 he had again to proceed to England on medical certificate, but, his health being recruited by the voyage, he at once volunteered for active service in the Crimea, and was forthwith attached to the Turkish Contingent as Assistant-Adjutant-General under General Vivian; here he acquired Turkish, was made President of the Local Examining Committee at Kertch, and, in
recognition of his services, received the Turkish war medal, the order of the fourth class Medjidieh, and the brevet rank of Major in the Army.

In 1856 he returned to India and was appointed to the post of Judge at Shikarpur, subsequently resuming his enquiry into the "Alienated Lands," and soon afterwards he was attached to the staff of Sir Bartle Frere, who had succeeded to the office of Commissioner in Sind, and at once appreciated Major Goldsmid's ability and character.

In this capacity he showed much tact and energy, did good service during the anxious period of the great Mutiny, and was subsequently employed on more than one Special Commission. In 1861 he was deputed to arrange with the Chiefs in Baluchistan and Makran for the construction of a land-line of telegraph along the coast to Gwadar, and received the thanks of the Bombay Government for the "speedy and successful issue of his negotiations."

In 1862 he again went to England on sick-leave, returning to India in November, 1863, with the rank of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. About this time it was decided to establish overland telegraphic communication from Europe through Persia and Baluchistan to India, and Colonel Goldsmid was at once selected to take part in the undertaking. Accordingly in 1864 he accompanied the late Colonel Patrick Stewart, R.E., when laying the cable in the Persian Gulf; later on he proceeded overland to Constantinople via Turkish Arabia and Asia Minor—a long and arduous journey—and after much reporting and discussion had the satisfaction of conveying

1 On this occasion the writer of this memoir had the pleasure of accompanying him for part of the journey, and well remembers how greatly he enjoyed Major Goldsmid's conversation, and how much he was struck by his classical knowledge as well as his perfect mastery of Arabic and Persian.
the Indo-Ottoman Telegraph Treaty duly signed to England. In the beginning of 1865, on the death of Colonel Stewart, he was appointed Director-General of the Indo-European Telegraph, and proceeded at once, via Russia and the Caspian, to Tebrān, to assist Her Majesty's Minister in negotiating a Telegraph Treaty with the Persian Government. Having obtained the required convention he started overland for India, and, after a trying journey of 2½ months through the then little-explored tracts of Eastern Persia and Balūchistān, reached Chārbār, a port of Makrān in 1866; thence going forward to Simla to report the proceedings to the Viceroy. He then started again for Europe, submitted the draft of a supplemental Convention to the India Office, and the same year returned to the Persian capital with a view to further negotiations. For these services he received the thanks of the Government of India; all his proposals were approved, and the Companionship of the Bath was conferred upon him.

After being delayed at Tebrān by a temporary hitch he proceeded to India to confer with the Governor of Bombay, and thence again to England, where the difficulty was finally settled. As a measure of the mere physical toil involved in these operations—irrespective of worries, anxieties, and hardships—it was computed by the late Sir Henry Yule that Colonel Goldsmid's land-journeys alone must have covered a distance of at least 5,700 miles.

But this was not all; on his return journey from England to India he was engaged in somewhat protracted negotiations with the French authorities on the terms of admission of the Indo-European Telegraph into the general system of telegraphs in Europe. These were satisfactorily settled.

In 1868 Colonel Goldsmid attended the Telegraph Conference in Vienna, where he was received with great honour by the Emperor and his Ministers as the
accomplisher of a great work, and thereafter proceeded to Bombay to resume the work of telegraph extension to the West. In 1869, in furtherance of this object, he again visited Makrān, Gwādar, and Chārbār, and provided for the better security of the cable by transferring it from the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf at Rās Masandom to the island of Henjām just off the Persian shore. The Indo-European Telegraph having been now fairly organized, Colonel Goldsmid resigned the directorship in 1870 in favour of the Assistant Chief Director, Major (the late Colonel Sir John) Bateman Champain, R.E.

During the six years of his work as Director-General he had not only helped to fix the alignment of the telegraph and make arrangements with the Turkish and Persian Governments for its protection, as described in the preceding paragraphs, but he personally superintended the erection of the poles and the carrying of the wires across the whole extent of the Shah's dominions. Of that arduous work he gave an interesting and modest account in his volume entitled "Telegraph and Travel" (published in 1874), rendering full justice to the efforts of his assistants, and saying little or nothing of his own; showing at the same time such great powers of description that his narrative was pronounced by the Press to be "as interesting as it was important."

But new work was soon found for Colonel Goldsmid. It had long been known that the boundary between Persia and Balūchistān sorely needed delimitation, and the necessity was all the greater now that an important telegraph-line passed through the territories of both; it was decided, therefore, in 1871, to appoint Colonel Goldsmid a Commissioner to arrange for such delimitation, with the local rank of Major-General and a suitable staff. The task was a difficult and delicate one, but the boundary proposed by the British Commissioner was at last accepted by the Persian Government, and on the return of the
Commission to England Major-General Goldsmid was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India, and received "the warm acknowledgments of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council."

In the same year Sir Frederic was entrusted with a far more difficult task, that of defining the boundary between Persia and Afghanistān in the disputed province of Sistān. A full account of his proceedings and the text of his arbitral award is contained in a voluminous collection of papers relating to Eastern Persia, including reports by members of his staff,¹ edited by Sir Frederic, with an introduction by himself, and published under the direction of the Government of India in 1876.

Suffice it here to say that, after careful historical research, much surveying and investigation on the ground, and great difficulties caused by the Persian Commissioners and the attitude of the representative of the Amir of Kābul (Sher Ali Khan), who was accompanied by Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) Pollock representing the Viceroy of India, the arbitral award was declared at Tehrān on August 19th, 1872.

It failed to satisfy either party. This is no matter for surprise, and is testimony to the arbitrator's impartiality. He was required by his instructions to "pay special regard to ancient right and present possession"; but the questions involved were complex, and as the parties were keenly hostile it was impossible to give a decision acceptable to both. The award was confirmed by Her Majesty's Government after considering the objections of the parties, and the thanks of the Government of India were given to Sir Frederic Goldsmid "for the tact and good judgment

¹ Viz., Major Oliver (afterwards Sir Oliver) St. John, R.E.; Major Beresford Lovett, R.E. (afterwards Major-General, C.B., C.S.I.); Major Euan Smith (afterwards Colonel Sir Euan Smith, K.C.B., C.S.I.); W. T. Blanford, C.I.E., F.R.S.
he had displayed through these negotiations under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty." It should be added that though the award satisfied neither party, it had the highly beneficial effect of maintaining peace.

With the arbitration award Sir Frederic's career in India terminated. On the 1st January, 1875, after 35 years of arduous service, Sir F. Goldsmith retired from the Government service with a special pension and the rank of Major-General.

But Sir Frederic was not destined to lead an idle life. He at once devoted himself to the preparation of the voluminous Report on Eastern Persia, which has already been referred to, and was further entrusted with an important work for which he was well fitted both by knowledge and by sympathy—the biography of General Sir James Outram, "the Bayard of India." The work was completed in two volumes in 1880 and was a literary success.

But though Sir Frederic had retired from Government service he was still considered more or less indispensable, and was appointed in 1877 British Representative of an International Commission to enquire into the matter of coolie emigration to the Island of La Réunion. In company with a French Commissioner he proceeded to the island and made a tour of the estates, and a joint report was issued in February, 1878, and a separate report in the April following. For this enquiry he received the acknowledgments of the Government of India, and in this the Secretary of State "entirely concurred." On June 14th of the latter year he delivered a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution on "Communications with India under possible contingencies," an elaborate paper for which he was cordially thanked by Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Yule, R.E., who presided.

In 1880 Sir Frederic accepted the office of British Controller of the Daira Sanieh (Crown lands) in Egypt,
and was there during the outbreak in September, 1881. In June, 1882, he was sent for by Lord Granville and despatched on a mission to Constantinople, and on returning thence to Alexandria he organized an Intelligence Department, which rendered useful service until the surrender of Arabi after the victory of Tel-el-Kebir. For these services he received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief in Egypt (Viscount Wolseley) and the War Office. On the 1st of May, 1883, he resigned his office of Controller of Egyptian Crown lands, and received from the Khedive the Osmanieh Decoration of the second class and the Bronze Star.

Leaving Egypt he accepted an invitation from the King of the Belgians to proceed to the Congo as "Administrateur Délégué" with a view of carrying out special measures for the organization of the new state. He landed at Banana Point on September 4th, 1883, and proceeded with his staff up country. Had he been able to remain and properly organize the administrative system, much good may have resulted, but he was soon prostrated by severe illness, and had, to his great disappointment, to return to England from Loanda, reaching London on the 31st of December.

This may be termed Sir Frederic's last appearance in a public capacity, and during the remaining years of his life he devoted his attention partly to literary work, consisting of contributions to newspapers, reviews, and works of reference, like the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," a sphere in which he gained the reputation of being a laborious and conscientious writer; and he also wrote an interesting preface to a new edition of Morier's Hâji Bâbâ. Besides his literary work he took an active interest in various philanthropic and religious institutions. For many years he was an interested member of the Committee of the Gordon Boys' Home (which he helped to found), also of the Committee of the S.P.G., and was of the
greatest assistance to Archbishop Benson in founding his Mission to the Assyrian Christians.

Sir Frederic's connection with the Royal Asiatic Society commenced in 1864, the year after he had published a metrical translation of the Sindi legendary poem of Sūswi and Punhū, and in 1865 he furnished a paper on the "Preservation of National Literature in the East," suggested by his interest in folklore, a paper in which he advocates the introduction into Sind of an official language and character (then non-existent) with a view not only to public convenience, but to prevent the legendary poems and oral traditions of the country dying out. The proposed measure was adopted, and the official language and character are now known as Arabic-Sindi.

He was an ordinary member of the Council for brief periods between 1875 and 1889; and between November, 1885, and June 30th, 1887, he held the post of Secretary, a post which, to the great regret of the Council, he was constrained to resign, but not before he had improved the Journal by the introduction of the "Notes of the Quarter" which are now included in it. He was a Vice-President from 1890 to 1905, and on his retirement from increasing infirmities was appointed Honorary Vice-President.

He was also a Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society, and presided at the Geographical Section of the British Association Meeting of 1888.

On the principle that a man is known from his "companions and his recreations" it may be mentioned, in conclusion, that among his great personal friends in England were, in early years, Thackeray, Balfe, Charles Kean, and various artists, and in later years Archbishop Benson, besides his fellow-workers in India, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Green, Sir Bateman Champain, R.E., and many others with whom he remained on terms of cordial intimacy; and that latterly his favourite recreations were
four—Eastern politics, Literature, hearing good Music, and the Drama. Age and deafness interfered with these enjoyments, but did not affect his cheeriness or interest in mundane affairs. As to his manner of life it was simple and methodical; he was fond of early rising, took regular exercise, but was not a golfer, cared not for cards or billiards, was not an abstainer, but 'moderate' in all things. He kept up his classics to the last, and in his 90th year addressed a postcard in Greek to one of his grandsons.

He was buried at Hollingbourne, in Kent, where he once lived for many years, and among the multitude of tributes sent was a wreath from the R.A.S., a meeting of which he had attended not many months before his death.

Sir F. Goldsmid married in 1849 Mary, eldest daughter of Lieut.-General Mackenzie Steuart; she died in 1900. He leaves two sons and four daughters: one of the former is a retired officer of the Bengal Staff Corps; one of the latter has proceeded to India, and seems to have inherited her father's facility for acquiring Eastern languages.

February, 1908.

T. H. T.

ROBERT ATKINSON, LL.D., D.LITT.

May an old pupil dedicate a few lines to the memory of one to whom he owes more than he can tell, and whose friendship he has been proud to retain unbroken for nearly 40 years. Professor Atkinson was not himself a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, but more than one of those who have taken an active part in the work of its Council are indebted to him for their early training, and a long list of his pupils could be compiled.
from the roll of its members. Year after year, for close
on half a century, he sent out young men to the East,
not a few of whom have distinguished themselves as
scholars or as public servants.

Born in Yorkshire, he was, as Professor Mahaffy aptly
puts it, "one of those peculiar men whom Trinity College,
Dublin, trains, or acquires, who are specialists in several
subjects, and masters in them all." His early education
at Liége gave him a grasp of French from which
he developed the amazing knowledge of the Romance
languages that earned for him his first college professor-
ship. Although an omnivorous reader, he had far more
than mere book knowledge, and in all the forms of
speech that he studied his command of the colloquial
idiom and of pronunciation was remarkable. A Parisian
savant has told me that his French was absolu rent
sans accent; on his first visit to St. Petersburg he
chattered volubly in Russian with a cabman and rescued
a party of visitors from the inevitable difficulties that
beset new arrivals; and a high authority has informed
me that his Chinese pronunciation was irreproachable.

After entering college he worked as a schoolmaster in
Kilkenny till he won a scholarship in the year 1862.
Thenceforward his academic progress was rapid. He
took his B.A. degree in the following year. In 1867
he was elected Professor of the Romance languages, and
in 1871 Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology.
He became LL.D. in 1869, D.Litt. (Honoris Causa) in
1891, and was President of the Royal Irish Academy
from 1901 to 1906. Last Autumn failing health com-
pelled him to resign his official connection with the
University, and on the 10th of January, 1908, he passed
away peacefully in his 69th year.

With the exception of the great editions of the ancient
Irish classics published under the auspices of the Royal
Irish Academy, most of his work is hidden away in the
journals of learned societies. Only his pupils know his best books. One of the earliest of these was a Mæso-Gothic Grammar. About this, one of his former students, now occupying an honoured post at Cambridge, writes to me in a private letter, "I know nothing like his masterly synopsis of the structure of the language." He had it lithographed for his pupils, but it was never published. He commenced a dictionary of the Rg Vēda, in which it was my privilege to take a humble share as assistant, but it was anticipated by Grassmann's. Useful as the latter is, Atkinson's would have been far more scientific, and its abandonment was a calamity for scholarship. He was the only Englishman I ever met who had thoroughly mastered the intricacies of Pānini. He knew the Aṣṭādhyāyī (the way Pandits know it in India) off by heart from beginning to end, and any difficult point in Sanskrit grammar he solved at once, without a moment of hesitation, by a quotation of the appropriate sūtra. But this study he reserved for advanced students. For us beginners he prepared a manuscript grammar—who of his pupils does not remember its familiar brown-paper cover, worn and ragged by continual use?—full of ingenious labour-saving devices, which gave us an insight into the genius of the language in a way that no other book that I have seen has approached. Nor was his knowledge of Indian languages confined to those of Aryan type. Tamil and Telugu were also taught by him, and his pupils over and over again obtained the highest marks in the Civil Service examinations in these forms of speech. There were, of course, professors of Persian and of the various Semitic languages in the University, and therefore he did not give official instruction in them, but he was familiar with them, and was, I have been told, a most admirable Hebrew scholar, so much so that for many years candidates for the Fellowship examination (the
highest in the University), or even for chairs in Divinity, who felt themselves deficient in that language, came to him for further instruction.

On the thorny question of Celtic philology I dare not dilate. Many of us will remember criticisms on his work in this branch of learning that appeared some years ago in the pages of the Academy, and I am not competent to judge of their correctness; but, it will be remembered, he never answered them, and this, I know, was not because he admitted that he was in the wrong, but because he refused on principle to waste his time in controversy. He was content, he told me, when in my impetuous way I urged him to reply, to leave the sum-total of his work, with its flaws and with its excellences, to be judged by posterity. His interest in Irish was purely linguistic. He cared little for its literature as literature, and in later years this brought him into active collision with the moving spirits of the Gaelic League.

So far I have dealt with him as a master of tongues, but his varied energies were not confined to this side of learning. He had a real love for nature, and was so accomplished a botanist that he was regularly consulted by the University Professor of that science. Only his intimate friends knew his powers as a musician, and have listened with delight to his fine violin-playing, though that was by no means the only instrument of which he was a master. Again, long before jujitsu was popularly known in this country, he had acquired it both in theory and in practice; and on a cold day, in the intervals of his lectures, many a bruise did I receive from him in the course of a lesson in the use of the single-sticks or of the Indian clubs.

But above all he was a student of philology. As a comparative philologist he had from the first thoroughly grasped the principle of law in language, by the enunciation of which Brugmann afterwards made his name, in opposition
to the teaching of Curtius, Schleicher, and the older masters who resorted when in difficulties to theories of "sporadic changes." Many and many a time, long before Brugmann's name was known, did he impress upon us that the existence of an apparent exception but proved the existence of an undiscovered rule, and that it was our business to find that rule out. He used to maintain, and with great justice, that the only way to study comparative philology was to commence with the Romance languages. There, he would say, you can check off your results by the mother Latin; whereas, in the comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Slavonic, and so forth, you are only guessing at an Ur-Sprache.

His excellence as a teacher can be gathered from the foregoing. It was impossible to study under him without directly acquiring knowledge, and without, at the same time, learning to step ahead for oneself. The loss is still too fresh for me to put into words the personal affection with which he inspired us. Few have been privileged to meet so loyal, so delightful, a friend,—a true friend who never feared to criticize, and whose criticism was always sought for and valued by those that knew him. Although pre-eminently a teacher, he founded no school,—there has been no Elisha worthy to receive his mantle,—but his pupils are scattered over England, India, and the Continent of Europe, and have carried with them the devotion to learning for its own sake, and the habit of sparing no drudgery, however toilsome, in its acquirement, that they gained from Robert Atkinson, and of which he was a bright and distinguished example.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.
THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.

When I was asked to write a short obituary notice of Dr. Pope, my esteemed guru in Dravidian studies, I was reminded of what he once said to me: "It is not in play, but in the performance of useful work, that a true man derives the greatest pleasure." This shows the bent of his mind. To do useful work was the great aim and pleasure of his life, and his success in it by his achievements, both as a missionary and as a student of research, is well known to the world.

He was born in Nova Scotia (Prince Edward Island) on the 24th of April, 1820, and was trained in a Wesleyan College for mission work in India, but later joined the Church of England. He arrived in India in 1839, took priest's orders at Madras in 1845, and for 42 years worked as a missionary in the Tamil country. In October, 1885, after his return to England, he was appointed Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu at Oxford. He died on the 11th of February last, after a short illness of two or three days. His eminent services in the cause of education and the propagation of Christianity in Southern India, and the reverence in which he was held by the people among whom he laboured, are too well known to need mention here. His numerous pupils and admirers have from time to time and in various ways shown their appreciation of his labours. It was only the other day that he was the happy recipient of an address and a presentation from them. He was, indeed, a model missionary. He loved his people and the people loved him. It was no doubt this spirit, rather than the mere exigencies of mission work, that led him to a thorough study of Dravidian literature.

So early as 1842, hardly three years after his arrival in India, he published his "First Catechism of Tamil Grammar"; in 1844, "The Second Catechism." These
were followed by "The Third Catechism," including an edition of Nannul, "A Tamil Handbook for English Students," in three parts, "A Tamil Prose Reader," and "A Tamil Poetical Anthology." His Oxford appointment and his election to an honorary fellowship at Balliol College gave a fresh impetus to his literary labours. In 1886 he brought out an edition of the Kural with an English translation; in 1893, the Nala,dyar; and in 1900, his monumental work—a critical edition, with an English translation, of the Tiruvagam. These volumes do not represent even a tithe of his work, for besides a short history of India and contributions on Indian topics to various periodicals he left behind in MS. complete editions and English translations of the Paramo, the Cilappadigaram, and the Manimegalai, as well as a vast amount of material for a standard Tamil dictionary.

He received the triennial Gold Medal of the Society in June, 1906, in recognition of his distinguished services to Indian research, and in pp. 767-790 of the Journal for that year will be found a detailed account of his life-work.

M. De Z. Wickremasinghe.

HENRIK EMILE HERBERT BORGSTRÖM, M.R.A.S.

In the death of Henrik Emile Herbert Borgström, of Turholm Park, and Trikant, Helsingfors, on the 19th of November, 1907, Finland lost one of her most accomplished sons, and the British Royal Asiatic Society one of its most promising young members. He was only in his 34th year, yet his acquirements as a philologist and deep philosophic thinker attracted and astonished all who met him and were capable of following his brilliant conversation and comprehending his field of thought. He spoke and wrote every literary language of modern Europe perfectly, and was a devoted student
of the classic tongues. In addition to which he was master of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, but perhaps his great passion was Hebrew literature, which was as familiar to his lips as his mother tongues of Swedish and English. He would sit for an hour at a time reciting Hebrew poetry from memory to interest myself and others who had a similar appreciation of its sublime and pathetic verse in its native numbers, as manifested in its prophets, psalmists, and the philosophic Solomon. He was offered the Readership of Sanskrit in the University of Finland, but was prevented from accepting it by his broken health.

I soon found he was no ordinary intellect, or pedant, full of dead scholar cram, but a man of living and vivid talent, and an accomplished Orientalist, and who possessed a perfect command of English for both prose and poetical renderings. Some of the finest passages in my translation of the Book of Job into verse are his work, and amongst them I may point to chapters iv and the first seven verses of chapter v as his, except verses 19 to 21, inclusive, of chapter iv.

When I printed an edition of over 5,000 copies of the version of Job he wrote the preface. He was at the same time reading hard in the Greek classics and modern languages, and practising in mathematics and Egyptianology under the professor of that science at the University of France.

At last, in 1897–8, the break-down of his system came, after monitions of it in the previous years, when we were engaged upon the Hebrew historical books, and he was obliged to cease during the attacks of prostration from coadjuting in my work. But as soon as a little rested he would plunge in again, until after the collapse of 1897–8, which was accompanied by a severe seizure of influenza at Brighton, he was obliged to withdraw from active assistance, and to confine his efforts to reading the proofs as they were sent from my printers.
He was, however, not merely a philologist, but a student of historical philosophy, and a very profound thinker in the regions of metaphysics and psychology, and an extensive traveller. He went from land to land ranging from Lapland to Ceylon, and all the intermediate countries. He explored all Northern and Central Europe, North Africa, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, and Southern Europe, and, until his health broke down, he was also devoted to athletics and the study of art.

He was born in Finland on the 5th of June, 1874, and sprang from noble ancestry, his father being Herr Emile Borgström, of Helsingfors, in Finland, and his mother an English lady, a Miss Constance Herbert. His education was conducted partly in Finland and partly under tutors in England, and he early showed the remarkable talents which his mature manhood displayed. In 1883 he inherited, under the will of his grandfather, the Och Ritteren Henrik Borgström, of Turholm and Helsingfors, extensive estates and a large shipping and merchant's business, when about 9 years of age. The mercantile part of his fortune was conducted for him by an uncle, and he devoted himself to literature; and the actual and contemplated improvement of the lands, comprising, as he once told me, a large number of villages, he kept in his own hands.

With the sorrows of his native land he suffered deeply in mind and health, and they probably hastened him on to dementia and death by suicide in London, on the 19th of November last, at the age of 33 years—an age when men of great genius generally begin the productive period of their career in literature. In the last conversation we had together, three days before his death, he informed me that he had nearly got ready for the press a treatise upon a philosophic subject, and his MSS. will be published if sufficiently completed to justify this being done.

FERRAR FENTON.
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CORRIGENDA.

p. 326, line 1, *for* Kirāṭas *read* Kirātas.

p. 332, line 1, *for* Ehaacakrā *read* Ekacakrā.
THE FACTITIOUS GENEALOGIES OF THE MONGOL RULERS.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

WHEN the various tribes of Mongols and Kalmuks were definitely converted to Lamaism in the sixteenth century it was not unnatural that the Lamaist monks, who formed their only literary class, should have tried to affiliate their famous heroes and their princely families to the old royal stock of Tibet, which had become for them a sacred land. Hence we find the two Mongol chronicles, one known as the "Altan Topchi" and the other generally quoted from the name of its author as Ssanang Setzen, and the Kalmuk legend derived by Pallas from the Tibetan work called the "Bodimer," all concurring in a pedigree for the Mongol royal race which traces them first to the early Tibetan kings, and through them up to the alleged Indian ruler Olana Ergükdeksen, and through him again up to Sakiamuni Buddha himself. This pedigree was probably the invention of the author of the "Altan Topchi."

It specially refers to a Tibetan ruler named Dsanbo Dalai Suwin Aru Altan Shireghetu, who had three sons, Shivaghochi, Borochi, and Burtechino. We are told that their father having been killed by his minister Longnam, who usurped the throne, the three brothers fled; the first to the land of Nganbo, the second to that of Bubo, and the third to Gongbo, south-east of Lhassa (Ssanang Setzen, p. 25).

This story of the usurpation of Longnam is told in the Tibetan books, and notably in one which was translated into Kalmuk and is named "Nom gharkoi todorkhoi Tolle," whence it has been abstracted by Schmidt and others (Ssanang Setzen, p. 317, note 6; Schmidt, Forschungen, etc., p. 15; Klaproth, Tableaux, p. 157, and note 8). In the original story the three brothers are called Ja thi, Ma thi, and Sha za thi. Thi, which is written Khri, means throne, and is the surname of all the early Tibetan kings. Ja means bird or fowl, Ma means fish, and Sha za means the flesh-eater. The two former names are similar in meaning, therefore, to Shivaghochi and Borochi, already named, which respectively mean the fowler and the fisherman, while the third brother, the flesh-eater, has been by the compiler of the pedigree identified with Burtechino, 'the blue wolf,' a very typical flesh-eater, and a hero of Mongol legend to whom we shall presently revert. The Lamas who constructed the pedigree found a plausible resemblance between the meaning of the two names Sha za and Burtechino, and having equated them bridged over a very awkward gap. I need not say that no part of this Tibetan legend is to be found in the indigenous traditions of the Mongols dating from before their conversion to Lamaism, and that it is a pure invention of the monks.

Let us now turn to another and a similar invention, in which the Muhammedan legends take the place of the Tibetan ones. When the Persian Mongols were converted to Muhammedanism it was natural that their rulers and
principal men should wish to connect them with the genealogical and ethnographical tables of the Koran, and we thus find that the famous historiographer of the Persian Mongols, Rashid-ud-din, and his successors in the craft of chronicler, trace the royal Mongol stock to Nuh and Yaphet or Yafiz, and the other heroic personages who figure so much in the Old Testament and the Koran.

In the Tarikhi Guzideh of 'Hamdu-l-lah, Rashid-ud-din is expressly referred to as the authority for the derivation of the Mongols and Turks from Yafiz, the son of Nuh (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 523), a descent which would hardly have been suggested by any Mongol writer before the conversion of the Western Mongols to Muhammadanism. This took place definitely in Persia in the reign of the Ilkhan Ghazan, who was Rashid's master.

Rashid-ud-din thus states his theory: "In the history of Islam and in the Pentateuch of the Children of Israel we are told that the prophet Nuh divided the earth from south to north into three parts. The first he gave to Ham, who was the father of Sudan (i.e. the Black), to the middle son Shem he gave the Arabs and Persians, while the third, Yafeth, was the father of the Turks." Rashid's theory was that the Turks and Mongols sprang from the same ancestor and formed the same nomadic race. Thus, in his preface he tells us that the second section of his work deals with the history of the Turkish nations comprised under the name of Mongols, but who originally had each their own name and surname (Quatremère, Hist. des Mongols de la Perse, p. 53). The fourth section, he says, gives the history of the Turkish nations which from time immemorial bore the name of Mongols (id., pp. 53–55). He says further: "This race (i.e. the Mongols), known from time immemorial under the name of Turks, inhabited the country extending in length and breadth from the rivers Jihun and Sihun to the extremities of the East and from the limits of Desht Kipchak to those
of Churcha and Khatai" (id., p. 67). Again, "although all the Turks and Mongols resemble one another remarkably, and were originally known by the same name, nevertheless the Mongols formed a branch distinct from the Turks, and the two nations differed from one another in essential characters, as will be seen in the course of this work" (id., pp. 69–71). The second section of his Ethnographic table is headed "Concerning the Turkish tribes who are now called Mongols, but who in former times had each one its own name" (Erdmann, Volstaendige Uebersicht, etc., p. 513; Nouv. Journ. Asiat., ix, p. 513).

Under the heading Tartars, and speaking of the various tribes, such as the Jelairs, Umads, etc., who were in his time known as Mongols, Rashid-ud-din says, "they fancy that in former times they were known as Mongols; but this was not so, for the Mongols then formed but a section of the nomadic Turks" (Erdmann, op. cit., p. 40; Nouv. Journ. Asiat., ix, p. 525). Lastly, in the third section, headed "Concerning the Turkish tribes who were called Mongols in ancient times," we have the following paragraph: "It has been already said that the Mongol race was a section of the Turkish, and that their appearance and speech resemble one another" (Erdmann, p. 74).

This theory of Rashid-ud-din's was accepted as a genuine tradition by subsequent Persian writers, and has been absurdly adopted in our time by Raverty. Used in the generic sense in which Rashid-ud-din generally employs the term Turk, i.e. as connoting the same general notion that Tartar or Turanian does now with many people, and including the various nomades of Central Asia, the theory may pass, but when used to imply that Mongols and Turks were racially the same people it is of course erroneous, the Turks and Mongols differing, as Rashid-ud-din says in one of the passages above quoted, essentially in language, traditions, and other respects. While the races differ, however, it does not follow that their royal stocks were
not derived from one source. Rashid-ud-din, in fact, derives the Mongol Imperial house from the mythical stem father of the Turkish princes, whom he called Abulja Khan, and for this, as we shall see, he had some reason.

It is possible that the mythical Turkish hero Abulja had long before Rashid’s day been connected with Yafiz, the son of Nuh, by the Turks, for large numbers of the latter had been Muhammedans for several centuries. He says that the Mongols and Turks reported, according to one of their traditions conformably with the narrative in the Tora that Nuh sent his son Yafiz, whom the Turks call Abulja Khan, into the East.

"Yet wise men know not," he adds, "whether this Abulja Khan was a son of the prophet Nuh or was a son of one of his sons. From him are sprung the Mongols, the Turks, and the dwellers in the Steppes" (Berezine, Rashid-ud-din, i, p. 12; Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 7; Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 4). Again, he says: "They (i.e. the Mongols and Turks) are all sprung from Yafiz, son of Nuh, whom they call Abulja Khan" (Berezine, i, p. 124; Erdmann, Volstaen. Ueb., p. 74).

Rashid-ud-din tells us that Abulja and his people lived on the mountains Urtagh and Kurtagh (Berezine, p. 12). Urtagh is the Urtu ola of the Chinese (Hyacinthe, History of the Mongols, p. 36), and by it they mean the western prolongation of the Little Atlai towards Lake Balkhash. Abulghazi identified the two mountains mentioned by Rashid with the Ulugh Tagh and Kichik Tagh, i.e. the Great and Little Mountain of his day.

Rashid also tells us that Abulja lived in Summer near the town of Anbaij or Inanj (Berezine, pp. 12 and 121; Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 463), and in Winter he encamped at Barsuk and Karakum (i.e. the well-known Barsuk and Karakum Sands) to the east and north-east
of the Sea of Aral; and near the towns of Talas (i.e. the later Taras or Avlie ata) and Sairam, also a well-known town, described by Rashid as in his day occupied by Muhammedan Turks, and as possessing forty gates. This was the homeland of the famous Ghuz Turks, the ancestors of the modern Turkomans, and points to Rashid having tried to affiliate the Mongol royal house to that of the Ghuz Turks.

The next writer who, so far as we know, gave an independent account of the genealogy and origins of the Mongol chiefs was Ulugh Beg Mirza. His famous history is not available for reference, and it is doubtful whether a copy of it survives at all. We have it at second-hand, however, in the so-called Mokademma Zafer Zameh, or introduction to the Zafer Nameh of Sherif-ud-din of Yesd, which was written about the year 1424. Sherif-ud-din expressly tells us in his last paragraph that he took the matter of this introduction from the work of Ulugh Beg. This introduction to the Zafer Nameh was translated into English in 1838 by Colonel Miles, under the title of "Shajrat-ul-Atrak."

The genealogy as given by Ulugh Beg differs considerably from that given by Rashid. Instead of identifying Yafiz with Abulja Khan we are here told that Yafiz had nine sons, one of whom was Turk, who was the father of Abulja. These nine sons were respectively named Turk, Khajar or Khurz, Saklab, Rus, Ming, Chin, Gomari or Komari, Kimul, and Mazukh or Mesech. "Some say" (he adds) "that there were but eight sons, and that Komari and Kimul are one." This is, in fact, the view of most of the later authors.

These eight interpolated names are merely an imitation of the Biblical and Koranic ethnic and geographical names, the eight chiefs being the eponymi of the Turks, Khazars, Russians, Slaves, Manguti or Nogais, Chinese, Gomerians, and Moskhi. A still later writer, Mirkhavend,
who died in 1498, further extends this chronological table and gives us 11 names: (1) Khazar, (2) Saklab, (3) Mashakh, (4) Gumari, (5) Turk, (6) Khalj, (7) Rus, (8) Saksur or Sadsan, (9) Ghuz, (10) Tarikh, also written Taraj, and lastly a name wanting in the MS., which was probably Chin (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 464, note 4). These names simply answer to those of the various tribes and peoples of Europe and Northern Asia known to the writer and correspond substantially to the similar lists in the Koran and the Pentateuch. In the Shajrat-ul-Atrak, which is professedly the introduction to Sherif-ud-din’s work, Turk is made the contemporary of Kaiomars, the first king of Persia, and is himself made the first Kaan of the Eastern country. He is further made the father of five sons, the eldest of whom is the Abulja above-named.

Mirkhavend and Abulghazi do not name Abulja here, but give Turk four sons only, being the same four enumerated in the Shajrat-ul-Atrak, after Abulja. These names are much corrupted in the MSS., and can only be approximately read as Tunaj or Tutag, Chikal or Hakal, Barsinjar or Barsanjar, and Amlak, which names are apparently derived from four districts or towns of the Western Turks. At least two of them seem to be so. Amlak can be no other than Almalig; Barsinjar is a Turkish town mentioned by Abulfeda; Chikal or Jikal, according to Raverty, is still known as a name applied to a small district (Trans. Orient. Cong. St. Pet., p. 78); and Tugag or Tutag seems compounded with tagh, the Turkish for mountain. All these names are doubtless topographical, and, like the ethnic names which precede them, are quite artificial additions to the table, and only found in the later writers who follow Sherif-ud-din. One of these topographical names, namely, Tutag or Tutagh, is made the father of Ilchi by Mirkhavend and Abulghazi, Ilchi being apparently a form of Alincha by which Abulja is known to these writers (Abulghazi, ed. Des Maisons, p. 9).
Rashid-ud-din's genealogy of the Khans down to Oghuz Khan runs as follows:

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<tr>
<td>Yafiz or Abulja Khan</td>
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<td>Dib Bakui</td>
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<td>Kara Khan</td>
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<td>Kuz Khan</td>
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<td>Oghuz Khan</td>
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This simple genealogy is thus amplified by Sherif-ud-din:

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<td>Abulja</td>
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<td>Dib Bakui</td>
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<td>Kuyuk or Kiik</td>
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<td>Almuchi or Alincha</td>
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<td>Tatar Khan</td>
<td>Moghul Khan</td>
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<td>Ur Khan</td>
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<td>Oghuz Khan</td>
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Both lists agree in making Dib Bakui the son of Abulja. In regard to him Hamdullah says: "They called Mashakh, the son of Yaphet, Dib Jakui" (i.e. Dib Bakui), (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 523).

Between Dib Bakui and Kara Khan, Sherif-ud-din and his followers again interpolate certain names not found in Rashid-ud-din's account. Thus Dib Bakui is made the father of Kuyuk (which name is apparently a duplication of Kaian, \textit{vide infra}), and he of a second Abulja or Alincha Khan, also doubtless a duplication; Alincha Khan, again, is made the father of two twin sons, Tatar Khan and Mughal Khan (Shajrat-ul-Atrak, loc. cit.; Abulghazi, p. 10). The names Tatar and Mughal Khan and the struggles of their families are merely the representatives of the Turks
and Mongol stocks and their rivalries in early times, a rivalry which it was thought prudent to represent in this way in the genealogy. We can trace the two names no higher than Ulugh Beg Mirza. They do not occur, as I have said, in the pages of Rashid-ud-din. Hamdullah makes the Turks and Mongols descend from Yaphet's two sons, Turk and Mashakh (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 523).

Let us now turn to the Mokademma and the authors who followed it. From Tatar Khan it claims that there sprang a series of seven successive descendants.

I will give the pedigree from Abulghazi:—

Tatar Khan
Buka Khan
Yelinja Khan
Atli Khan
Atsiz Khan
Ordu Khan
Baidu Khan
Suyunitch Khan

Of these Abulghazi tells us nothing except that Ordu spent his time in drinking spirit and kumiz, and in dressing himself in precious stuffs of Khatai or China, and crossing deep rivers. Up to the reign of Baidu he says there had been no feud between the Mughals and Tatars, but Baidu, a young and impetuous prince, attacked the Mughals and was killed by them. The war continued during the reign of Suyunitch Khan, and was so fierce that not all the waters of the Amu Daria (i.e. the Oxus) would suffice to quench it (op. cit., p. 11).

This being the pedigree of the descendants of Tatar Khan, let us now turn to that of his twin brother, Mughal Khan. He is made by Sherif-ud-din and his imitators
the father of the four princes who by Rashid-ud-din and Hamdullah are affiliated to Dib Bakui, the eldest of whom, Kara Khan, is by all the authorities made the father of Oghuz Khan. We will therefore shortly consider what is said of Kara Khan and Oghuz Khan.

Kara Khan is expressly said by Abulghazi to have spent the Summer in the Ur Tagh and Kur Tagh Mountains, and the Winter on the Karakum Sands and on the banks of the Amu Daria. He tells us that in his time all his people were infidels. Of his son Oghuz he reports many wonderful tales, e.g., that he refused to take milk from his mother till she consented to become a Muslim; that he himself, at the age of one year, declared that his name must be Oghuz; that he successively married the daughters of three of his uncles, but only cared for the daughter of Kur Khan because she consented to adopt Islam. When his father heard he had become a Muhammedan he was greatly enraged, and in a battle which followed between them the latter was killed. His father's people and other neighbouring tribes were now converted to his own faith. He then proceeded to attack the Tatars, who lived near Jurjid (i.e. Manchuria). He defeated them and captured great quantities of booty. "For sixty-two years he fought against the Tatars, and subjected," says Abulghazi, "Khitai (i.e. China), Jurjid (i.e. Manchuria), Tangut (which, he adds, the Tajiks call Tibet), and Kara Khitai, a vast country extending from Hindostan to China, whose inhabitants were black. He then advanced beyond Khitai to the high mountains bordering on the sea, where lived the tribes of It Barak, by whom he was defeated and had to retreat. Seventeen years later he marched against the same people, and killed their chief, It Barak Khan. He also furnished troops to one of his dependants named Kipchak, with which to conquer the Russians, Aulaks (?), Majars, and Bashkirs."
Oghuz Khan, we are told, now marched with all the army of the Mughals and Tatars against Talash (i.e. Taras) and Sairam. He captured Sairam and Tashkend, and sent his sons to conquer Turkistan and Andijan; took Samarkand, Bukhara, and Balkh, and conquered the country of Ghur in a winter campaign. He also subdued Kabul, Ghazni, and Cashmere, and killed Yaghma, the king of the last of these countries, and slaughtered his people, and returned home again to Mongolia by way of Badakhshan and Samarkand.

A year later he set out for an expedition against Iran or Persia, and marched by way of Taras, Samarkand, and Bukhara, and crossing the Amu Daria entered Khorasan. There was then, we are told, no king in Persia, Kaioamars was dead and Hushing had not yet mounted the throne, and the country was in a state of anarchy. Oghuz Khan successively conquered Khorasan, Irak Ajem, Irak Arabi, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Syria, and went as far as the frontiers of Egypt, and left governors in the various provinces. He now returned home again and gave a feast in a grand tent, of which the poles were covered with plaques of gold ornamented with rubies, sapphires, emeralds, turquoises, and pearls, and it was said that this great king had constructed a tent which had put even the vault of heaven to shame. Nine hundred camels and nine thousand sheep were slaughtered for the feast and 99,000 hauz, (i.e. great bags?) of worked leather, of which some were filled with arrak and some with kumiz were furnished. He rewarded his sons with kingdoms and his naukers or servitors with towns, villages, and lands. He died after a reign of 116 years, and left six sons; the three eldest were jointly styled Buzuh and the three youngest Uchuk.

These six sons, according to Rashid-ud-din, were called Kun Khan (i.e. Sun Khan), Ai Khan (i.e. Moon Khan), Yulduz Khan (i.e. Star Khan), Kuk Khan (i.e. Sky
Khan), Tagh Khan (i.e. Mountain Khan), and Tenghiz Khan (i.e. Sea Khan). This list of quite artificial names shows how entirely made-up the whole genealogy is. With them Rashid-ud-din entirely breaks off his genealogy. He tells us that "the descendants of Oghuz occupied the throne for a thousand years. In the time of Feridum his son Tur fought a desperate battle against them. Only two members of the raece survived, called Nokuz and Kaian, who sought shelter in a retired valley, to which there was only access by one path" (Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 523). It is after this long break and with these two names that Rashid recommences his genealogy. It was the business of the later chroniclers to invent links by which such gaps and breaches as the one just mentioned could be bridged. Rashid, in naming the six sons of Oghuz, calls each of them Khan, and doubtless meant it to be understood that they successively occupied the throne.

The later writers who tried to equate and rationalize these lists treat their names somewhat differently. Their theory first appears in the Mokademma, and was adopted by Mirkhavend and Abulghazi. Sherif-ud-din says that Oghuz was succeeded by Kun Khan, who appointed his father's vizier, Irkil Khoja, a Uriangkhut, called by Abulghazi a Uighur, as his own. Kun Khan, he says, reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by his brother Ai Khan, and he by Yulduz Khan.

Abulghazi says he did not know whether Yulduz Khan was the grandson of Ai Khan or only his near relative, but what he was clear about was that he was not the younger brother of the Ai Khan generally so called. These three Khans—Kun, Ai, and Yulduz—were almost certainly taken over from Rashid-ud-din, while their three younger brothers—Kuk, Tagh, and Tenghiz Khan—were dropped out and two other names were interpolated which were made to bridge over the hiatus in Rashid's scheme. Thus Yulduz Khan was in the view of the later writers succeeded
by his son Mengli Khan, who is described by Abulghazi as spending his life in eating meat, drinking kumiz, dressing in ermine and sable, living in the arms of women beautiful as the sun and moon, and riding ambling horses as volatile as quicksilver. Mengli Khan left a son named Tenghiz Khan, and he a son Ilkhan. Neither the Mengli Khan nor the Ilkhan of this genealogy was known to Rashid. This arrangement of the chiefs was doubtless to make Suyunitch, the ninth descendant of Tatar Khan, synchronize with Ilkhan, the ninth successor of Mughal Khan. We are told the Mughals were always at war, but Ilkhan was always the conqueror, as he also was over the other neighbouring tribes. Suyunitch therefore formed a combination against him, of which the Khan of the Kirghiz was a prominent member. In the battle which followed the greater part of the Mughals were defeated and mercilessly slaughtered, and the whole race was either put to the sword or reduced to slavery, and we are told that only two of the royal stock remained—Kaian, the youngest son of Ilkhan, and his cousin Nokuz. They were of the same age and became slaves of the same master. They were both married and managed to escape with their wives, who are described as their sisters, and having collected a portion of the abandoned herds they sought shelter in a retired valley surrounded by rugged mountains, which could only be approached by a narrow footpath, and was very fruitful and abounding in game. This retired valley was called Irgene Kun.

With Nokuz and Kaian, Rashid-ud-din, and the other Western writers come together again. They apparently connoted the two great divisions of the Turkish race, the Uighurs and the Turks proper. Nokuz in Turkish means nine, and the Uighurs were known as the Nine Uighurs, or simply the Nine, while Kaian or Kait would seem to have been a synonym for the Turks of Lake Issikul. So that the two names, like the rest of those
already cited, belong to the Turkish and not to the Mongol legend. The story about Irgene Kun, where they took refuge, is in fact found at a much earlier date than the Mongol era, and is then attributed by the Chinese to the Tukiu or earliest Turks. The name was applied to a very famous cradleland of Turkish tradition, namely, the valley in which Lake Issikul is placed. The district was still called *Organum* by the Franciscan traveller Rubruquis in the thirteenth century. Lake Issikul is called Sihai, i.e., the Western Lake, by the Chinese. Now it is on the western borders of the Sihai Lake that the Chinese place the beginnings of the Tukiu or true Turks. We are told they were almost destroyed there by a neighbouring nation who killed them all without distinction, except a boy of 10 years old, on whom the enemy had a certain compassion and spared his life, though they cut off his hands and feet. This is a similar story to the one told by Rashid-ud-din and others about the early history of the Mongols, and already quoted, in which this boy of 10 years old was substituted for the two cousins Kaian and Nokuz. The connection of the legend we are discussing with the Turks is supported in another way. Rashid-ud-din mentions the Uriangkhuts, and the five tribes of the Kunkurats of his day as especially claiming to be descended from the two cousins Nokuz and Kaian. They were both, as we shall see, notable Turkish tribes. The former, according to the legend, had taken part in the iron smelting in Irgene Kun (*vide infra*), and about the latter there was a saga representing that they had suffered from pain in their feet which was dear to their ancestors, as a reminder that they had burnt them while walking over the glowing coals in the same place (Erdmann, Temudschin, pp. 194–196).

Rashid-ud-din and the later Western chroniclers tell us that Kaian and Nokuz had a great number of descendants; those of the former were called Kaianat and those of the latter Darlegins. They increased and multiplied greatly
at Irgene Kun, and were formed into various Umaks or clans. They remained at Irgene Kun for four hundred years (Hamdullah says two hundred and more years), and accumulated great flocks and herds. They then determined to return to their old homes, and, in order to find a way out of the enclosed valley, they collected wood with which they smelted a bed of iron they found there, and thus opened a way. Afterwards it was customary for the Khan and beks to commemorate the event by making a piece of iron red-hot and beating it on an anvil on the anniversary of the day on which they secured their deliverance. The Khan, says Rashid, who ruled over them at the time of their exit from Irgene Kun was Burtechino, of the tribe of the Kurulas and the race of Kaian (Erdmann, Temudschin, pp. 523–4; Abulghazi, pp. 32–3). The Kurulas were a well-known division of the famous Turkish race of the Kunkurats. It is quite plain, therefore, that with Burtechino Rashid-ud-din starts entirely afresh. Up to this point he had borrowed and invented names, incidents, etc., from the legends of the Turkish neighbours of his master’s dominions, and had thus constructed a purely artificial pedigree for them quite unknown to the old traditions of the Mongols themselves and the Chinese. Down to Burtechino the whole story as told by Rashid was therefore spurious.

Burtechino does occur in the older legends of the Mongols themselves, as preserved in their native works, and notably in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, a work I described some years ago in the Journal of the Society, and which was written in the reign of Ogotai, the son of Chinghiz Khan. Chino means a wolf, and Burtechino merely means the blue wolf, so that this native legend traces the royal stock to a wolf.

This claim to wolfish ancestry is not peculiar to the Mongols, however. It was also alleged that the stem father of the Turks was a wolf, and it is, in fact, very
probable that the Mongols borrowed their legend from the much older one of the Turks, with which it agrees in so many particulars.

We have traced the Turkish legend about Irgene Kun in the Chinese writers down to the point where the race was reduced by its enemies to a single boy who had had his hands and feet cut off. They go on to tell us that he then withdrew to a marsh, where he concealed himself. There he was tended by a she-wolf, who eventually became pregnant by him. As the enemy still sought to destroy the young man, the she-wolf, inspired by a spirit, took him with her and transported him to the east of the Sihai Lake, i.e. the Western Lake, and stayed with him on a mountain north-west of the kingdom of Kaochang (i.e. of the Turks so called), where they found a cavern or defile opening into a retired valley 200 li in circumference. There the wolf bore ten young ones, and each one took a different family name. A-Se-Na, who was the cleverest, was chosen as their king, and ordered that the heads of his standards should be shaped like the heads of wolves to show that he did not ignore his origin (Visdelou, pp. 91 and 92; Klaproth, Journ. Asiat., ser. 1, vol. iii, pp. 209–211). Sena or Asena in Turkish means a wolf.

On turning to the Mongol legend about their wolf ancestor it tells us he was called Burtechino. While chino means wolf Burte means blue and secondarily celestial or divine; Burtechino therefore means the divine wolf. Ssanang Setzen tells us that Chingshiz Khan called his people Köke Mongol, i.e. the Blue Mongols (op. cit., 71 and 380, p. 22). Blue, again, was the imperial colour of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 265). Burtechino is said to have married Goa Maral or the white or fair hind (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 373, n. 2), which name is apparently a complementary foil to that of Burtechino. Together we are told they roamed across the Tenghiz or lake and reached the sources of the river Onon,
and on the sacred mountain (Burkhan) they had a son. All this is clearly a repetition of the Turk legend, and shows whence the story was derived, and the conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Tenghiz or Dengiz, by which "the lake" is referred to in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, is apparently a borrowed Turkish and not a true Mongol word. The Mongols usually call a lake nor. General Cunningham identifies Burtechino directly with Bahitigin, the legendary ancestor of the Turkish rulers of Cashmere, of whom Al-Biruni says that after living in a cave for some time without food he came out of it suddenly, clothed as a Turk with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot (see Elliot, Indian Historians, ii, p. 9; Num. Chron., 1889, p. 304). Hamdullah tells us that certain Mongols held that Nokuz and Kaian were two women who had connection with a wolf in a defile and had children by it (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 523).

With Burtechino, the blue grey wolf as we have seen, the legends about the origin of the Mongol royal house reported on the one hand by the Chinese and the native Mongol chroniclers, and on the other by Rashid-ud-din and his successors in Persia, come together. Rashid-ud-din no doubt derived his knowledge of the legend at this point from the Altan Deftar, or Golden Register, to which he refers as his main authority. What we have here to note is that while the details of the earlier story as told by the Persian writers was purely artificial, due to the ingenuity of Rashid and his followers, it is plain that the derivation of the Mongol royal house from a Turkish source was one not peculiar to these Western writers, but was one adopted by the Mongols and Chinese themselves. This conclusion is confirmed by many facts. Limiting ourselves to those above set out, it will be seen that in both the Mongol and Turkish legend about their origin we have a wolf for the common ancestor. In both it lives near a great lake, which it crosses. In both it then goes to the east or
north-east on leaving its original shelter. In both it reaches a mountain and brings forth offspring.

The chief variation is that while the wolf Sena in the Turkish legend is made to take refuge in the retired valley of Irgene Kun, Burtechino of the Mongol legend was the leader who led them out of that valley. It is curious to turn to Abulghazi’s narrative to see how he gets over the difficulties of piecing together the patchwork story. He tells us that from Kain to Burtechino was 450 years. “We have used every effort,” he adds, “to learn the names of the intervening kings, but all our efforts have been fruitless. We have not found them in any history. The interval was passed by the Mongols at Irgene Kun, hence the gap” (op. cit., p. 75).

It is curious that in the Mokademma Burtechino is entirely ignored and is apparently merged in Kain. When we have traced the legends that surround Burtechino to the old Turks we have by no means reached terra firma. When the Mongols took to writing annals they were dependent for their knowledge of letters upon the Uighurs, who had had a long and famous history, and as their own early annals were uncertain they apparently fell back upon their literary mentors, who supplied them not only with the wolf story but also with the pedigree extending from Burtechino to the two brothers Doa Sochor and Doben Mergen, to be presently mentioned.

The Yuan-chao-pi-shi, in reporting the story of Burtechino, makes him and Goa Marat go to the river Onon and the mountain Burkhan, the Burkhan Khaleduna of Ssanang Setzen, by which the chain of Kentei is no doubt meant. This chain is called Burkhan-ola in the Chinese geographical

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1 Klaproth reminds us that the Chinese dictionary called Wan sing t'ung pu reports the legend of Burtechino and gives this genealogy in epitome, and also tells us that Borjig was the family name of Chinghiz Khan. (Ascr. Polyglotta, 263.)
work translated by Hyacinthe and Klaproth (Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, p. 159). Burkhan in Mongol means divine or sacred, and Buddha, according to Dr. Bretschneider, is known among the Mongols as Sakyamuni Burkhan.

Again, Ssanang Setzen, in reporting the same story, converts the river Onon into Lake Baikal, and adds a paragraph to glorify his protégés the Lamas. He also tells us that Burtechino lived on the Burkhan Mountain for a while with the Bede people. Bede was a synonym for the Uighur Turks. The Uighurs of Northern Tibet, also known as Hor-pa to the Tibetans, are called Bādā Hor in the Tibetan work called Nom Gharkoi Todorkhooi Tolli, and in describing the capture of Yenghi-kent by the Mongols in 1219, Rashid-ud-din speaks of 10,000 men of the Ulus Bede where other writers speak of the Uighurs.

Now it is curious that the district on the Onon and about the Burkhan Mountains was in fact the old homeland of the Uighurs, and when Ssanang Setzen says that Burtechino lived some time with the Bede people he apparently means that he lived or ruled over the Uighurs. The name Bede is probably, as Rémusat suggested, a corruption of the Chinese, Pe-ti northern barbarians.

We will now continue the genealogy as reported by the different authorities.

The first three tables (vide infra) are clearly derived from one source. The only real variants are the omission of the name Khali Kharchu, doubtless by an inadvertence, immediately after Sam Sochi, in the Altan Topchi; the conversion of Eke Nidun, large-eyed, into Nike Nidun, one-eyed, by Ssanang Setzen; and the giving, by the same writer, of a brother named Bedes Khan, otherwise unknown, to Bedetse Khan. I next give the names as recorded in the Tibetan work, the Bodimer, where they are much corrupted, and by Rashid-ud-din.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuan-chao-shi-pl</th>
<th>Altan Topchi</th>
<th>Sсанано Setzen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A grey wolf</td>
<td>Burtechino</td>
<td>Burtechino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batachi Khan</td>
<td>Badaitsaghan</td>
<td>Bedetse Bôdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamatsa</td>
<td>Tiemuchin</td>
<td>Tamatsak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoritsar Mergen</td>
<td>Koritsal Mergin</td>
<td>Khoritsar Mergen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auchzhan boroyun</td>
<td>Ukdjan Boghural</td>
<td>Aghojim Bughural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salikhetshag</td>
<td>Sali Galtzego</td>
<td>Sali Khalyigho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eke Nidun</td>
<td>Eke Nidun</td>
<td>Nike Nidun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin Sochi</td>
<td>Sam Sochi</td>
<td>Sam Suji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharchi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khali Kharchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borchizhiday Mergen</td>
<td>Buriti Mergen</td>
<td>Borijeti Mergen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torokholchzhin Boyan</td>
<td>Torgholchin Bayan</td>
<td>Torghaljin Bayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duva Sokhor Doben Mergen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Doa Sokhor Dobo Mergen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Bodimer.**
(See Pallas, Saml. hist. Nach., i, p. 17.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burudachi</th>
<th>Burtechino</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berchen</td>
<td>Beteji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temana</td>
<td>Tunaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaksa Mergen</td>
<td>Kichi Mergen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiza Borogol</td>
<td>Kuchum Bughrul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eke Dagun</td>
<td>Yeke Nidun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sai Suniji</td>
<td>Sam Sochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tebzu</td>
<td>Khali Khaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derben Zargan</td>
<td>Dubun Bayan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two later lists, however some of the names differ in spelling, agree remarkably in substance against the other three, and it is difficult to understand how they could have been sophisticated by each other, since their origin was so far apart, and it seems to point to their representing the original form of the pedigree, which has possibly been interpolated in the previous three lists. Thus they agree in excluding the name Sali Khaljigho immediately before Eke Nidun. Now one of the Mongol Khans mentioned by Ssanang Setzen is named Khalighochin (op. cit., pp. 175, 191, and 259), a name which does not apparently occur until the fifteenth century. This looks as if the occurrence of the name in the earlier three lists may be due to an interpolation to flatter a particular tribe.

There is another notable variation in the two sets of lists. Rashid-ud-din and the Bodimer agree in making Dobo Mergen the son of Khali Kharchu. The Yuan-chao-pi-shi, Ssanang Setzen, and the Altan Topchi, on the other hand, interpolate two other names. These names do not seem to have formed part of the original legend, but to have been imported into it from some saga or folk-tale, for in these instances the king's wives are also mentioned, and in the case of the second pair there is an additional statement. In these three authorities Khali Kharchu is given a son named Borjigetei Mergen, formed probably from Borjig, 'blue-eyed,' the family name of the Mongol chiefs. He married, we are told, Mongholjin Goa, the former name apparently derived from the race-name Mongol, and the latter being the ordinary word for 'fair, white.' This pair had a son called Torghaljin Bayan, perhaps derived from some form of the name Turk, who married Borokechin Goa, also derived probably from the Mongol boro, blue or blue grey, a common appellation of the race. So that all four names are doubtless artificial and invented. Of the latter of these pairs we are told in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi that they had a household
slave called Boroldai sugal-bi and two stallions called Dair and Boro. As Palladius says, these horses probably played a significant part in Mongol tradition.

The three authorities above-named agree in giving Torghaljin Bayan two sons, Doa Sokhor and Dobo Mergen. Rashid-ud-Din and the Tibetan lists do not mention Doa Sokhor.

The Yuan-chao-pi-shi and Ssanang Setzen tell us that Doa Sokhor, like Cyclops, had only one eye in the middle of his forehead, with which he could see three days' journey ahead, and that he had four sons. The former says they were the ancestors of the tribe 'Durban,' i.e. 'the four.' Ssanang Setzen expands this, and identifies the Durbans with the four tribes of the Uirads (i.e. the Kalmuks), whom he here calls the Ogheled, Baghatud, Khoit, and Kergud. He further calls the four brothers Donoi, Dokshin, Emuk, and Erke.

Rashid-ud-din, on the other hand, makes the Durbans descend from the four younger brothers of Tamatsak, or Timaj (as he calls him), a divergence which shows how artificial the whole genealogy is. While the five lists above quoted are in substantial agreement, differing only in details, the Mokademma of Sherif-ud-din has an entirely different story. All the names above given are ignored, and the pedigree is derived from Kaian in the following way:
Abulghazi, who had both stories before him, was apparently much puzzled, and amalgamated them *more suo* by inscribing the names of Timur Tash, Bengeli Khwaja, and Yulduz, immediately after Khali Khaju. He does not mention by name the two sons of Yulduz, as given by Sherif-ud-din, and says they died before their father, but he does mention them as the respective fathers of Dubun Bayan and Alan Kua (i.e. Alung Goa). The whole table as given in the Mokademma is a pure invention, and it is curious that the inventor was so artless as to make one of Chinghiz Khan's ancestors a Khoja.

Reverting to Dobo Mergen, to whom we have traced down the genealogy, it is quite plain, according to all the accounts, that after him there is again a real break in the story, showing that from Burtechino down to himself the list of names is a foreign and intrusive boulder borrowed from other traditions.

It was after his death that, according to the legend, Alung Goa gave birth to three sons in a supernatural way, from whom the Mongols are in fact derived, so that even in the saga Dobo and his ancestors have nothing to do directly with the lineage of Chinghiz Khan and the Imperial Mongol House. This seems to be quite recognized in the official history of the Mongol dynasty of China, in which all the names in question down to Dobo Mergen inclusive are omitted, and the genealogy is made to begin with Alung Goa.

Several of the names, as Berezine has said, in the form they take in Rashid-ud-din, are not Mongol but Turkish, and Rashid treats them all as princes of the Kurulas (as we have seen a Turkish tribe), and says they lived on the rivers Onon, Kerulon, and Tula, and on the mountains Burghad (i.e. Burkhan) and Bermed (?) (Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 535), which was the old land of the Uighur Turks.

Dobo Mergen and Doa Sochor were, in fact, identified
with two famous Turkish chiefs by Schmidt, the editor of Ssanang Setzen.

He identifies Dobo with Topo Khan, the famous ruler of the Turks, who died in 581, and he makes his brother Doa Sokhor the equivalent of Sokhin, Topo's brother, who was also called Moko Khan, and explains the statement about the division of the tribes among the four sons of Doa Sokhor as equivalent to the division of the Turks into four sections on the death of Topo Khan (Ssanang Setzen, pp. 59, 374). It is curious that the predecessor of Topo and Sokhin as ruler of the Turks was Kolo, who may answer to the Khali Kharchu of some of the lists.

It is plain, therefore, that, apart from the efforts of the Lamas and the Muhammedan doctors to connect the Imperial house of Mongolia with Buddha and with Noah respectively, the genealogies which professedly give us the beginning of Mongol history and tradition are of purely artificial invention and were probably of foreign origin, and created for them by their literary teachers the Uighurs. They found them an heroic ancestry by appropriating the great names of another race with whom the Mongols had been in contact for many generations, namely the Turks, from whom they derived their culture, and from whom, as is far from improbable, their chiefs may have been really descended, though not in any way as related in the genealogies. The real home-story of the House of Chinghiz begins with Alung Goa.
XVII.

THE COINAGE OF NEPAL.

By E. H. WALSH.

The coins which are dealt with in the present paper fall under three divisions. First, the coins of the Early Licchavi Sūryavamśī dynasty, whose capital was at Mānagrha, the present Kāthmāndū, and those of the Thākuri dynasty who were ruling at the same time over the western portion of Nepal, with their palace at Kailāśakūtabhavana, situated in another part of the same city. Second, the coins of the three Newār Malla dynasties, who reigned contemporaneously over the three kingdoms of Bhātgāon, Kāthmāndū, and Pātan, or Lalitāpur. Third, the Gorkhā dynasty, founded on the conquest of Nepal by Prthvi Nārāyaṇa in 1768 A.D., and which continues to the present time.

Several of the coins now illustrated have appeared previously. The early coins, of the Sūryavamśī dynasty of Licchavi kings and of the Thākuri dynasties (Plate I), have been described by Professor Bendall, and have been described and illustrated in Cunningham’s “Coins of Ancient India,” and by Mr. V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle.

3 Sir A. Cunningham: "Coins of Ancient India," 1891, pl. xiii.
in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹ but apart from the fact that some further varieties are now figured, the coins of these earlier dynasties, which have been already figured, have been included in the present paper so as to bring together what has been written on the subject, and because the subsequent silver coinage of the Newār Malla dynasty, though differing from them entirely in character, shows its continuity by the adoption of many of their symbols.

Of the seventy Malla coins shown on Plates II to VI, eight are illustrated by Marsden² and seven in the recent "Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,"³ by Mr. Vincent Smith, but the remaining fifty-five are, as far as I know, now illustrated for the first time. In the case of the coins of the present Gorkhā dynasty, shown on Plate VII, five have been illustrated by Marsden, and one, amongst those given in the recent Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum. But the other seven, I believe, have not before been illustrated.

The coins shown, of the Sūryavamśi and Thākuri dynasties, are in the British Museum; as are also those of the present Gorkhā dynasty. The coins of the Malla dynasties are partly from my own collection and partly from those in the British Museum. The coins from the British Museum are in each case noted in the list. The square double mohar of Pratāpa Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 14) is in the collection of Dr. Hoernle, who has kindly allowed me to reproduce it.

I have to thank the authorities of the British Museum

¹ Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1887.
² Marsden: "Numismata Orientalia" (1825), pl. xlix; viz., Pl. II, Fig. 4 = Marsden мeсxii; Pl. II, Fig. 7 = мeсxiii; Pl. III, Fig. 8 = мeсxx; Pl. IV, Fig. 2 = мex, Fig. 3 = мexи, Fig. 4 = мeсxii, Fig. 7 = мeсxii, and Fig. 8 = мeсxv.
³ Vincent A. Smith, "Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta" (1906), vol. i, pl. xxviii; Marsden, op. cit., pl. i.
for allowing me to have casts from their coins of the thirteen early coins, figured on Plate I, as also of fourteen of the coins of the Newār Malla kings, which are shown on Plates II to VI as follows: Pl. II, Figs. 1 and 11; Pl. III, Fig. 3; Pl. IV, Figs. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13; Pl. V, Fig. 7; Pl. VI, Fig. 9; and the thirteen coins of the present Gorkhā dynasty given on Plate VII; and to thank Dr. Hoernle for letting me have a cast of the square double mohar of Pratāpa Malla, in his collection (Pl. II, Fig. 14). The remaining fifty-one coins of the Newār Malla kings, forming Plates II to VI, are from my own collection.

As already noted, the coinage of Nepal falls under three main divisions. First, the early coins of the contemporaneous dynasty of Śuryavamśi Liechavi kings, whose capital was at Kailāśakūṭa, and of Thākuri kings with an adjacent palace at Mānagṛha; second, those of the Malla dynasty of Newār kings which commenced with the conquest of the country by Jayasthitī Malla in 1380 A.D., and whose coinage commenced in 1556 A.D. and continued until the Gorkhā conquest; and third, those of the Gorkhā dynasty founded by Prthvī Nārāyaṇa Sāha’s conquest of the country in 1768 A.D., and which continues to the present time. The second period of the Newār kings also falls into three subdivisions; namely, the kingdoms of Bhaṭgāon and Kāṭhmāṇḍū into which the kingdom was divided by Yaksha Malla on his death circ. 1460 A.D., and the kingdom of Pātan or Lalitāpur, which was divided from that of Kāṭhmāṇḍū during the reign of Śivadeva, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The present kingdom of Nepal dates only from the Gorkhā conquest of Prthvī Nārāyaṇa in 1768. The

kingdom of Nepal, to which the earlier coins and those of the Newār Malla dynasties belong, was practically the small area comprised in the Nepal Valley and the mountains which surround it. The valley itself is comparatively level at an elevation of about 4,500 feet, the bed of a former lake, and its extent is about twenty miles from east to west, and fifteen from north to south, though both length and breadth vary considerably owing to the spurs running down from the mountains. Within this area too, and within a few miles of each other, were Bhātgāon, Kāthmāṇḍū, and Pātan, the capitals of their respective Malla kingdoms, and also the earlier Licchavi capital of Mānagṛha, and jointly the capital of the Thākuri kings with its palace of Kailāśakūṭa, which, as all their coins come from the immediate neighbourhood of Pātan and Kāthmāṇḍū, and their inscriptions are found in the immediate vicinity of Kāthmāṇḍū, probably occupied the same or an adjacent site.

Nepal in this restricted sense formed part of the empire of Asoka, but had ceased to form part of that of Samudra Gupta in the fourth century A.D. About 640 A.D. it seemed to have been subject to Harsha Vardhana, as his era, which dated from 606–7 A.D., is found on inscriptions in the country at that time. His suzerainty, however, lasted only a few years, and at the time of his death, in 648 A.D., Nepal was a dependency of Tibet, which it continued to be until 880 A.D., when the institution of the Newār Era shows that the Newār kingdom had then succeeded in throwing off the Tibetan suzerainty, and had become an independent kingdom.

1 Pātan is only two miles south-east of Kāthmāṇḍū, and Bhātgāon nine miles to the east of it and eight miles from Pātan.
The history of Nepal, as given in the native chronicles, commences with the creation of the world, but is chiefly concerned with gods and mythological personages, until the time of Ne Muni, from whom the country is said to derive its name. This sage, having come to Nepal from the south, persuaded the people that there would be no Ksatria Rājas in the Kali Yuga, and installed as king one of the Goala settlers, who are said to have come into the country shortly before, with Kṛṣṇa. There were eight kings of this first Gupta dynasty, when, as the last king, Yakṣa Gupta, had no issue, an Āhir from the plains of Hindustan came and ruled over the country. This Āhir dynasty continued for three generations, when the Kirātīs came from east and conquered the country. There were twenty-nine kings of the Kirātī dynasty, when they were conquered by the Somavāṁśis, who ruled the country for five generations. The last of the Somavāṁśi kings, having no children, “appointed as his successor one Bhūmi-varman, a Ksatria of the Solar race of Rājpūts of the Gautama gotra, who had been one of the followers of Śākya Simha Buddha of Kapilavastu, and had remained in Nepal after his departure.” The Vamśāvalī gives the names of thirty-one kings of the Sūryavāṁśi dynasty, the sixteenth of whom, Śiva Deva, is the first whose date can be fixed. His date has been fixed from his inscriptions at 635 A.D.; as also that of Aṃśu-varman, Śiva Deva’s minister, who founded the contemporary dynasty of Thākuri kings. The subsequent kings of these dynasties, with their dates as fixed from inscriptions, are given by Dr. Fleet as follows, the serial number being that which they occupy in the Vamśāvalī:

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2 Wright, op. cit., p. 114.
3 Fleet: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. iii, p. 178.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Licchavi Śrīkavāṃśi Dynasty</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Thākuri Dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>Śivadeva.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>Dhruvadeva.</td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vrīshadeva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dharmadeva.</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>Mānadeva.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>Mahīdeva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>Vasantasena.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that Amśu-varman was reigning between 640 A.D. and 650 A.D. is also proved by the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.

The succeeding names of the Licchavi dynasty are given in the Vamśāvali as follows:—

24. Udayadeva.
25. Mānadeva.
27. Śivadeva-varman.
30. Viṣṇudeva-varman.

The names of the Thākuri dynasty as given in the Vamśāvali differ altogether from those given above for that dynasty. Professor Sylvain Lévi, however, assigns an earlier date to the above Licchavi kings. He considers that there is not sufficient evidence to show that they were subject to Samudra Gupta, but that the word pratyanta ("frontier states"), amongst which Nepal is included, in the panegyric of Samudra Gupta has been misunderstood, and means, not a subject state, but an

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independent state forming the boundary of the empire. He therefore considers that the dates in their inscriptions are either in a Licchavi era of their own, which commenced in 113 A.D., or are in the Śaka era, and fixes the date of Mānadeva as between 497 and 524 A.D. on the former hypothesis, or between 464 and 491 A.D. on the latter, and considers that in his time the kingdom was not partitioned.¹

At the time when the coinage of Nepal commences, there were, thus, reigning from a joint capital at Kāthmāndū a dynasty of Licchavi kings, who are styled in their inscriptions Licchavikula and in the native chronicles Suryavamśa, who used the Gupta era, reigning over the eastern portion of the country, and of Thākuri kings, who used the Harsha era, reigning from a joint capital over the western portion.²

The coins of the first period have been described by Sir A. Cunningham in "Coins of Ancient India";³ by Professor Bendall, who has described the specimens of these coins in the library of the German Oriental Society;⁴ and by Mr. V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle, who have described specimens of these coins in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁵

A coin of the same type as that shown on Pl. I, Fig. 5, is figured by Professor Rapson in his "Indian Coins,"⁶ and a specimen of the type given in Pl. I, Fig. 10, is figured in "The New Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta" (pl. xxxviii, fig. 1). For convenience of

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² Fleet, op. cit., p. 190.
³ Sir A. Cunningham: "Coins of Ancient India" (1891), p. 112 et seq., and pl. xiii.
⁵ P. A. S. B. for May, 1887, and March, 1888.
reference I give below a Table showing the specimens of the early Nepal coins which have been previously described.\(^1\)

These early coins are large copper pieces of varying weight, but with the exception of coins No. 1 (197 grains) and No. 6 (249 grains), they approximate to a standard of 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) panas, or 180 grains, the weight of the pana being 144 grains.\(^2\) As noted by Sir A. Cunningham

\(^1\) Table for reference to early Nepal coins previously described:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate L</th>
<th>Cunningham, &quot;Coins of Ancient India.&quot;</th>
<th>Prof. Bendall, &quot;AlteSchrift,&quot; Prof. Rapson, &quot;Indian Coins,&quot; pl. i, fig. 10.</th>
<th>V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Coin No.</td>
<td>III (a), (b), and (c).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>AlteSchrift, Coin Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A variety of coin No. 2.</td>
<td>I (a) and (b).</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6, 10</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7, 8, 9, 11, and 12.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9 not figured, coin No. 10.</td>
<td>9 Obr. as pl. i, fig. 9; Rev. as pl. i, fig. 8.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;Neuere Schrift,&quot; Nos. 1, 2, and 3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11 Similar, with bull to L.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13 Similar, no legend.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\) The Indian pana, 'handful,' derived from pāṇi, 'the hand,' was a handful of cowrie shells usually reckoned at 80. This term pana is still used in Bengal, where a pana of cowrie shells consists of 20 gaṇḍas, or '20 furs' of cowries. By repeated trials I have found that 80 cowries form a very fair average handful. But the pana was also a copper coin of 80 rāti seeds in weight (144 grains) and 80 cowries in value" (Cunningham, C.A.I., p. 1).
and Professor Rapson, they bear a resemblance to the second class of Yaudeya coins, which is probably due to a common origin from the coins of the Kuśānas. Their symbols of the standing humped bull and the standing lion with its tail curled over its back are also found on the Rajañya coins of the second or first century B.C. The standing bull and standing lion on two of those coins are exactly the same as on the Nepal coins. The conclusion that the Nepal coinage was derived from that of the Kuśānas is borne out by the fact that Kuśāna coins have been dug up in the neighbourhood of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, which would seem to show that these coins were either current in Nepal in early times, being brought by merchants, or were brought by pilgrims. I have two coins of Wema Kadphises (85–120 A.D.) and one of Kanishka (120–150 A.D.), which were dug up at Kāṭhmāṇḍū, which were sent me by Colonel Pears when resident in Nepal. The seated figure of a deity on a lotus-seat, and also the seated figure of a deity or king on a throne with one leg hanging down, were also probably copied from the Kuśāna coinage. In some coins of Huvishtka the seated figure is so like that on Māṅāka’s coin (Pl. I, Fig. 1) as to at once suggest the connection. The seated figure of the deity or king with one leg hanging down, and the trident on long straight shaft with battle-axe to left, as on coins of Paśupati (Pl. I, Fig. 2), also have their prototypes in the Kuśāna coins of Kadphises II and of Huvishtka, the humped bull standing by itself in coins of Kadphises I, and the elephant in coins of Huvishtka, though with a rider on its back. The elaborate symbol of a trident on the reverse of the coin of Jisnu Gupta, resembling the

1 E. J. Rapson, op. cit., p. 32.
3 C.C.I,M.C., vol. i, p. 82, serial 47, and pl. xiii, fig. 5.
4 Ibid., p. 68, serial 5, and pl. xi, fig. 6.
5 Ibid., p. 67, serial 17, and pl. xi, fig. 4.
Florentine Giglia, appears to be a form of the "nandipada triśula," the two hoofs of the bull Nandi forming the pedestal at its base. A simple design, the parts of which are essentially the same though unelaborately formed, but in which the two hoofs clearly appear, occurs on a coin of Raja Kumuda Sena,¹ one of the early kings of Ayodhya (between 150 B.C. to 100 A.D.), with a standing bull on the reverse, similar to the bull on the Nepal coins. The seated figures also bear a close resemblance to those on the Gupta coins. The vase of flowers with streamers which figures on the coins of Paśupati (Pl. I, Figs. 12 and 13) occurs on copper coins of Chandra Gupta II (about 375–413 A.D.), where it bears the same shape as that of the ordinary brass lōta, and the resemblance suggests that the Nepal coin was copied from that coin.

The names which appear on the coins are as follows:—

MĀṆĀṆKA. (Coin No. 1; Pl. I, Fig. 1.)

This name does not occur in the list of kings given in the Vamśāvali. But it would appear to be the same as Mānadeva, whose date, as already noted, is given by Dr. Fleet as 705 A.D., and by Professor Lévi as either 497 A.D. or 464 A.D. Professor Bendall² thought that it was probably another name, or biruda, of Amśu-varman. But he based this opinion on the supposition that the legend on the obverse is Śrī Bhaginī, and suggested that the explanation of the legend is to be found in inscription No. 7 of the series of inscriptions published in The Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, p. 171, in which King Amśu-varman proclaims that his sister (Bhaginī) Bhogadevi has dedicated a linga to the temple of Paśupati. The legend on the obverse, however, is clearly not Bhaginī, but Bhoginī, 'the enjoyable one,' which probably applies to the goddess

¹ C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 150, serial 14, and pl. xix, fig. 15.
seated on the lotus, as Dr. Hoernle supposes.\textsuperscript{1} Professor Sylvain Lévi\textsuperscript{2} points out that the term Bhoginī was used for the wives of kings other than the principal wife, the Mahiśi, but thinks it unlikely that such a title would be used as the name of a person, or placed on a coin, and also considers that it is the name of the goddess. In any case there appears to be no sufficient reason to suppose it to be a coin of Amśu-varman's, or Mānānka to be his biruda. Dr. Hoernle reads Mānānka, 'the Māna-marked,' as a biruda of Mānadeva, 'the lord of Māna,' a name which in both cases was taken by him owing to his belonging to the family who ruled from the palace of Mānagrhā. Professor Lévi,\textsuperscript{3} on the other hand, takes the word to apply to the coin 'bearing the mark of Māna,' viz. Mānadeva.

**GUNĀNKA. (Coin No. 2; Pl. I, Figs. 2 and 3.)**

('Bearing the mark of Guṇa.') This would appear to be a coin of Gunakāmadeva, who, according to the Vamśāvali, was the twenty-sixth king of the Licchavi dynasty. Professor Lévi reads Guṇānka (similarly to Mānānka) as meaning money bearing the mark of Guṇa (-kāmadeva). The coins of this name bear a seated goddess on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse. The coin No. 2 is the only type of these Early Nepal coins which is not surrounded with the characteristic of dots, but has a plain convex band in place of it.

**VAIŚRAVANA. (Coin No. 4; Pl. I, Fig. 4.)**

This name does not occur in the list of kings given in the Vamśāvali. Cunningham suggests that as the name is a patronymic of Kuvera it might possibly be a coin of Kuvera Deva, the ninth king of the Sūryavamśi dynasty. But, as he observes, this would place the date of the coin

\textsuperscript{1} P.A.S.B. for March, 1888.  
\textsuperscript{2} "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 107.  
\textsuperscript{3} "Mānaṅka: (monnaie) à la marque de Māna: " Le Népal, vol. ii, p. 106.
too early, as it is of the same nature as the others, and the Gupta characters of the inscription are of the same date. It is probably, therefore, the name of a god, as in the case of the coins of Paṣupata, and its date cannot be fixed. These coins bear a seated figure on the obverse and the divine cow "Kāmadehi" (or Kāmadhenu) on the reverse, as in the coins of Aṃśu-varman.

Kāmadhenu is connected with the legendary history of Nepal, as given in the Vaṃśāvali, in the following manner:—Maheśvar appeared in the shape of a deer in a grove near Kāthmāṇḍū, and disclosed himself in the form of light which pervaded the seven firmaments above the earth and the seven firmaments below. On seeing this Brahmā went upwards to see how far the light extended, and Viṣṇu went downwards for the same purpose. Having returned from their journeys they met near a village on the hill south of Kāthmāṇḍū, and on comparing notes Viṣṇu said that he was not able to find the limit to which the light extended, whilst Brahmā declared that he had gone beyond it. Viṣṇu then called for witnesses, and Brahmā produced Kāmadhenu, who on being asked to declare the truth corroborated Brahmā's assertion with her mouth, whilst she shook her tail by way of denying it. Viṣṇu then, seeing what was the truth, uttered a curse on Brahmā, to the effect that his image should nowhere be worshipped, and on Kāmadhenu, that her mouth should be impure, but her tail sacred. Having done this, he remained in that place with the cow, but Brahmā disappeared.\(^1\)

Aṃśu-varman. (Coins Nos. 5–7; Pl. I, Figs. 5–7.)

This king, who was the founder of the Thākuri dynasty, reigned from 635 to 654 A.D. His coins bear on the obverse a winged lion with raised paw. The lion on his coins differs from that on Mānānka's coin in being winged, but

\(^1\) Wright, p. 82.
there is an unwinged lion similar to Mānāṅka’s on the obverse of one type of his coins (Fig. 7). On the obverse of another type of his coins (Fig. 5) is the divine cow “Kāmadehi,” and on another (Fig. 6) is the title, Mahā-rājādhirājasya, round a central sun.

JIŚṆU GUPTA. (Coin No. 8; Pl. I, Fig. 8.)

This king was the son and successor of Aṃśu-varman. His date is also fixed, by inscriptions, at 654 A.D., which is corroborated by the narrative of Hiuen Tsang. His coin bears a winged bull with raised paw on the obverse, but it differs from the lion on his father’s coins in having the tail hanging down and not curled over the back. The reverse is an elaborately ornamental form of the trident.

PAŚUPATI. (Coins Nos. 9–20; Pl. I, Figs. 9–13.)

There is nothing to fix the date of these coins. They are of six distinct types, four of which are shown on the Plate. On the obverses are a recumbent bull, a standing bull with crescent, a trident with an axe attached to its shaft; on the reverse of these coins are various forms of a sun with rays. There is also another type (Fig. 12) with a seated crowned figure, apparently a king, on the obverse, and a vase of flowers on the reverse, which resembles coins of the Guptas, and would appear to have been copied from them. There is also another type (coin No. 10; not illustrated) on the obverse of which is a recumbent bull, as in Pl. I, Fig. 9, and on the reverse the ornamental form of “nandipada triśula” found on the reverse of Jīśṇu Gupta’s coin (Fig. 8). This is interesting, for as it appears to be the only coin of Paśupati bearing that reverse, whereas there are several examples of the other types, it suggests that the reverse of this coin, which is unusual for the Paśupati coins, was copied from that of Jīśṇu Gupta, and thus shows that these coins are subsequent to his date.
The number of these early coins which have been found is not large. Cunningham mentions that he obtained most of the coins which he describes from Colonel Warren, who collected them in Kashmir. According to his list there were about a hundred legible coins and thirty-seven that were unnamed. Cunningham himself also had twenty-three coins that came from Benares, and twenty which he obtained at Gaya by purchase in the Bazaar, or at Buddha Gaya in the small votive stupas. The Gaya coins were, as he says, no doubt found by workpeople at Buddha Gaya, and were no doubt votive offerings of pilgrims from Nepal. The coins described by Mr. V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle were from a collection of forty coins obtained at Kathmandu by Dr. Gimlette, the Residency surgeon. Dr. Hoernle has a collection of eleven of these coins which he collected at Kathmandu, and I have seven from Kathmandu. There are 106 of these coins in the British Museum, but some of them are from Cunningham's and Colonel Warren's collections, and are therefore included in the numbers already given. The number of specimens of each type of coin in the British Museum is given in the list of these coins.

Cunningham, writing in 1891, says: "The coins of Pasupati are by far the most numerous, as they form about half of the known specimens of the early Nepalese coinage. The coins of Anusuvarma form about one-fourth, and the remainder are nearly equally divided between Manåka, Gunåka, and Jîṣṇu Gupta." To the latter should be added Vaiśravana.

1 C.A.I., p. 114.
2 Of these, a coin of Månaåka (Pl. I, Fig. 1) and the three coins of Anśu-varman (Pl. I, Figs. 5-7) were made over to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and are now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. There was only one specimen of Anśu-varman's coin (Pl. I, Fig. 6) amongst the lot. Three specimens of Månaåka and five of Anśu-varman, which were then retained by Mr. V. Smith, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (V. Smith, C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 283),
3 C.A.I., p. 115.
I have not ascertained the number of these coins in the Bodleian Collection, or those in the Cambridge Museum, or the Museum of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

COINS OF THE MALLA DYNASTY OF NEWAR KINGS.

The coinage of the Newar kings is of an entirely different character to the previous coins of Nepal already noticed. With the exception of one king of Kāthmāndū, Jaya Prakāśa (1736 A.D.), who coined gold as well as silver, the coinage is entirely a silver coinage. It is based on a mohar of the weight of six māsās, a broad bean used in India as a weight. Cunningham notes that the māsā averages 14.6 grains,¹ and the weight of six māsās is therefore 87.6 grains. The mohars, with the exception of lighter coins of one or two kings, vary in weight between 80 and 90 grains, and the fractional coins based on them show a corresponding variation in proportion. Half mohars, quarter mohars, eighth mohars, and in the case of one king, Jaya Prakāśa, a sixteenth of a mohar and a do-dām, or thirty-second part of a mohar, were also coined. The value of the mohar was eight annas, and two of them were equivalent to the Mogul rupee.

Although there is one specimen of a double mohar, the square coin of Pratāpa Malla, shown on Pl. II, Fig. 14, the fact that there are no other coins of this value, and that the square form does not occur again, leads to the conclusion that this specimen must have been a medal, or a nisār. Kirkpatrick distinctly says that the śicca, or double mohar, “has been known in this country only since the time of Prthvi Nārāyaṇ.”²

The Vamsāvali (Native Chronicle), translated in Wright’s “History of Nepal,” says that Ratna Malla (the first king of the separate kingdom of Kāthmāndū), “having brought

¹ "Coins of Ancient India," p. 2.
² Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 217.
copper from Tamba Khani, introduced pice (paśā) into the currency instead of sukichas" (viz. quarter mohars, worth eight pice), but I have not heard of any copper coins of the Mallas, and the chronicle probably refers to the "dumpy pice," lumps of copper, which were used in Nepal, as, until recently, in India.¹

The mohar was first coined by Mahendra Malla, King of Kathmandū, who reigned in 1566 A.D. In the Vamśāvali it is recorded that: "He went to Dihli with a present of a swan and hawks for the Emperor, who, being much pleased therewith, granted him permission to strike coin in his own name, in weight six mashas. He struck this coin and called it Mohar, and made it current in every part of his country."²

Professor Lévi thinks that this story of Mahendra Malla's visit to the Emperor of Delhi is open to suspicion; as the reign of Mahendra Malla fell between 1550 and 1570 A.D., when the throne of Delhi was violently shaken. Humayun had been defeated by the Afghan Sher Khān in 1539, and had fled from the country. Sher Shah's successors were weakened by internal wars. Humayun returned and took Delhi in 1555, and died six months after. His son Akbar was a minor, and did not exercise personal rule until the close of 1560, and then passed seven years in putting down the seditions which broke out in all parts.³

But, however this may be, what made it possible for Mahendra Malla to strike a silver coinage was the fact that he made a treaty with Tibet, by which he supplied the coinage of that country, and obtained from Tibet the silver for the purpose. This privilege, besides supplying Nepal with the silver for its own coinage, continued to be the source of an extensive annual revenue to Nepal,

² Ibid., p. 207.
from the royalty it obtained on the coins that were supplied from it for currency in Tibet.

This privilege of supplying the currency of Tibet was at any rate subsequently shared by the kingdom of Bhātgāon, and, in fact, became the monopoly of that kingdom; for the coin of Bhūpatindra Malla of Bhātgāon (Pl. II, Fig. 3) was current in Tibet, and while the last coins of this early pattern, of Kāthmāndū, are those of Pratāpa Malla, A.D. 1641, and of Pātan, those of Śri Nivāsa, A.D. 1661, they continued to be coined by Bhātgāon up to the end of the Malla dynasty. The earliest examples of the Malla coinage of the three kingdoms respectively are that of Lakṣminara Simha of Kāthmāndū, undated (Pl. II, Fig. 9); next, that of his successor, Pratāpa Malla, of date 1641 A.D. (Pl. II, Fig. 10); of Jagatprakāśa of Bhātgāon, of date 1642 A.D. (Pl. II, Fig. 1); and of Siddhi Narasimha of Pātan, of date 1631 A.D. (Pl. V, Fig. 1). These coins are all of the same design. This shows that the kingdom of Bhātgāon in its coinage, and subsequently, on its formation, the kingdom of Pātan, adopted the design which was probably adopted from the first by Jaya Mahendra Malla for the Tibetan coinage, and at the same time for the coinage of Nepal itself. It will thus be seen that although the Nepal-Tibet coinage was commenced by Jaya Mahendra about the year 1556, there are no examples of his coinage nor of that of his successors, Sadāśiva Malla, Śiva Deva, or Hariharasimha, the earliest being that of Lakṣminara Simha and his contemporaries Jagatprakāśa of Bhātgāon and Siddhi Narasimha of Pātan. Even these are earlier than any coin that I have come across in Tibet, where the earliest coin I have found is that of Bhūpatindra Malla of Bhātgāon, of date 1696 (Pl. II, Fig. 3), and of that I have only found two specimens, and these were considered rarities.

Marsden notes that the Gorkhā king Pāthvi Nārāyaṇa called in all the previous coinage of the Malla dynasties, so
that even in his own reign it was difficult to obtain any of the money of his predecessors, but this would not account for the disappearance of only the coins of the earlier kings, while specimens of the later ones remain, nor for their disappearance in Tibet. Although the quantity coined at first was probably small, it is still difficult to account for this entire disappearance of the earlier coinage.

In a paper on the coinage of Tibet, which I read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I suggested that the characters around the margin of these coins, which no Newār or Tibetan understands or can account for, might be intended for an imitation of the characters on the seal of the Dalai Lama, which they to some extent resemble. The Dalai Lama's seal is the official symbol of the Tibetan Government, for whose circulation they were intended, and I thought that for this reason it was not unlikely that the seal might be represented on a coin intended for the currency of Tibet.

At the time of reading the present paper, however, Professor Rapson pointed out that, if looked at upside down, they bear a close resemblance to the Arabic characters on the coins of the Mahomedan kings of Bengal. I think there is no doubt that he is right, and the resemblance to certain coins of Ghiyāṣ-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh, who was king of Bengal from 1526 to 1537 A.D., is so striking as to suggest that these particular coins were copied by Mahendra Malla for his mohar. I give below for comparison a copy of coins Nos. 147 and 149, in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Kings of Bengal in the British Museum, together with a copy of the coin of Laksminara Sinha, the earliest of the coins of Kāthmāndū, which is shown on Pl. II, Fig. 9:—

1. Coin No. 149, viewed upside down, of Ghiyāṣ-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh, date 934 A.H. = 1527 A.D.¹
2. Coin No. 147, of Ghiyāṣ-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh, date 933 A.H. = 1526 A.D.
3. Coin of Laksminara Sīnha of Kāthmāṇḍū.


KINGS OF BENGAL.
XLIX. Ghiyāṣ-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh III.
(Partial rule, A.H. 933-9 = A.D. 1526-32; A.H. 939-44 = A.D. 1532-37.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mint and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Nasratābād. 933</td>
<td>Obv. شاه السلطان بِن حسن شاه السلطان غياث الدین الدینا المعزب بالله ملکه وسلطان ابُو المظفر حمود نصرت لناس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In each centre, small circle—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Muhammed-ābād. 934</td>
<td>Same, but شاه transposed from beginning of rev. to end of obv.; inscription differently arranged, and mint and date حمود</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plate vii. I.O.C. ٧٠٥</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The resemblance of the Nepal coin to both the coins of Ghiyās-ud-din referred to is most striking, and especially to No. 149, from which the circle of dots round the margin of these coins would also seem to be copied. The territories of the Bengal kings were conterminous with Nepal, and their coins no doubt found their way into that country and were familiar there, which accounts for their being imitated by Mahendra Malla when he instituted his coinage.

The enclosure of the inscription within a square area, on these first Malla coins, was also probably copied from the coins of the Bengal kings, and occurs on the coins of Muhammad Shāh Ghāzi¹ = A.D. 1552–1554, and Ghiyās-ud-din Bahādur Shāh² = 1554–1560.

The following is an extract from the paper which I read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the Coinage of Tibet (Memoirs A.S.B., vol. ii, No. 2, pp. 11–23):

Kirkpatrick, in the account of his mission to the kingdom of Nepal in 1793, writes: "The silver eight-anna piece, now called Mohr and Adheeda, was formerly denominated Mehnder-Mulie,³ after the Prince who first struck it, and by treaty established it in the neighbouring kingdom of Tibet; this prince would appear to have been one of the successors of Hur Sing Deo, and of the dynasty of Khatmands, which city is said to have exclusively enjoyed for some time the privilege of supplying Tibet with coin, a privilege the more singular as it was from this very country that Nepal obtained her silver bullion. The origin of this practice is ordinarily referred to the superstitious reverence in which the valley of Nepal, and, more especially, the north-west parts of it (highly celebrated for their sanctity), has been wont to be held by the spiritual sovereigns of Tibet; but, whatever may have been the cause of it, there is not a doubt that the present Nepal Government made the departure of the Tibetans from ancient usage in this respect, the pretext for the war which it waged.

² Ibid., p. 58, pl. vii, fig. 155.
³ Mahendra Malla, 1566 A.D.
about four years ago against the confederated Lamas; as evidently appears from a memorial transmitted to me from Nepal on this subject, an extract of which is given in Appendix No. II.

"The Mehnder-Mulie exhibited anciently a representation of Lehassa on one side, and, on the reverse, the name, titles, and emblems of the reigning sovereign of Kathamanda. Since the conquest of Nepal by Purthi Narain, no allusion to Lehassa has been preserved, the Mohr bearing on one side the following inscription: Sri Sri Sri Run Behauder Shah Dewa, and, on the other, Sri Sri Goorknāth Sri Bhowāni, with the year of the Soka and certain emblems allusive to the Hindu superstition, as the sun, moon, Trisool, of Mahadeo, etc." ¹

With reference to this statement of Kirkpatrick's Professor Lévi ² says that a coin figured in the Missio Apostolica Thibetana ³ simply bears on the obverse the effigy of the king, and on the reverse a horse standing towards the left and turning back his head. I have referred to this coin, which is figured on p. 202 of the Missio Apostolica. It is clearly a coin of the Yueh-ti, and is an imitation of the coins of the Indo-Scythians, and, allowing for its being a larger size and for elaborate drawing, is similar to a coin figured by Sir A. Cunningham on plate xiii of vol. ix of third series of the Numismatic Chronicle. As the Missio Apostolica Thibetana is not generally procurable, I give below a tracing of the coin referred to, together with Cunningham's coin which it resembles:

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From the above, it is clear that the coin referred to is not the original Nepalese coinage for Tibet, and is not in fact a Tibetan coin at all. It appears at the foot of a plate of what purports to be an example of Tibetan writing ("Thibetaner Schrift"), but which is actually a Christian invocation and the Lord's Prayer, written in Hindi! This shows the value of the plate as regards the coin also, to which I do not find any reference in the text, and, as Orazio della Penna could not have made such a mistake as to show Hindi writing as an example of Tibetan, the whole plate has, I think, been edited into the book by the compilers, who evidently in Europe did not know what either the writing or the coin was, but thought them suitable material to illustrate an Oriental book.

The originally exclusive privilege of the Raja of Khāṭmāṇḍū to coin for Tibet, mentioned by Kirkpatrick, did not long continue,

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1 The coin is described as follows: "Pl. i, fig. 4, 0·5 in., ÅK, 28 gr. Rude copy of silver drachma. Diademed head of king to l. with moustaches. Native legend of five characters behind the head, as in No. 3. Rev.: Horse's head to l. with Greek letter φ. N.B.—These coins are very rare, but there are numbers of very rude copies in two different sizes."—Numismatic Chronicle, ser. iii, vol. ix (1889), pl. xiii, fig. 4.
but was also shared by the kingdom of Bhātgāon, by the time of Bhūpatīndra Malla, whose coins were current in Tibet, where they are known as angi drug-pa, or 'number six,' from the last figure of their Newār date, 816; while those of Jaya Raṇajīta Malla, the last king of Bhātgāon, are still current.

The reason for the discontinuance of this coinage was, that it became so debased under the later kings of Bhatgaon that when the Gorkhas conquered the country they would not continue coining coins for Tibet if they had to exchange at par with the debased coins then in circulation, and the dispute over this question was made the pretext of the war between Nepal and Tibet in 1768. Kirkpatrick publishes an "extract from a Memorial of the Court of Khātmāndū, relative to the origin of the War with Tibet," which gives a full account of the dispute. I give below the portion which relates to the coinage:

"In ancient times there subsisted a close union between the Rajahs of Nepaul and Bhoat (i.e. Tibet); when the pure Mehnder-mulli of the coinage of the former country was the current money of the latter. During the respective reigns, however, of Rajah Jy Purkaush Mull, the sovereign of Nepal, and of Rajah Runject Mull, the ruler of Bhatgong, the Mehnder-mulli became much debased, the consequence of which was that at the period Nepal passed into the possession of the Goorkha, Bhoat was full of this base coin. The Maharajah (i.e. Pirthi Nerain) immediately put a stop to this improper practice, sending at the same time a friendly deputation to Bhoat for the purpose of stating the mischievous consequences that would ensue were it persisted in, and of engaging the Lamas to revert to the ancient usage by giving circulation only to a pure currency.

"To this representation the rulers of Bhoat replied that the amount of base Mehnder-mulli then in their country was very considerable; that the suppression of it would consequently be attended with great loss to their people; and that, therefore, they could not agree to the introduction of the pure Mehnder-mulli proposed by the Maharajah, but must desire that the Goorkhas would continue to supply them with the adulterated coin.

"Nine or ten years elapsed in this negociation between the two governments without their being able to fix on any plan of accommodation. At length the Goorkha envoy proposed that, as they could not stop the circulation of the base coin with which they had been supplied, they should, at least, establish a just rate of exchange between the base and pure coinage, to the end that
the merchants of either country might stand in their commercial
transactions on the same footing as formerly. The Bhootias,
however, would by no means consent to such a regulation; but, on
the contrary, absolutely directed that the base and genuine money
should be considered, in all negociations of trade, as one and the
same; the consequence of which was that for three or four years
there was no sort of traffic carried on between the two countries.
The circulation of the Nepaulian coin accordingly ceased (i.e. in
Tibet). The Goorkha, nevertheless, continuing to retain his
friendly disposition towards the Bhootias, endeavoured to prevail
on them to depute some respectable person to the common
boundary, there to meet and, in concert with deputies from
Nepaul, devise some arrangement for the mutual benefit of the
two states, as, without a speedy adjustment of the matter, it was
evident that the trade of the two countries must be inevitably
ruined. The Bhootias, however, were so far from listening to this
reasonable proposal, that they, on the contrary, sent word
vauntingly to the Goorkha that they had constructed a new road
through the plain or valley of Tingri; that they were establishing
a post on the common frontier; and that they had assembled an
army of 125,000 men, and that, if the Goorkha wished for war,
he was welcome to advance."

The profits made by the Nepal Government on the silver
coinage for Tibet are said by Kirkpatrick to have been a lakh of
rupees annually. He adds: "It is to be observed that all silver
brought into Nepaul from Tibet, in the way of commerce, must be
carried to the mint at Khatmanda, no silver bullion being allowed
to pass into Hindostan. In exchange for his bullion the merchant
receives Nepaul rupees, the Government deriving a profit of twelve
per cent. from the transaction, four per cent. being charged on
account of coinage and eight arising from the alloy of the rupee.

With respect to gold, it has usually been a monopoly in the
hands of Government, who obliged the traders from Tibet to sell it
at the mint at the rate of eight rupees per tolah, whence the
Tickšáli retails it sometimes at the advanced price of fourteen
rupees per tolah."

So, altogether, the Newar Government made a large profit out of
their monopoly of the coinage for Tibet.

Since the Goorkha conquest, Nepal has not again coined for

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A Nepalese official.
Tibet, though, since the conclusion of the war, the Nepalese-Gorkha mohars have passed freely current in Tibet along with the Tibetan currency and are called 'cho-tang' or 'tang-ka' for cutting,' owing to those being the 'tang-ka' that is generally subdivided.

The coin of Jaya Raṇajīta (Pl. II, Fig. 5) is known in Tibet as the 'nag tang,' or 'black tang-ka.' There are a large number of these coins still in circulation, and many years of grease have made them black enough to deserve their name. A large number of these coins are also still current in Bhutan.

That the mohars of this first type were the design coined primarily for the Tibet coinage, and were consequently continued for that purpose, is supported by the fact that we find other coins of an entirely different device and character struck by the same kings, and even in the same year, reserved, no doubt, for the currency within Nepal. An example of this are the coins of Jaya Raṇajīta Malla of Bhātgāon (Nos. 5 and 6; Pl. II, Figs. 4 and 8); of Pratāpa Malla of Kāṭhmāṇḍū (Nos. 11 and 12; Pl. II, Figs. 10 and 12); and Śrīnivāsa Malla of Pātan (Nos. 53 and 54; Pl. V, Figs. 3 and 4).

Besides the silver coinage there was until recently a copper currency of rough unstamped lumps of copper, called dhebuā, corresponding to the 'dumpy pie' that were formerly current in India. Four of these dhebuās make a ganda, and 25 gandas are equal to one rupee; so that 12½ gandas or 50 dhebuās were equal to the mohar. With the exception of Jaya Prakāśa Malla, none of the Newār kings coined silver coins of less denomination than the half mohar (called sukā, suki, or sikī) and the quarter mohar (called do-ānī), and as 6½ gandas or 25 dhebuās were equal to the sukā, and 3 gandas or 12 dhebuās equal to the do-ānī, the copper currency was in accordance with the silver coinage. As regards Jaya Prakāśa Malla's coins of smaller value, they probably were never in general circulation.
The Gorkhās, however, who adopted the Newār system of silver coinage, carried out its subdivisions to lower denominations, and there are thus under the Gorkhās two systems of currency below the mohar—the old Newār system of ‘Pacīs Ganda,’ to which the Gorkhās subsequently added a coin called dyāk, equivalent to the Indian double pice; and the silver system of ‘Sohra Ganda.’ The two systems are given below.

**The Pacīs Ganda System.**

1 mohar = 2 sukā, sukī, or siki.
1 sukā, etc. = 2 do-ānī = $6\frac{1}{4}$ ganda of copper ḍhebuās or 25 ḍhebuās.
1 do-ānī = 3 ganda of copper ḍhebuās or 12 ḍhebuās.
1 dyāk = 6 dyāks (double pice), a Gorkhā coin.
1 ḍhebuā = 4 (copper) dāms.
1 (copper) dām or paisā dām = 2 phokā dāms, or chūn dāms.

**The Sohra Ganda System.**

1 mohar = 2 sukā, sukī, or siki.
1 sukā, etc. ($\frac{1}{4}$ mohar) = 2 do-ānī.
1 do-ānī ($\frac{1}{4}$ mohar) = 2 ek-ānī.
1 ek-ānī ($\frac{1}{2}$ mohar) = 2 ādhā-ānī.
1 ādhā-ānī ($\frac{1}{2}$ mohar) = 1 paisā mohar (silver pice).
1 paisā mohar ($\frac{1}{3}$ mohar) = 2 do-dām (the silver leaf), also called ādhā-paisā.

The value of the silver anna is nominally six copper pice, but the exchange value in practice seems to vary at certain places, as I have heard from Nepalis that it is equal to seven copper pice.

In the lists of Newār and of Gorkhā coins I have called the sukā, do-ānī, ek-ānī, etc., by their fractional part of the mohar.

To follow the coinage of the Malla dynasties it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the history of the three kingdoms of Bhātgāon, Kāthmāndū (also known as
Kāntipur), and Pātan (also known as Lalitapur). In Table I, I have given contemporary lists of the kings of each of the three kingdoms. The names of the first seven kings of Bhātgāon, and also the first eight kings of Kāthmāṇḍū, whose coins are not known, are taken from the Vamsāvali, and correspond with those given by Professor Bendall in Table II of his "Journey in Nepal" 1 and Table II of his "History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms." 2

The subsequent names for the three kingdoms are fixed by their coins, in addition to the Vamsāvali. Those for Bhātgāon, viz., Jagatprakāśa, Jitamitra, Bhūpatindra, and Rana jīta Mallas, are as given in Professor Bendall’s tables, but I have made certain additions to the kings of Kāthmāṇḍū and Pātan which do not appear in those tables, and which I therefore give below.

Kāthmāṇḍū.

1. I have added the names of the thirteenth king Jaya Mahipendra and the fourteenth Jaya Pārthivendra, which do not occur in Professor Bendall’s tables. The Vamsāvali states that Pratāpā Malla had four sons—Pārthivendra Malla, Nṛpendra Malla (also called Mahipatindra Malla), and Chakravartindra Malla. By the advice of a Śvāmī he “left his throne for a time to be filled in turn by his four sons . . . Chakravartendra reigned only for one day, but the other three sons reigned for their three years.”

The reigns of Chakravartindra and Nṛpendra are known, that of Pārthivendra is now shown by his coins (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3), and, as the statement of the Vamsāvali is thus correct as regards the other three

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sons, it may also be taken to be correct as regards the remaining one, Mahipendra Malla.

2. Professor Bendall shows Jyoti Prakāśa Malla, the twentieth king, in brackets, as not having reigned; and, referring to a coin bearing his name of date 1749 A.D., notes: "[coin struck apparently in a rebellion—see Wright, p. 224]." Jyoti Prakāśa's coin (No. 49; Pl. IV, Fig. 15), however, bears date 866 N.S., corresponding to 1746 A.D., which shows that coins were struck in his name both in 1746 and in 1749 A.D. Jyoti Prakāśa was the infant son of Jaya Prakāśa, aged 2½ years, whom the nobles, being discontented with Jaya Prakāśa, set up as king under the regency of his mother, Queen Dayāvatī, and drove Jaya Prakāśa from the kingdom. The Vamsāvalī says that he spent two and a half years in exile, when he received a miraculous sword from a devotee at Gujhesvarī, which enabled him to return and regain his kingdom. It is thus clear that Jyoti Prakāśa reigned under the regency of his mother for that period.

The Vamsāvalī gives the name of his regent mother as Dayāvatī. I do not, however, find any coin bearing this queen's name, as would be expected if she had been regent. But there is a coin of Janani, Jaya Laksāmi Devī (No. 50; Pl. VI, Fig. 12), which bears date of the same year, which would seem to be the title of the queen regent.

Pātan.

3. Siddhi Narasimha is shown by Professor Bendall as the first king of the separate kingdom of Pātan. I have, however, shown the division as dating from Hariharasimha, as the Vamsāvalī states that he "went to rule over Pātan in the lifetime of his father Śivasimha," and although, on succeeding his father subsequently, he ruled over the two kingdoms, Pātan as a separate kingdom had already been constituted, and was regarded as such. This is also shown

1 Wright, p. 224.
by the fact that, although on his father's death Harihara-
simha succeeded in ousting his elder brother Lakṣmi
Narasimha from the kingdom of Kāthmāndū, it was
Lakṣmi Narasimha who succeeded to that kingdom as
the son of Śivasimha, while Hariharasimha's son, Siddhi
Narasimha, succeeded his father as ruler of the separate
kingdom of Pātan.

4. I have added the name of Jaya Indra Malla, the
fifth king. His name does not occur in the Vamśāvalī
or in Professor Bendall's table, but the date on his coin
(No. 61; Pl. V, Fig. 11) is 826 n.s., corresponding with
1706 A.D., which places him as the successor of Jaya Yoga
Narendra.

5. The name of Jaya Loka Prakāśa does not occur
from his coin, but is given in Bendall's table. The date on
his coin (No. 62; not illustrated) is 827 n.s., corresponding
to 1707 A.D., on which his name occurs together with that
of Yogamati Devī. He was no doubt a minor son of Yoga
Narendra, and reigned under the regency of his mother
Yogamati; for there is an inscription which records that
Yogamati Devi dedicated a temple in memory of her
deceased son Loka Prakāśa.1

6. I have added the name of Vira Narasimha, the
seventh ruler. His name does not occur in the Vamśāvalī
or in Wright's table. His coin (No. 63; Pl. V, Fig. 12)
bears date 829 n.s., corresponding with 1709 A.D., and as
his name also occurs jointly with that of Yogamati Devi,
he was also, no doubt, another minor son of Yoga
Narendra, who succeeded on Loka Prakāśa's death, and
for whom his mother ruled as regent.

7. I have shown the name of Jaya Vira Mahīndra
or Mahīndra Simha Deva of Kāthmāndū as the eighth
ruler, as the Vamśāvalī states that he also ruled over
Pātan, and he is consequently shown as the fifth ruler

1 Inscription No. 22. Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, p. 192.
in Bendall’s table. The statement of the Vamśavali as to Vīra Mahindra’s reign over Pātān, however, appears to be very doubtful. The Vamśavali says: “After him (viz. Yoganarendra) Mahipatindra or Mahindra Siṁha Malla (Rāja of Kāntipur) became also Rāja of Pātān . . . . On the 11th of Bhador Badi n.s. 842 (A.D. 1722) Mahindra Malla died. Jaya Yoga Prakāśa succeeded him.”¹ From the coins of the preceding three rulers, however, it is quite clear that Vīra Mahindra did not, as stated, succeed Yoga Narendra, and from the coins of Hṛdī Narasimha, 1715 A.D., it is also quite certain that he did not reign till 1722 A.D. and that he was not succeeded by Jaya Yoga Prakāśa. The statement of the Vamśavali is, therefore, incorrect on every point, and so it is very doubtful whether Vīra Mahindra ever reigned over Pātān at all. If he did, it was between Vīra Narasimha and Hṛdī Narasimha.

8. I have shown the name of Hṛdī Narasimha as the ninth ruler. His name does not occur in the Vamśavali or in Bendall’s table. His date, from his coins (Nos. 64 and 65; Pl. VI, Figs. 1 and 2), is 835 n.s., corresponding to 1715 A.D.

9. I have shown Ranajita Malla of Bhatgāon as the thirteenth ruler. His name is not shown in Bendall’s table. The Vamśavali says that Rājya Prakāśa Malla “was a pacific man and worshipped a number of Saligrams. The six Pradhāns, taking advantage of his simplicity, deprived him of his eyesight. He did not long survive this; and after his death the Pradhān of the Dhālāchekācha caste brought the Raja of Bhatgāon, Ranajita Malla, and made him Raja of Pātān also. After a year’s reign, however, the Pradhāns drove him away, when he had gone to bathe at Sankhamula.”²

10. I have shown Jaya Prakāśa of Kāthmāndū as the fourteenth ruler. The Vamśavali says that after the

¹ Wright, p. 248. ² Wright, p. 250.
expulsion of Ranajita "the Pradhâns made Jaya Prakâśa, the Raja of Kântipur, Raja of Pâtan also, and he ruled over both cities . . . Jaya Prakâśa ruled for one or two years; but the Pradhâns were afraid of him, and one day, when he went to Tekhu-dobhân to bathe, they expelled him. They then installed as Raja a grandson (daughter's son) of Viśnú Malla, named Viśvajita Malla, who reigned for four years. The six Pradhâns were soon displeased with him, and, in order to get rid of him, they accused him of adultery with one of their wives, and killed him at the door of Taleju."

Almost all the Malla coins, except those of the Tibet coinage, bear the sword (khadga), the emblem of sovereignty, which is generally combined with a garland. The other non-religious symbols are the mace and the lion. The remaining symbols are all religious. Of these, the one most generally found on the coins is the trident of Siva, and the others are the Asta Manâgala (the eight Buddhist signs of good luck); the shell, śāṅkha; the holy water vase, kalaśa or kumbha; the vase for offerings, with cover in form of a stûpa; the discus, cakra; and the double-drum, damauru, of form like an hour-glass, used in tantric worship.

With the exception of the trident, these symbols are all of them common to both the Hindu and Buddhist religions, though the interpretation given to them differs according to the religion.

The trident (trisula) appears on the reverse of the coins of the earliest type, in the small central circle, which, as already noted, was imitated from that in the coin of the

1 Wright, pp. 250, 251.
2 The Asta Manâgala are (1) Matesa, the two golden fish; (2) Catra, the umbrella of sovereignty; (3) Sāṅkha, the hollowed conch shell for blowing as a trumpet; (4) Śrivatsa, a lucky diagram, also known as "Buddha's entrails"; (5) Draja, the banner of victory; (6) Kalaśa, vase of holy water; (7) Padma, the lotus; and (8) Cakra, the wheel of the law.
Bengal king Ghiyās-ud-dīn Maḥmūd. On these coins it always bears the same form, with two streamers attached to the shaft. All the mohars of Bhāṭgāon are of this pattern, except the mohar of Raṇajīta Malla (Pl. I, Fig. 6), which he copied from that of Cakravartindra Malla of Kāṭhmāṇḍū. On the mohars of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, subsequent to those of the early type, the trident appears with plain shaft without streamers, though on one of the smaller coins, a quarter mohar of Rūpamati Devī, the consort of Pratāpa Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 11), it follows the earlier form, and has small streamers. In two coins of Jaya Prakāṣa Malla (Nos. 37 and 38; Pl. IV, Figs. 7 and 8) the trident has flowers springing from its shaft. In the kingdom of Pātān Buddhism was much stronger than at Bhāṭgāon and Kāṭhmāṇḍū, and consequently the Sivaite emblem of the trident does not appear on the coins of the early type, its place being taken in the coins of Siddhi Narasiṁha by the lion which forms the rebus of his name (Pl. V, Figs. 1 and 2), and in the coin of Śrīnīvāsa by the legend which is continued on the reverse of the coin (Pl. V, Fig. 3). For the same reason the Sivaite emblem of the double-drum (damaru), which occurs on these coins of Bhāṭgāon and Kāṭhmāṇḍū, is omitted from the Pātān coins, its place being taken by the Buddhist emblem of the lotus flower. The trident does not also appear on the earlier coins of Yoga Narendra Malla. It first appears on his coin of 1700 A.D., a coin of an entirely different character to his previous ones, which bore only Buddhist symbols, and it then appears on the coins of all the subsequent kings, except those of Hṛdi Narasiṁha Malla.

The double-drum (damaru), which is also a Sivaite emblem, and which occurs on the coins of the early type of Bhāṭgāon and Kāṭhmāṇḍū as already mentioned, does not appear on those of Pātān.

The Āṣṭa Maṅgala, the eight Buddhist signs of good luck, do not appear on the coins of Bhāṭgāon which
adhered to the early type. In Kāthmāndū they first appear on the coin of Bhūpālendra Malla (No. 20; Pl. III, Fig. 4), and, after that, are the standard device for the obverse of the mohar of every succeeding king (Pl. III, Figs. 5–12, and Pl. IV, Figs. 2–6 and 15), with the exception of one coin of Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 31; Pl. IV, Fig. 1). They do not occur on any of the coins of Pātan, and although Yoga Prakāśa Malla copied the device of the circle surrounded by eight petals (No. 66; Pl. VI, Fig. 3), the petals contain the legend, as on the reverse of the Kāthmāndū coins.

The vase of holy water (kalāśā) appears on the quarter mohar of Bhūpatindra Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 5), and on the half and quarter mohars of Raṇajita Malla of Bhāttgāon (Pl. II, Figs. 6 and 7). Also on the mohar of Pārthivendra Malla of Kāthmāndū (No. 17; Pl. III, Fig. 2), and of Śrīnivāsa Malla of Pātan (No. 54; Pl. V, Fig. 4).

The vase of offerings, with cover in the form of a stūpa, appears on the quarter mohars of Jaya Mahindra Malla (No. 27; Pl. III, Fig. 10) and Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 30; Pl. III, Fig. 13) of Kāthmāndū, and on the mohars of Yoga Narendra Malla (Nos. 55–58; Pl. V, Figs. 5–8); of Jaya Indra Malla (No. 61; Pl. V, Fig. 11); Vīra Narasimhā Malla (No. 63; Pl. V, Fig. 12); and the quarter mohar of Janani Laksmi Devī (No. 50; Pl. VI, Fig. 12) of Pātan.

The shell (śāṅkha) is a symbol peculiar to the coins of Kāthmāndū. It only appears on one coin of Pātan, a mohar of Yoga Narendra Malla (No. 57; Pl. V, Fig. 7), and on one coin of Bhāttgāon, the mohar of Raṇajita Malla (No. 6; Pl. II, Fig. 8), which is copied exactly from the mohar of Cakravartindra Malla of Kāthmāndū (Pl. II, Fig. 13). M. Terrien de La Couperie, writing on the silver coinage of Tibet, says that the coins of the three Nepal kingdoms “were generally distinguished by a shell for Bhāttgāon, a trisul (trident) for Pātan, and a sword
for Kāṭhmāṇḍū."¹ This, however, is quite incorrect. The shell does not occur at all on the coins of Bhātgāon with the one special exception noted; the trident is conspicuous by its absence from the early type of coins of Pātān, and did not appear on the subsequent coins until much later than at Kāṭhmāṇḍū; and the sword, which was the Newār emblem of sovereignty, is common to all the three kingdoms, and, in fact, the earliest coins on which it appears are those of Pātān (Pl. V, Figs. 1, 2, and 3).

The discus of Viṣṇu (cakra) appears on the coin of Cakravartinda Malla of Kāṭhmāṇḍū (No. 15; Pl. II, Fig. 13), and may have been adopted partly as a rebus for his name. It appears together with the shell, an association which may be due to the fact that the cakra and the shell each supported on a pillar appear as symbols in front of the temple of Cangu Nārāyaṇa.² It similarly appears on the coin of Ranajita Malla of Bhātgāon, which, as already mentioned, he copied from Cakravartinda's coin. The cakra also appears on a pedestal in a form similar to that which it bears surmounting the pillar in front of the temple of Cangu Nārāyaṇa, of which it is probably a representation on the quarter mohar of Janani Kumudini Devī of Kāṭhmāṇḍū (No. 39; Pl. IV, Fig. 9), and the mohars of Jaya Indra Malla and Vira Narasimha Malla (Nos. 61 and 63; Pl. V, Figs. 11 and 12).

The mace (gada) appears on the coin of Cakravartinda, and on its copy of Ranajita Malla, and also on the half mohar of Ranajita Malla (No. 7; Pl. II, Fig. 7), where its head has been developed into a flower in a very artistic manner. It also appears, in combination with the shell, on coins of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātān (Nos. 56, 57, and 58; Pl. V, Figs. 6, 7, and 8).

² Professor Lévi gives an illustration of this temple: "Le Népal," vol. i, p. 231.
The equilateral triangle, known as vānāstra, which is a conventional representation of a drawn bow, appears on the reverse of the coin of Cakravartindra and its copy of Raṇajīta Malla (Nos. 15 and 6; Pl. II, Figs. 13 and 8), and on Raṇajīta Malla’s half mohar (Pl. II, Fig. 7), and on the reverse of the mohars of Jaya Prakāśa Malla (Nos. 35 and 36; Pl. IV, Figs. 5 and 6). Equilateral triangles also appear on the coins of Śrīnivāsa, Yoga Narendra, and Vira Narasimha of Pātan (Nos. 54, 56, and 63; Pl. V, Figs. 4, 6, and 12), but in this case they appear to be merely to form geometrical designs. The triangle (trikona) is also the special symbol of the Newār goddess Gujheswari, which may account for its use on these coins.

The svastika, Fly-foot Cross, appears only on the coins of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (Nos. 55, 56, and 57; Pl. V, Figs. 5, 6, and 7). This design of the double svastika no doubt suggested to the Gorkhā conqueror Prthvi Nārāyaṇa Sāha the design for his mohar, which has remained the standard design of the Gorkhā coinage (Pl. VII, Fig. 1), and which was copied by his brother Dala Mardana Sāha when king of Pātan (No. 75; Pl. VI, Fig. 13).

The remaining symbol found on the Newār coins is the lion, which appears as a rebus for the name ‘Simha’ on the coins of Siddhi Narasimha (Nos. 51, 52; Pl. V, Figs. 1, 2) and Hrdi Narasimha of Pātan (Nos. 64, 65; Pl. VI, Figs. 1, 2). It is of the same design, facing left with the tail curled over its back, as the lion on the coins of Mānānka and Amśu-varman, from which it is no doubt copied.

Besides the use of religious symbols, the kings of Pātan inscribed the names of the national deities on their coins. Only two of the kings of Kāthmāndū, Jaya Vira Mahindra Malla and Jaya Prakāśa Malla, followed this practice, and no names of deities appear on the coins of Bhātgāon which adhered to the early type. The names of the following deities occur on the coins
of Pātan and of Jaya Vira Mahendra Malla, and Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāndū.

The name of Lokanātha appears on the coins of Yoga Narendra Malla (Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, and, together with the name of the goddess Taleju Māju, on coin No. 60); of Jaya Indra Malla (No. 61); of Vira Narasimha Malla (No. 63); of Jaya Viṣṇu Malla (No. 67); of Rājya Prakāśa Malla (Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72); and of Viśvajita Malla (Nos. 73 and 74) of Pātan. It also appears on the coin of Jaya Vira Mahendra Malla of Kāthmāndū (No. 24).

The name of the goddess Kaluṇāmaya, or Karuṇāmaya, appears on the coins of Queen Yogamati and Loka Prakāśa Malla (No. 62); of Hādi Narasimha Malla (Nos. 64, 65); of Yoga Prakāśa Malla (No. 66); of Jaya Viṣṇu Malla (No. 68); and of Dala Mardana Sāha (No. 75) of Pātan, and on a coin of Jaya Vira Mahendra of Kāthmāndū (No. 25).

The name of the goddess Taleju Māju appears, together with that of Lokanātha, on a coin of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (No. 60), and together with that of the goddess Kumāri Māju on a coin of Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāndū (No. 36).

The name of the goddess Gujheswari appears on a quarter mohar of Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāndū (No. 45), and, together with that of Paśupati, on another quarter mohar of this king (No. 40). The latter coin is peculiar, as it only bears the name of these two deities without the name of the king or queen, and is the only example of this in the Newar coinage, although it occurred in the ancient coins of Paśupati.

A feature of the Newar coinage is the inclusion of the names of the queen consorts on the coins. Besides the names of the queens who were regents for their minor sons, as Janani Jaya Lakṣmī Devī (No. 50), regent for her son Jyoti Prakāśa Malla, and Yogamati Devī (No. 62), regent for her son Loka Prakāśa Malla, and again (No. 63)
for her son Vīra Narasimha Malla, the names of the consorts of the reigning kings frequently appear on the coins. In the Kāṭhmāṇḍū coins the queens’ names only appear on the quarter mohar (do-ānu). These are Rūpamati Devi, queen of Pratāpa Malla (No. 14); Rājya Laksmi Devi, queen of Pārthivendra Malla (No. 19); Mahindra Laksmi Devi, queen of Jaya Vīra Mahīndra (No. 27); and Kumudini Devi, queen of Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 30). In the Pātan coins the queens’ names occur on the mohars, as follows: Yoga Laksmi Devi and Narendra Laksmi Devi, together on the coin of Yoga Narendra Malla (No. 55); Narendra Laksmi Devi and Pratāpa Laksmi Devi, together on another of the coins of the same king (No. 56); also Yoga Laksmi Devi, singly on another coin (No. 57); and Bhāgavati Devi appears on the coin of Jaya Indra Malla (No. 61).

A characteristic of the coins of the Kāṭhmāṇḍū dynasty is the use of flowers as a decoration on the coins of several of the rulers. The first coin decorated with flowers is the mohar of Pratāpa Malla (No. 12) and his square double mohar (No. 13), the mohars of Cakravartindra Malla (No. 15), Jaya Nṛpendra Malla (No. 16), and Pārthivendra Malla (No. 18). After that the mohars assumed a more or less fixed type, but in these the device was itself based on a flower, being the petals of the lotus flower on the obverse and its leaves on the reverse. The Nepalese as a race are very fond of flowers, and even the poorest use them as personal adornment.

The Malla kings did not generally inscribe titles on their coins, but only their names. The following kings, however, inscribed titles on their coins: Jaya Śrīnivāsa Malla of Pātan took the title “Nepālesvara” (No. 54), which was also assumed by Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla (No. 20), and also by Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 28) of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, as “Nepālesvara Rājendra.”
Bhūpālendra Malla also assumed the title of "Girindra Rāja Rājendra," Lord over the kings of the Hills (No. 21), and the title was also assumed as "Nepāleśvara Girindra" by Jaya Bhāskara (No. 22) and Jaya Vīra Mahīndra (No. 26). The title of "Kavindra," King of Poets, as already noticed, was assumed by Pratāpa Malla (No. 12) and by Bhūpālendra Malla (No. 21). The title of "Nepāla Chuḍāmani," Jewel on the Crown of Nepal, was assumed by Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (No. 58) and "Nepāleśvara Chuḍāmani" (No. 59), and Bhūpālendra Malla of Kāthmānḍū subsequently uses the title as "Chuḍāmani Samrāt" (No. 21), the Jewel on the Crown of the Empire.

Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan uses the title of "Saṅgītārṇava-Pārāga," skilled in music (No. 55), referring to his proficiency in that art.

The general characteristics of the Malla coinage have now been considered, but there are one or two coins which call for individual notice.

The design of the mohar of Cakravartindra, 1669 A.D. (No. 15; Pl. II, Fig. 13), has been already alluded to. The device of this coin is supposed by the Newārs to have been particularly unlucky, and to have caused Cakravartindra’s death. The Vamśāvali says: "The inscription on Cakravartindra’s coin, devised by the Svāmī, consists of a triangular Bānāstra (bow and arrow), Pās (noose), Ankus (the iron hook for driving an elephant), Kamal (a lotus), Chāmar (a yak’s tail), and Saṁbat 789. This device caused his death." To this Dr. Wright adds a footnote that "a bow and arrow are ominous of death, but nevertheless the water in which such a coin is dipped possesses the quality of causing a speedy delivery in child-bed. These coins, which are very rare, are still used for this purpose." ¹ This is, as Dr. Wright remarks, the general belief with regard to this coin, and I was told of

¹ Wright’s History, p. 220.
this virtue when I obtained my specimen of the coin. It is curious that, with such a belief as to the unluckiness of this coin, Ranajita Malla should have copied the device.

Jaya Pratāpa Malla imitated the Persian inscription on the coins of the Moghul Emperors with a floral decoration of the field. His coin which bears this device is dated 775 n.s. or 1755 A.D. (No. 12; Pl. II, Fig. 12).

The upper line of characters on the reverse appears to be intended for the commencement and last portion of "Shāh 'Alamgīr," from whose coins Pratāpa Malla would therefore appear to have copied them. This introduction of Persian characters, which the minters failed to correctly imitate, is characteristic of Pratāpa Malla, who prided himself on his extensive knowledge, and composed a prayer to Svayambhū, in which he introduced Persian and various other characters, and had inscribed on a stone at that temple. It was after composing this prayer that Pratāpa Malla assumed the title of "Kavindra," King of Poets, which appears on this coin. Pratāpa Malla's device of this coin was copied by Jaya Nṛpendra and Jaya Parthivendra (Pl. III, Figs. 1 and 3), and two lines of meaningless imitation Persian characters appear on the reverse of mohars of Jaya Bhāskara, Vira Mahendra, Jaya Jagajjaya Mallas of Kāthmāṇḍū, and were also adopted by Jaya Viśnū and Rājya Prakāśa Mallas of Pātan on the obverse of their coins (Nos. 67 and 69).

Jaya Bhūpalendra (1682 A.D.) also assumed the title of Kavindra (No. 21). He originated the device of eight lotus petals surrounding a central circle, with the aṣṭa-maṅgala within the petals for the obverse, and a similar arrangement of eight leaves for the reverse, which remained the standard device for the coins of the subsequent rulers.

His design, as modified by his successor Jaya Bhāskara Malla (No. 22; Pl. III, Fig. 5), was copied by the Government
of Tibet for their coinage when Tibet gave up obtaining their coinage from Nepal, and with the substitution of a floral design the central circle on the obverse, and a wheel within the central circle on the reverse, is the "Gah-dan tanka," which has continued to be the standard coinage of Tibet up to the present time.

The latest mohars of Jaya Viṣṇu Mallā of Pātan (No. 67), and all those of his successor Rājya Prakāśa Mallā (Nos. 69 to 72), bear on the reverse the name of Vīra Yoga Narendra Mallā. The reason of this would appear to be because Yoga Narendra Mallā, who from grief at the death of his son and heir relinquished the kingdom and went away as an ascetic, was supposed to be still living, and the government of the country to be carried on by his successors on his behalf. The Vaṁśāvalī says: "He told the minister that as long as the face of his statue remained bright and untarnished, and the bird on its head had not flown away, he would know that the Rājā was alive, and should cherish and respect his memory. For this reason a mattress is still every night laid in a room in the front of the Darbar, and the window is left open."¹ To this Dr. Wright adds a footnote that this is still done, as the face of the statue remains bright.

Rājya Prakāśa Mallā,² Jaya Viṣṇu Mallā's successor, also, for the same reason, inscribed the name of Vīra Yoga Narendra Mallā on all his coins (Nos. 69 to 72). In coins Nos. 69, 70, and 71 the reverse is the same as Jaya Viṣṇu's coin No. 67, but in coin No. 72 the device is different, which shows that the insertion of Yoga Narendra Mallā's name was not merely due to a continuance of the reverse of Jaya Viṣṇu's coin.

¹ Wright, p. 248.
² Rājya Prakāśa Mallā was the younger brother of Jaya Prakāśa Mallā of Kāthmāndū, by whom he was expelled from the country, as the sepoys wanted to make him king instead of Jaya Prakāśa. As Jaya Viṣṇu Mallā had no son he appointed Rājya Prakāśa as his successor, which was accepted by the people (Wright, p. 249).
THE GORKHĀ COINAGE.

The following is a brief sketch of the history of the Gorkhā dynasty. All references to Gorkhā coins which follow are to the serial number in the list of Gorkhā coins, which form a separate series to those of the Newār coins which have been already considered.

The Gorkhās claim to be descended from the Rajputs of Chitor, whose dynasty commences from Rṣīrājā Bhaṭṭāraka, about the year 80 A.D. According to their history, after the taking of Chitor by Ala-uddin in 1289 A.D., one part of the survivors went and settled at Udaipur, and another, under Manmatha Raṇā, settled at Ujjain. Manmatha Raṇā's younger son Mīra Khān, however, with his followers, migrated to the Himalayas and settled at Noakot, where they made themselves masters of the neighbouring territories.

In 1559 A.D. they again divided. Dravya Sāha, a younger son, obtained the sovereignty of the town and territory of Gorkhā, forty miles west of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, from which the Gorkhās have taken their name. Intent on pushing their conquests eastward, Dambara Sāha (1633–1642 A.D.) invaded the territories of Pratāpa Malla, but was repulsed. Nara Bhūpāla Sāha (1716–1742 A.D.), the father of Prthvī Nārāyaṇa, taking advantage of the internal dissensions between the Nepalese kingdoms, again invaded Nepal, but was stopped by the Thākurs of Noakot and forced to retreat.

On his father's death, Prthvī Nārāyaṇa came to the throne at the age of 12, and at once proceeded to

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1 He is the 36th Raja in the Genealogy (Wright's "History of Nepal," p. 276).
2 Not the Noakot near Kāṭhmāṇḍū, but another far to the west.
3 Viz. Noakot in Nepal (Wright, 197).
attack Noakot,\(^1\) which belonged to the kingdom of Kāthmāndū. He was, however, repulsed by Jaya Prakāśa and forced to retire, but succeeded in his second attack eight years later (1750 or 1751).\(^2\) At this time he also went to reside with Ranajita Malla at Bhātgaon, where he became a close friend of Ranajita's son and heir Vira Narasimhia Malla, and where he continued to reside for several years. He there stirred up the seven illegitimate sons of Ranajita Malla, with the promise that he would obtain the kingdom for them, to conspire against Vira Narasimhia, whom they eventually contrived to poison; the Vamśāvali, euphemistically, records that "he died suddenly." Ranajita Malla called in Prthvi Nārayana to assist him in his quarrel with Jaya Prakāśa, of Kāthmāndū. Prthvi Nārayana seized the opportunity to attack Kirtipur, a town on an eminence about three miles south-west of Kāthmāndū, which was subject to the kingdom of Pātan, and which, from its position, was considered impregnable. The king of Pātan did not attempt to defend it, but Jaya Prakāśa went to its assistance and defeated Prthvi Nārayana, who was forced to retire. The people of Kirtipur then asked Jaya Prakāśa to become their king, and the nobles (Thāris) assembled to make the town over to him. He, however, insulted them and had one of their number imprisoned, in revenge for which they handed over several places in the kingdom of Kāthmāndū to Prthvi Nārayana, who also again laid siege for several months to Kirtipur, but was obliged eventually to give it up. He then attacked the king of Lamji, a neighbouring state, and after several battles concluded an agreement with him and returned towards Kirtipur.\(^3\) The three Nepalese kingdoms then attempted to combine against their common danger and

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\(^1\) Noakot in Nepal.

\(^2\) Wright, pp. 224, 225.

\(^3\) Lévi, "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 271.
attacked Prthví Nárāyaṇa, but after a protracted siege Kirtipur was given up to Prthví Nárāyaṇa by the noble whom Jaya Prakāśa had insulted and imprisoned. Prthví Nárāyaṇa then invested Pātan, but the advance of the British troops under Captain Kinlock into the Terai (1767) caused him to withdraw. On Captain Kinlock's expedition having to retire on account of malaria and difficulty of communications, he laid siege to Kāṭhmāndū, which he finally entered with scarcely any opposition on the 29th September, 1768, during the festival of the Indrajatra; when most of the inhabitants were feasting or drunk, Jaya Prakāśa sat in the temple of Taleju watching the fighting. At last, seeing that all was lost, he spread gunpowder on the steps of the temple and fled to Lalitapur, and taking the king Teja Narasimha with him, took refuge at Bhātgāon.¹ This gave Prthví Nárāyaṇa both Kāṭhmāndū and Pātan, and he then turned his attention to the town of Bhātgāon, which he succeeded in entering through the treachery of the illegitimate sons of Raṇajita Malla, whom he had won over, as already mentioned. Raṇajita was allowed to go to Benares, where he ended his days, Jaya Prakāśa was taken, at his own request, to Paśupati, where he died from the results of a wound he had received in the taking of Bhātgāon, and Teja Narasimha was imprisoned at Lakṣmīpur until his death, and thus the three Malla kingdoms came to an end in 1768 A.D.

Prthví Nárāyaṇa was succeeded by his son Pratāpa Śīṃha Sāha, who reigned for three years, 1775–8 A.D.² He was succeeded by his son Raṇa Bahādur Śīṃha, who was an infant, and whose mother, Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī, governed as Regent. From the death of Pratāpa Śīṃha

¹ Wright, p. 232.
² The brief sketch of the history of the Gorkhā dynasty which follows is taken from Professor Lévi's "Népal," which is fuller and more complete than that given in Wright's History.
Sāha, the Gorkhā dynasty has been a succession of minor kings and regencies. The king has been merely a nominal ruler, the real government and power being in the hands of the Prime Minister. In 1795 Rāṇa Bahādur Sāha, having attained majority, decided to reign himself, and arrested and imprisoned his uncle the minister. He had been married to Lalitā Tripurā Sundari, a daughter of the Rāja of Gulmi, a neighbouring hill state. He, however, neglected her, and married a slave-girl, who appears from coin No. 35 to have assumed the title of Rāja Rājesvari Devī. The name of Lalitā Tripurā Sundari does not appear on the coins of this reign, though it appears on coins of his successor Rājendra Vikrama, together with that of Rājendra Lakṣmī. He also married Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī, the daughter of a Brahman, by whom he had a son, Girvāṇa Yuddha Vikrama Sāha. Being a Ksatriya he could not marry a Brahman, and this and other acts of impiety so aroused the people against him that he was obliged to resign the throne, and his infant son Girvāṇa Yuddha Vikrama Sāha was appointed in 1800 A.D. with his mother Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī as Regent, and Damodar Pānde as Minister; as the senior queen Lalitā Tripurā Sundari resolved to accompany her husband into exile. Rājendra Lakṣmī’s name occurs on the coins both during the reign of her husband, as consort (No. 21) and as Regent for her son (No. 34).

In 1802 Tripurā Sundari, tired of the ill-treatment of her husband, returned to Nepal, and was welcomed by the people, on which Rāṇa Bahādur Sāha also returned, and assumed the government again in his son’s name, until he was assassinated in 1807. Girvāṇa Yuddha died in 1816.

His minor son Rājendra Vikrama Sāha succeeded him under the regency of his grandmother Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī. Her name as Regent during this reign occurs, together with that of Tripurā Sundari Devī, on coins
Nos. 64 and 65, and by itself as "Regent" on coin No. 69. In 1832 the old queen Tripurā Sundari died.

Rājendra Vikrama had two wives, the first related to the Pāṇḍes and the second to the Thāpās, the two rival factions in the state, who devoted their influence to assisting their respective parties. In 1846 Rājendra Vikrama and his queen were expelled, and his minor son Surendra Vikrama Sāha was appointed as Regent with Jang Bahadur as his Minister. Rājendra Vikrama subsequently returned to Nepal and was imprisoned, where he died in 1847, and Surendra Vikrama then succeeded to the throne under a regency. In 1881 Surendra Vikrama died, after a purely nominal reign of 34 years, and was succeeded by his grandson, a child of six years, Prthvi Vīra Vikrama Sāha, who is the present King.

Prthvi Nārāyaṇa, on his conquest of the country, adopted the Newār system of coinage based on the standard of a silver mohar, and with the same fractional parts. The design of his mohar (No. 1; Pl. VII, Fig. 1), which has continued to be the standard design ever since, was also taken from the Newār coins, the design of the obverse, a square divided by a svastika having probably been suggested by the coins of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (Pl. V; Figs. 5, 6, and 7) combined with the small central circle containing a trident with streamers on the current coins of Raṇajita Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 5) with which Prthvi Nārāyaṇa was familiar, owing to his long residence with Raṇajita Malla at Bhātgaon. The reverse is also a copy of the obverse of a coin of Yoga Prakāśa Malla of Pātan (Pl. VI, Fig. 3), and is similar to several of the later coins of both Kāthmāṇḍū and Pātan; even the two horizontal lines in the central circle being reproduced from the meaningless imitated Persian characters on those coins.

In the half mohars (sukā) and quarter mohars (suki), too, the designs of the Newār coins were followed, and the
same symbols, the sword and wreath as the emblem of sovereignty, the trident, the offering vase in form of stūpa (Pl. VII, Fig. 3), and the cakra on pedestal (Pl. VII, Fig. 8), were adopted. The lion, as a rebus for the name "Simha," was also used by Pratāpa Simha Sāha (No. 17; Pl. VII, Fig. 5, and others of his coins). The Malla coins from which the different Gorkhā coins were taken are noted in the List of Gorkhā Coins. The Gorkhā coins also bear the symbols of the Sun and Moon; as the Gorkhās claim to be descended from both the Solar and Lunar races.

In the gold coinage, however, the Gorkhā kings introduced coins of new denomination and of new designs, some examples of which are illustrated (Pl. VII, Figs. 4, 7, and 9). The copper coinage of Surendra Vikrama Sāha (Pl. VII, Fig. 11), and of Prthvī Vira Vikrama Sāha (Pl. VII, Figs. 12 and 13) are new, with their devices, and in the latter a new symbol is introduced in the Pādukā (footprints of Viṣṇu) and the crossed Kukhris, the national Gorkhā weapon.

The names of deities also appear on the coins, though here the name of Gorkhānātha, the patron deity of the Gorkhās, is the one that is borne on all the mohars. But the name of Lokanātha also appears on some mohars of Prthvī Nārāyaṇa (No. 3) and that of Guhyesvari on that of Pratāpa Simha Sāha, the name being spelt on the Gorkhā coins with hy instead of jh as on the Newār coins (No. 12). In the latter mohars, however, the only names that appear are those of Gorakhānātha and Bhavānī.

The Newār era was, however, abandoned. The coins of the Gorkhā kings are dated in the Śaka era, and the copper coins of Prthvī Vira Vikrama Sāha in the Saṅvat era.

The Gorkhā kings all bear the title of Sāha Deva. The title of Sāha (Shāh) is said to have been conferred by the Emperor of Delhi on Jagdeva Khān, the forty-first
king of the Gorkhā dynasty, for some service that he rendered to the emperor, and has been borne by all his successors.¹

The different denominations of the Gorkhā silver coinage have already been considered. The gold coinage, however, comprises some further denominations. With the exception of Bakla, which is equivalent to two mohars, and of the gold mohar, which is known as ‘Patlā’ (thin coin) or ‘Majhawālā’ (middle coin), these gold coins, are not in general circulation. The smaller denominations are only minted on special occasions and for special purposes. For the names by which they are known, I am indebted to His Excellency Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamsher Jang Rana Bahadur, G.C.S.I., the Prime Minister of Nepal, who has kindly given me the information.

The gold coinage is nominally based on the standard of the tola (= 180 grains), the mohar being held to be the equivalent of half a tola. In the coins of the previous Gorkhā kings which I have weighed, however, the actual weights are less than that standard, as will be seen from the weights given in Table IV of Gorkhā coins. But I have not weighed any coins of the present reign. Their value generally fluctuates with the market price of gold. The different denominations are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Coinage Value</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baklā</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>= 180</td>
<td>170 grs.; coin No. 46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patlā</td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>41 or 42 gr.; coins Nos. 25 and 47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mājhawālā</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11.75</td>
<td>21 grs.; coin No. 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakā Asarfi</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>11 grs.; coin No. 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suki</td>
<td>21 ¾</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āni</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādhanī</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3 to 35 gr.; coin No. 77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāi</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dām</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phokā Dām</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Wright's History, p. 276.
A list of the different coins of the Gorkhā dynasty is given. It is complete up to coin No. 33, for the coins of the British Museum, and after that, I believe, contains most of the succeeding coins, though, owing to my leaving England, I had not the time to go through the remaining coins in the British Museum in detail; and the subsequent list is therefore compiled from the coins in my own collection, supplemented by those in the British Museum of which I had kept note, including those described by Marsden and also, in the case of coins Nos. 43 and 90, from the catalogue of coins in the India Museum, Calcutta. There may be other queens’ coins, and also coins of other denominations than those contained in the list. But the present list will give a comprehensive idea of the Gorkhā coinage until the catalogue of these coins in the British Museum is published.

LISTS OF COINS.
THE LICCHAVI AND THĀKURI DYNASTIES.
MĀṆĀṆKA OR MĀṆADEVA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ĀE</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>1:0</td>
<td>Lion walking towards left, with a flower in front of it. Over, in a straight line, legend Śrī MāṆāṅka. (Pl. I, Fig. 1.)</td>
<td>Goddess seated on a lotus, with the right hand raised and the fingers spread out. The left hand rests on the hips. Legend, Śrī Bhogini.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above coin, given in the British Museum, is Cunningham’s coin figured in “Coins of Ancient India,” pl. xiii, fig. 1.

The British Museum has twelve specimens of this type of coin and its varieties, which vary in size from .95 to
1.05 and in weight. They vary considerably in workmanship, in the size of the seated figure, which in one specimen occupies the greater part of the obverse and in another not more than one-third of the diameter, in the details of the design, and in the workmanship, some being so much more barbarous that they would appear to be subsequent imitations of the original coinage. Cunningham's specimen is much the most perfect.

Cunningham and Bendall give the "deity seated on lotus throne" as the obverse of this coin, and the lion as the reverse. I do not think this is correct. The lion is, I think, the obverse, as it occurs on the obverse of Amšu-varman's coins, Pl. I, Figs. 5 and 6 (in which latter coin the obverse and reverse have, by mistake, been transposed on the plate), and on Jiṣṇu Gupta's coin, Pl. I, Fig. 8, in each of which there is no doubt, from the inscription, that the lion is the obverse. Cunningham describes the figure as "lion walking to left towards lotus plant with flower and bird." I think neither of the objects is a bird. The upper one is a flower consisting of six petals round a centre, and the lower one appears to be a lotus leaf. Bendall (coins Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5) describes the figure as "lion pawing a vine-branch," and mentions that Professor P. Gardner had called his attention to the Greco-Indian coin of Agathokles bearing a panther pawing a vine-leaf (Num. Chron. for 1868, vol. viii, pl. x). I do not think, however, that the object on the present coin is intended for a vine-branch. The upper object, if it were intended for a bunch of grapes, would be hanging down. Also grapes are not grown in Nepal, whereas flowers appear on many of these early Nepalese coins. I think there is no doubt that the object in front of the lion is intended for a lotus on a stem, from which a leaf also grows.

The figure of the deity seated on a lotus on the reverse bears so striking a resemblance to a similar figure on some
of the coins of Huvishka as to suggest that it was copied from them. As already noted, Professor Bendall read the legend on the reverse of a coin of this type as Śrī Bhagīnī. It is, however, distinctly Śrī Bhagīnī on this and the other specimens in the British Museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>METAL.</th>
<th>WEIGHT.</th>
<th>SIZE.</th>
<th>Obverse.</th>
<th>Reverse.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>₤</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>Deity seated on a lotus, right hand held up. Legend below the figure, Śrī Gunaṅka.</td>
<td>Elephant facing to right. (Pl. I, Fig. 2.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>₤</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>Seated figure of king wearing crown; both hands are raised and holding a flower. Legend above the figure, Śrī Gunaṅka.</td>
<td>Elephant to right, surrounded by margin of dots. (Pl. I, Fig. 3.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The British Museum has twelve specimens of coin No. 2, which vary as greatly as those of Mānāṅka, and two of the variety shown in coin No. 3. In some the reverse is surrounded by a margin of dots, and in one specimen there is a scolloped line within the dots, enclosing each dot in a scollop, and in others a plain circle within the dots. The seated figure also varies considerably. In some specimens the figure occupies the lower part of the coin and sits on a throne, not on a flower, and is crowned, and appears to be a king rather than a deity.

**VAIŚRAVĀṆA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>METAL.</th>
<th>WEIGHT.</th>
<th>Obverse.</th>
<th>Reverse.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>₤</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>Seated figure, with right arm raised, holding a flower, left arm resting on thigh, a flower-pot to the left. The figure is crowned, and would appear to be a king. Legend, Vaiśravaṇa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The British Museum has three specimens of this type. They vary very little.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ÅE 170 1·0</td>
<td>Winged lion facing left, with foot raised. Legend above, Śrīyāmīśu Varma.</td>
<td>Cow facing left, with calf underneath. Legend, Kāmadehi. (Pl. I, Fig. 5.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The British Museum has ten specimens of this type. They vary very little.

| 6   | ÅE 228·5 1·0 | In the centre the sun surrounded by rays. Legend running round, Māhā-vājādhirājasya. | Winged lion facing left, with foot raised. Legend, Śrīyāmīśoh. (Pl. I, Fig. 6.) |

The British Museum has three specimens of this coin. They do not vary in design.

| 7   | ÅE 155 0·95 | Winged lion to left, with foot raised. Legend above, Śrīyāmīśu Varma. | Lion to left, with foot raised. Crescent over the lion. (Pl. I, Fig. 7.) |

The British Museum has five specimens of this coin.

**Jīśnu Gupta.**

| 8   | ÅE 174·5 0·95 | Winged bull to left, with forefoot raised. Legend above, ŚrīJīśnu Guptasya. | Ornamental symbol. (Pl. I, Fig. 8.) |

There is only one specimen of this coin in the British Museum.

The figure on the obverse of this coin is described by Cunningham as a winged lion, similar to the winged lions on the preceding coins. I think, however, that it is a winged bull. The shape of the head is quite different from that of the lions. The legs are thinner, and distinctly end in hoofs and not in paws. The shape of the quarters is square like those of a bull, while those of the lions are all round. The tail also is the tail of a bull and not of a lion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Recumbent bull to left.</td>
<td>Sun in the centre, surrounded by rays. (Pl. I, Fig. 9.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'85</td>
<td>Legend above, Pašupati.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The British Museum has five specimens of this coin. They vary in the size of the sun and the shape of the rays round it, but otherwise are similar.

| 10  | Æ      | 119     | Similar to obverse of the preceding coin. | Symbol similar to that on obverse of coin No. 8 (Pl. I, Fig. 8), but smaller and not in high relief. |
|     |        | '95     |                                    |          |

There is only one specimen of this coin in the British Museum, which is Cunningham's coin No. 9.

| 11  | Æ      | 97.5    | Humped bull, standing to right, with crescent above. | Sun, with rays in centre. Round it legend Pašupati. (Pl. I, Fig. 10.) |
|     |        | '90     |                                        |          |

There are nine specimens of this type in the British Museum.

| 12  | Æ      | 49      | Similar to the preceding coin, but of half the weight and value. | Similar to the preceding. |
|     |        | '75     |                                    |          |

There are ten specimens of this coin in the British Museum, ranging from 43 to 48 grains in weight according to their condition, and from '75 to '80 of an inch in size. They are all much worn.

| 13  | Æ      | 174     | Humped bull, standing to left, with crescent above. | Similar to reverse of the preceding coin, but with a crescent with a dot inside it between each character of the legend Pašupati. |
|     |        | '85     |                                    |          |

| 14  | Æ      | 152     | Humped bull, standing to left. Over it legend in one line, Pašupati. | Large sun in centre, surrounded by rays, similar to reverse of coin No. 9. (See Pl. I, Fig. 9 above.) |
|     |        | '95     |                                    |          |

There are two specimens of this coin in the British Museum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Aë</td>
<td>153 ·9</td>
<td>Trident, with an axe attached to the shaft of it on the left, and some ornament hanging from it on the right. Legend, Paśupati.</td>
<td>Sun surrounded by rays. Round it legend Paśupati. (Pl. I, Fig. 11.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Aë</td>
<td>1 ·85</td>
<td>Trident, but with no axe or ornament attached to the shaft. Legend as in the preceding.</td>
<td>Sun surrounded by curved rays of the following form ( \xi ). No legend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Aë</td>
<td>1 ·0</td>
<td>Design similar to obverse of coin No. 11 (Fig. 10). Legend, Paśu and two dots in the place of the other two characters.</td>
<td>Design similar to obverse of coin No. 11 (Fig. 10). Legend, Paṭi and two dots occupying the place of the other two characters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Aë</td>
<td>116 ·90</td>
<td>Seated figure of king on a high-backed throne, wearing a crown, right hand raised, left hand bent and resting on thigh, flower to left springing from below foot, vase of flowers to right.</td>
<td>Vase of flowers, with legend Paśupati in one line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Aë</td>
<td>146 ·85</td>
<td>Seated figure of a king wearing a crown, with his right hand resting on the knee and left arm bent resting on the hips.</td>
<td>Similar to the reverse of the preceding coin. (Pl. I, Fig. 12.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Aë</td>
<td>116 ·9</td>
<td>Seated figure of a king wearing a crown, with right hand raised and fingers extended, left hand extended resting on knee and holding a flower.</td>
<td>Vase of flowers with an ornamental scroll or a flowering branch on each side of it. Legend in two lines, Paśupati. (Pl. I, Fig. 13.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## The Malla Dynasty

**Kingdom of Bhatgaon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>Three-lined legend in scalloped square, <em>Śrī Śrī Jāgatprakāśa Malla</em>; above the square, figure of hand-drum (<em>damaru</em>); and below, date 752 n.s.; on either side imitation of Arabic characters upside down.</td>
<td><em>Trisula</em> (trident) with ornamental scroll attached within central circle; above it sword with wreath; around, imitation of Arabic characters upside down. British Museum. (Pl. II, Fig. 1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>Three-lined legend in scalloped square, <em>Śrī Śrī Jaya Jitamitra Malla</em>; outside the square, imitation Arabic characters upside down as in the preceding; date below, 783 n.s.</td>
<td>Similar to preceding. (Pl. II, Fig. 2.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Three-lined legend in scalloped square, <em>Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpatindra Malla Deva</em>. Around, characters similar to preceding. Date, 816 n.s.</td>
<td>Similar to preceding. (Pl. II, Fig. 3.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Dagger and wreath within two intersecting squares; above, two crescents and stars; legend, <em>Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpa</em>.</td>
<td>Vase of holy water, <em>kalaśa</em>, with streamers. The ornament on the top of the vase is obliterated by the piercing of the coin; above, two crescents and stars; legend, <em>tindra Malla Deva</em>; date below, 816 n.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 5.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(pierced coin)
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AR 83.5</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>Similar to No. 1. Three-lined legend, Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāṇajīta Malla Deva; below, date 842 n.s.</td>
<td>Similar to No. 1. (Pl. II, Fig. 4.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>In central circle, shell, lotus, and cakra; on margin to r. a bow, to l. five arrows; floral ornaments round; legend, Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāṇa-</td>
<td>In centre a triangular bāṇāstra (conventional bow and arrow); within it a (pāśa) noose and (āṅkuśa) elephant goad; around it, to r. a chāmara (yak’s tail fly-whisk), to l. a lotus; flower ornaments. Legend, Jīta Malla Deva. Date below, 842 n.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 8.) Note.—This coin is a copy of Jaya Cakravartindra’s coin No. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AR 84</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>(Half mohar.) Continuous-lined figure forming five triangles on the sides of a pentagon; in-pentagon, sword and wreath, two suns and legend Śrī Śrī; in triangles, Jaya Rāṇa Jī-; in spaces round, -ta Malla Deva.</td>
<td>In bāṇāstra triangle, vase of holy water, kalaśa, with streamers, and two crescents and dots. Round, date Vaiśākha 15 Sāvat. 842. (Pl. II, Fig. 7.) Note.—The obverse and reverse of this coin are transposed on the Plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>AR 41.5</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>(Quartermohar.) Similar to No. 4. Quarter mohar of Bhūpatindra. Legend, Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāṇa-</td>
<td>Similar to No. 4. Legend, -jīta Malla Deva; date, 842 n.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 6.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(pierced coin)</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal, Weight, Size</td>
<td>Date, a.d.</td>
<td>Obverse.</td>
<td>Reverse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>R (-) 56</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Quarter.) Sword without wreath; two crescents and stars. Legend in three lines, <em>Sri Sri Jaya Rana</em>.</td>
<td>Legend in three lines, (1) <em>Jita</em>, (2) <em>Malla De</em>, (3) <em>ra</em>. No date. British Museum. (Not figured.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kingdom of Kāthmāndū.**

**LAKŚMĪNARA SIMHA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal, Weight, Size</th>
<th>Date, a.d.</th>
<th>Obverse.</th>
<th>Reverse.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>R 70-5 1-05</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>Similar to reverse of No. 1, but with legend <em>Sri</em> in place of sword and wreath. No date. (Pl. II, Fig. 9.)</td>
<td>In square a shell and two-lined legend, <em>Sri Lakṣmi Nara Simha</em>. Characters round the square similar to the obverse of No. 1. <em>Note.</em>—The obverse and reverse of this coin are transposed on the Plate for continuity with coins Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PRATĀPA MALLA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal, Weight, Size</th>
<th>Date, a.d.</th>
<th>Obverse.</th>
<th>Reverse.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>R 77 1-03</td>
<td>1641</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding coin of Lakṣmīnara Simha. Legend, <em>Sri Pratāpa Malla</em>. Date, 761 <em>n.s.</em></td>
<td>Similar to the preceding coin of Lakṣmīnara Simha. (Pl. II, Fig. 10.) <em>Note.</em>—The obverse and reverse are transposed on the Plate, as in the preceding coin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal, Weight, Size</th>
<th>Date, a.d.</th>
<th>Obverse.</th>
<th>Reverse.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>R 87 1-02</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines, intended for 'San Ilahi'; in centre, trident; the ground covered with flowers. Legend, <em>Sri Sri Kavindra Jaya</em>.</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines, <em>Jahangir Shah</em>; ground covered with flowers. Legend, <em>Pratāpa Malla</em>. Date, 776 <em>n.s.</em> (Pl. II, Fig. 12.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>171, 1.05</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>(Double mohar.) A square coin; in ornamental square surrounded by floral margin. Trident with legend, Śrī 2. Rāja Rājendra Jaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>21.5, 2.72</td>
<td>1649</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Trident; two crescents and stars. Legend, Śrī Rūpamati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>82, 1.02</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>In central circle, shell, lotus, and cakra; on margin, to r. a bow, to l. five arrows; floral ornaments round. Legend, Śrī 2. Jaya Cakra Va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>80, 1.0</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines; in centre, trident; above, sun; flowered field. Legend, Śrī Śrī Jaya Nṛpendra.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>R 87 1.05</td>
<td>1682</td>
<td>Two intersecting squares. In central octagon, legend Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra Malla Deva. In the triangles round, legend Ma-hā-rāja-Ne-pū-la-ndra. In the angles outside the figure, the aṣṭa-māṅgala (eight emblems of the Buddhist religion).</td>
<td>Two intersecting squares. In centre, vase of holy water, kālaśa, and wreath on lotus. Legend, Rājya Lakṣmī Devī. Date, 802 n.s. In the eight triangles, legend Mahārāṇī Jagatmātā. Around, in each of the outer angles, a flower. (Pl. III, Fig. 2.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>R 84 1.0</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; to l., shell; to r., kālaśa; above, sun. Legend on flowered field, Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra.</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, shell to l.; two crossed yak’s tail fly-whisks; to r., the symbol of the two golden fishes. Legend on flowered field, Malla Deva. Below, date 800 n.s. British Museum. (Pl. III, Fig. 3.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>R (-) 0.70</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) In centre, trident and two crescents and stars. Legend in five lines: (1) Śrī, (2) Jaya, (3) Pārthi, (4) vendra, (5) Malla.</td>
<td>Offering vase and wreath. Legend in four lines: (1) Śrī, (2) Rājya, (3) Lakṣmī, (4) Devī. (Not figured.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>R 87.5 1.07</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Within circle, trident and two crescents and stars. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla. Round circle, in eight lotus petals, the aṣṭa-māṅgala.</td>
<td>Within scolloped octagon, sword and wreath, and legend Malla Deva. Date, 812 n.s. Round the figure, in eight leaves, legend Nepālēśvara Rājendra. (Pl. III, Fig. 4.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Date, a.d.</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>₹</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Design similar to preceding. Legend in circle, Śrī 2, Vīra Bhumālendra. Round circle, in eight lotus petals, Girindra Rāja Rājendra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>₹</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>Similar to coin (No. 20) of Bhumālendra. In circle, legend Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhāskara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>₹</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; above, crescent. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Bhāskara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>₹</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td>(Pierced coin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaya Bhāskara Malla.</td>
<td>In circle, sword and wreath, sun and moon. Around, in six scollop petals, Śrī Śrī Lokanātha nama (worship to Loknath). (Pl. III, Fig. 7.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaya Vīra Mahīndra Malla.</td>
<td>In circle, sword and wreath, and legend Simha Deva. Date, 837 n.s. Around, in eight leaves, Śrī Śrī Śrī Kalunāmaya. (Pl. III, Fig. 8.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>₹</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>In circle, trident and legend Śrī Śrī, and date 829 n.s. Around, in six scollop petals, legend Jaya Vīra Mahīndra Malla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>₹</td>
<td>86-5</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>In circle, trident and legend Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahīndra. Around, in leaves, aṣṭa-maṅgala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal. Weight, Size</td>
<td>Date, A.D.</td>
<td>Obverse.</td>
<td>Reverse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>R 82, 1'05</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>In circle, trident and legend Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahīndra. Around, in petals, aṣṭa-maṅgala.</td>
<td>In circle, sword and wreath, and Arabic characters. Legend, Simha Deva. Date, 836 n.s. Around, in eight petals, Nepālesvara Girindra. (Pl. III, Fig. 9.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>R 20'5, 66</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Trident, and two crescents and stars. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Mahīndra Simha Deva.</td>
<td>Offering vase and wreath. Legend, Śrī Mahīndra Lakṣmī. Date, 838 n.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 10.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JAYA JAGAJJAYA, alias MAHĪPATENDRA SIMHA. (QUEEN KUMUDĪNĪ DEVI.)</td>
<td>JAYA JAGAJJAYA, alias MAHĪPATENDRA SIMHA. (QUEEN KUMUDĪNĪ DEVI.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>R 85, 1'1</td>
<td>1732</td>
<td>In circle, trident; around, aṣṭa-maṅgala. Similar to Nos. 20, 22, 25, and 26. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Jagajjaya.</td>
<td>Similar to No. 26. In circle, legend Malla Deva. Around, in eight leaves, Nepālesvara Rājendra. Date, 852 n.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 11.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>R 80, 1'1</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td>Design similar to the preceding. Legend, Śrī 2, Jagajjaya Malla.</td>
<td>In octagon, sword and wreath. Legend, Śrī 2. Mahīpatendra Malla. Date, 858 n.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 12.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>R 19'5, 67</td>
<td>1732</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Trident, and two crescents and stars and crescent above. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Jagajjaya Malla.</td>
<td>Offering vase and wreath. Legend, Śrī Kumudīnī Devi. Date, 852 n.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 13.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>R (-), 1'0</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>Within lozenge, trident; around, in four compartments and on field, legend Śrī Jaya Mahīpa.</td>
<td>Sword and wreath; two crescents and stars, on flowered field. Legend in three lines, -īnḍra Malla Deva. No date. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>R 82.5 1.07</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>Design similar to Nos. 20, 22, 25, 26, 28, and 29. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla.</td>
<td>Design similar to No. 29. In centre, legend Śrī 2, Mahipatindra Malla. Date, 876 n.s. (Pl. IV, Fig. 2.) The form of the figure 7, ፪, on this coin and on coins Nos. 37 and 39, is unusual on the Malla coins, and on other coins of Jaya Prakāśa, viz. coins Nos. 38, 40, and 45, it is in the usual form, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>R 65.5 1.10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Barbarous imitation of the preceding.</td>
<td>Barbarous imitation of the preceding. Base metal. Marsden, mcx. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 3.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>R 70 1.10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Barbarous imitation of No. 31.</td>
<td>Barbarous imitation of No. 31. Marsden, mcxii. Very base metal. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 4.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>R 82.5 1.10</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>In scolloped octagon, a trident, beneath it a crouching lion. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla; around, in petals, aṣṭa-mangala.</td>
<td>Within a circle a triangular bōnāstra; round it, within circle, sword and wreath, sun and moon, and date 873 n.s.; around, in petals, Śrī 2, Mahipatindra Malla. (Pl. IV, Fig. 5.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal.</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Date, a.d.</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>Within pointed octagon, trident and legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla. Around, in petals, uṣṇa-mañgala; between petals, legend Nepāleśvara and date 873 n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>(Half mohar.) Within circle, trident and two crescents and stars. Around, in four trefoils, Śrī 2, Jaya Pra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>(Half mohar.) Within, scolloped lozenge, a trident, with two flowers growing from its shaft. Around, four petals; within, petals; and on intervening spaces, legend Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) In centre, trident. Legend, Śrī Jananī Ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) In centre, trident, above to 1., figure of hand-drum (daṇḍaru). Legend, Śrī 3, Paśupati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Trident only. Legend, Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>a.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>5·75</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Sixteenth of a mohar.) Sword and wreath, on a pedestal. Legend, Šrī Jaya Prakāśa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5·45</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>2·75</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Thirty-secondth of a mohar.), Sword. Legend, Šrī Jaya Pra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2·35</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gold Coinage.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1·15</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Ashrafi.) An exact copy in gold of coin No. 36.</td>
<td>An exact copy of coin No. 36. (Cf. Pl. IV, Fig. 6.) British Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>1·15</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Quarter ashrafi,) Trident. Legend, Jaya Prakāśa Malla.</td>
<td>Sword and wreath. Legend, Šrī Gujhevara; date, 873 n.s. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 12.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>5·0</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Same as silver coin No. 42.</td>
<td>Same as No. 42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2·0</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding.</td>
<td>Nothing stamped. Thin gold leaf; the obverse stamping shows through.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Same as silver coin No. 43.</td>
<td>Same as No. 43.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>date.</td>
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**JYOTI PRAKĀŚA MALLA.**

*(Coin struck during a rebellion.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Similar to No. 32 of Jaya Prakāśa. Legend, Šrī Jyoti Prakāśa Malla.</td>
<td>Similar to No. 32. Legend in octagon, Šrī Šrī Mahipatindra Malla. Date, 866 n.s. (Pl. IV, Fig. 15.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1·1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Trident with flower above, and two crescents and dots. Legend, Śrī Janāṇi. Offering vase with covering in form of stūpa, and wreath, with crescent above. Legend, Jaya Lakṣmī Devi.</td>
</tr>
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<td>.65</td>
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**KINGDOM OF PĀTAN OR LALITAPUR.**

**SIDDHI NARASĪMHA.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>Within central circle, sword and crescent. Legend, Śrī Śrī Siddhi. Around, imitation Arabic characters upside down, similar to those on the obverse of coins No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, and 10, but with a flower above in place of the sword and wreath.</td>
<td>Within central circle, a lion to r. Around, imitation Arabic characters upside down, similar to those on the obverse of coins Nos. 1, etc., but with a flower to l., and above two crescents and dots, and legend Narā, making with the lion in the centre Narasīmha.' Below, date 751 n.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| 52  | R     | 20.5   | 1654 | (Quartemohar.) Sword, flower, and two crescents and dots. Legend, Śrī Śrī Siddhi. Lion to r.; above legend, Narā, making with lion Narasīmha.' |         |
|     |       | .7     |      |         |         |
|-----|---------------------|------------|----------|----------|
| 53  | R 81 -96            | 1661       | Characters as in No. 49, etc. In central circle, legend Śrī Śrī Jaya. Characters with flower to right as in No. 49. Legend above, Śrī Śrī, within circle vaśa Malla. Below, date 781 N.S. (Pl. V, Fig. 3.) |
| 54  | R 86 1-03           | 1666       | Two intersecting triangles. In centre, sword and wreath, flower, and two crescents and dots. Legend, in centre, Śrī Śrī Jaya; round in the six triangles, Śrīnivāsa Malla. In central circle two kalaśas with streamers, with staff between and two small indistinct symbols. Round it a square figure with projections from the sides. In the four corners of the figure two royal banners, a cakra, and a flower. Legend, Nepālēśvara. Date within circle, 786 N.S. (Pl. V, Fig. 4.) |

**JAYA ŚRĪNIVĀSA MALLA.**

**YOGA NARENDRA MALLA.**

| 55  | R 83 -98            | 1688       | Figure formed of two interlaced svastikas. In the central square thus formed, sword; in the top and central squares, legend Śrī Śrī Lokanātha. Legend commencing from top left corner and reading horizontally across Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla Deva. Outside the figure, legend Saṅgitiṁna-pārāga, “Skilled in the flood of concerted music.” Note.—This legend is misread in the recent Catalogue of the Coins in the India Museum, Calcutta, as Saṅgī (which has no meaning) tāṇḍava pārāga, “Skilled in the tāṇḍava (dance or mantra).” Two intersecting quadrilaterals with concave sides. In central octagon so formed, circle surrounded by eight petals. Inside circle, vase of offerings with cover in form of stūpa, and wreath. In the eight triangles, legend Śrī Yoga Lākṣmī Devī. In the spaces outside the figure, legend Śrī Narendra Lākṣmī Devī. In bottom triangle, date 808 N.S. (Pl. V, Fig. 5.) |
|-----|--------|---------|-------|----------|----------|
| 56  | र       | .85     | 1686  | Similar to the preceding. | A rhomboid intersected by two equilateral triangles. In central rhomboid so formed, on pedestal, a vase for offerings with cover in form of stūpa and wreath; to l. shell, to r. mace. Within the larger rhomboid, legend Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī. Outside the figure and in the bottom triangle, legend Śrī Pratāpa Lakṣmī Devī. At bottom, date 806 n.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 6.) |
| 57  | र       | 81.5    | 1685  | Similar to the two preceding coins. | A smaller square, inscribed within another. Within, smaller square, vase of holy water, kālāka, resting on a lotus; to l. shell, to r. standard; below these, to l. mace, to r. lotus. In triangles, to l. vase for offerings, to r. standard. Legend, Yoga Lakṣmī Devī. Date, 805 n.s. British Museum. (Pl. V, Fig. 7.) |
| 58  | र       | 81      | 1686  | Small square inscribed within a larger. Round these, two intersecting squares. In the central square, sword. In the two central squares, legend Śrī Śrī Śrī Lakanātha. Within the figure of the intersecting squares, crescent and sun, and legend Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla Deva. Outside the figure, legend Samgītārvāna-pāraga. (See coin No. 55.) | Light pointed figure. In central octagon, vase for offerings and wreath, crescent and sun, shell and mace. Around, within the triangles, legend Śrī Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī. Outside the figure, legend Nepāla Chudāmanī. Date, 806 n.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 8.) |
|-----|---------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 59  | ₹ 82          | 1700       | In centre, on pedestal, sword with wreath; above, flower, crescent, and sun. Legend in five lines, in two inner columns of characters, Śrī Śrī Vira Yoga Narendra Malla. Legend in four lines in outer two columns, Samgita-tārṇyata-pārata. (See coin No. 55.) | In centre, trident resting on lotus. Legend in five lines of the two inner columns of characters, Śrī Śrī Vira Yoga Narendra Malla. Legend in four lines forming outer columns, Nepāleśvara Chudāmani. Date, 820 n.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 9.) |
| 60  | ₹ 21          | 1687       | (Quarter mohar.) A square with four trefoiled petals round. In square, staff, and legend Śrī Śrī Yoga, and date 807 n.s. Legend formed by the central characters of the top and lateral trefoils, Narendra (in lower trefoil) Malla; outer characters of top and lateral trefoils, Dayā kara, “Have pity,” and letters pa-pa (or possibly ya-ya) in the lateral trefoils, and ga in the bottom trefoil, the meaning of which is not clear. | Five-pointed figure formed of a continuous line. In top three triangles and centre, legend Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha; around and in two lower triangles, legend Tāleju Sahāya, “Taleju’s aid.” (Pl. V, Fig. 10.) |
| 61  | ₹ 83          | 1706       | In square, sword and wreath, with small kalaśa above, and legend Śrī Śrī Loka-nātha; outside, legend Śrī Śrī Jaya Indra Malla. | In square, figure with circularly projecting sides, trident resting on lotus; to l. cakra on pedestal; to r. vase for offerings with cover in form of stūpa. Legend, Śrī Bhagavati Devī, and date 826 n.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 11.) |

JAYA INDRA MALLA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>“Square, with smaller square inscribed diagonally, and, in centre, a third square containing sword with wreath. Outer legend, Śrī, Śrī Yoga-mati Devī; date below, 827 n.s. (= 1707 A.D.).”</td>
<td>“Two interlaced equilateral triangles, with central scollopéd compartment, containing trident. Legend, Śrī, Śrī Yoga-mati Devī; date below, 827 n.s. (= 1707 A.D.).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>Square, with semi-elliptical figure on each side. In square, dagger and wreath, crescent and sun, and legend Śrī 2, Lokānātha; outside and in the semi-elliptical figures, legend Śrī Śrī Vīra Narasimha Māla Deva.</td>
<td>An equilateral triangle inscribed within another; in lateral triangles, in l. cakra on pedestal, in r. vase of offerings; outside and in toptriangle, legend Śrī Śrī Yoga-mati Devī, and date 829 n.s. British Museum. (Pl. V, Fig. 12.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>In centre, circle surrounded by six trefoiled petals; outside this, quadrangular figure with projections from the sides. In circle, lion to l. with paw raised. Legend, in petals, Śrī Śrī Hṛdi Nara; in centre, lion = ‘Simha’; in corners of figure, Māla Deva.</td>
<td>Two intersecting equilateral triangles. In central figure, sword and wreath, crescent and sun, and pāduka. In petals and triangles of the figure, legend Śrī Śrī Karunāmaya. Date, 836 n.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 1.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Circle surrounded by six trefoiled petals, these again surrounded by six bifoiled petals. In circle, lion to l. with flower and stalk in front. Legend (in both series of petals together), Śrī Śrī Vīra Hṛdi Nava (lion in centre=) Śīṅha, Māla (misspelt) Deva.</td>
<td>Circle surrounded by six unifoiled petals, these again surrounded by six trefoiled petals. Legend (in both series of petals together), Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmayay Nama and date 836 n.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 2.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, trident and imitation Persian characters in two lines. Legend, (in circle) Śrī Śrī Jaya Yo-, (in petals) -ga Prakāśa Malla Deva. Date, 832 n.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 3.)</td>
<td>Octagon with concave sides. In centre, resting on lotus, sword and wreath, crescent and sun, and flower on either side. Around, in eight lotus leaves, legend Śrī Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmayay (misspelt n for ŋ). (Pl. VI, Fig. 3.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>On reticulated surface; in centre, trident, imitation Persian characters in two lines, crescent and sun. Legend, Śrī Śrī Jaya Viṣṇu Malla Deva. Date, 861 n.s.</td>
<td>Scalloped circle. Within circle, sword and wreath on pedestal, and legend Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha. Outside the figure, reading across from side to side, legend Śrī Jaya Vīra Yuga Narendra Malla Deva. (Pl. VI, Fig. 4.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>82 1/2, 1 1/2</td>
<td>1739</td>
<td>Circle surrounded by four petals. In circle, trident; in petals, umbrella, mace, flower, and chakra. Legend, (in circle) Śrī Śrī, (in petals) Jaya Viṣṇu Malla Deva. Date, 859 n.s.</td>
<td>In centre, sword and wreath, imitation Persian characters in two lines, two crescents and dots, and trailing flowers. Legend, Śrī Śrī Śrī Karunāmaya. (Pl. VI, Fig. 5.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>82 1/2, 1 1/2</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>In centre, trident, imitation Persian characters in two lines, crescent and sun. Legend, Śrī Śrī Jaya Rāja Prakāśa Deva. Date, 856 n.s.</td>
<td>Design as in No. 67 of Jaya Viṣṇu Malla. Legend, in scollopêd circle, Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha; outside, Śrī Jaya Vīra Yoga Narendra Malla Deva. (A very debased coin.) (Pl. VI, Fig. 6.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>82 1/2, 1 1/2</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Circle in centre, round it a square with projections of double-key pattern. In circle, trident and sun. Legend, (in circle) Śrī 2, Jaya Rāja, (in outer figure) Prakāśa Malla Deva. Date, 856 n.s.</td>
<td>Design similar to preceding. Legend, (within scollopêd circle) Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha; (outside) Śrī Jaya Vīra Yoga Narendra Malla Deva. (Pl. VI, Fig. 7.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>82 1/2, 1 1/2</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Two intersecting quadrilateral figures with concave sides. In centre, trident, crescent, and sun; outside, in the angles of the figure, the Aṣṭa Mangala. Legend, (in centre) Śrī Śrī Jaya Rā-, (round, in triangles) jya Prakāśa Malla Deva. Date, 856 n.s.</td>
<td>Design same as Nos. 67, 69, and 70. Legend, (within scollopêd circle) Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha; (outside) Śrī Jaya Vīra Yoga Narendra Malla Deva. (Pl. VI, Fig. 8.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Octagon surrounded by eight petals. In octagon, trident with crescent on the shaft. Legend, (in octagon) Śrī Śrī Śrī Hara Siddhi, &quot;The success of Hara.&quot; (in petals) Śrī 2, Rājya Prakāśa Malla. Date, 869 n.s.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Circle surrounded by eight petals. Incircle, sword and sword on pedestal. Legend, (in circle) Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha, (in petals) Śrī 2. Yoga Narendra Malla. British Museum. (Pl. VI, Fig. 9.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**JAYA VIŚVAJITA MALLA.**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>82-5</td>
<td>1-08</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>Circle surrounded by six petals, which are again surrounded by six scollopated petals. In circle, trident, crescent, and sun, and legend Śrī Hara Siddhi; in petals, Śrī Śrī Jaya Viśvajita Malla Deva. Date, 878 n.s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|     |        |         |       |          | Circle surrounded by eight lotus petals. In circle, sword and wreath on pedestal, and legend Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha; in petals, Śrī 2. Yoga Narendra Malla. (Pl. VI, Fig. 10.) |

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0-70</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Circle surrounded by six petals, in circle. Legend, (in circle) Śrī, (in petals) Viśvajita Malla Deva. Date (in circle), 872 n.s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|     |        |         |       |          | Circle surrounded by six petals. In circle, sword and wreath, two crescents and dots, and two lotus buds; in petals, legend Śrī Śrī Lokanātha. (Pl. VI, Fig. 11.) |

**DALA MARDANA SĀHA.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1-12</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>Small circle in centre; round it a square divided by a svāstika; in circle, trident and two dots; outside the square, above, crescent and sun, to l. flowers, to r. shell and mace. In square, legend Śrī Śrī Dala Mardana Sāha Deva. Below, date 888 n.s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|     |        |         |       |          | Circle surrounded by eight petals. Incircle, sword and wreath on pedestal, crescent and sun, and two flowers; in petals, legend Śrī Śrī Karunāmaya. (Pl. VI, Fig. 13.) |
**LIST OF GHORKĀ COINS.**

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>Square, with openings in the middle of the sides, and with small circle in the centre, and divided into four compartments by the four arms of a <strong>svastika</strong>. In central circle, a trident. Around the square; above, sun, moon, and star; to l., <strong>cakra</strong> (discus) and lotus; to r., shell and mace. In square, legend <strong>śrī śrī prthvī nārāyana sāha deva</strong>. Below, date 1676 (Śaka era = 1754 a.d.).</td>
<td>Similar to the reverse of the Malla coins of Jaya Bhāskara (No. 22; Pl. III, Fig. 5), Vira Mahāndra (No. 26; Pl. III, Fig. 9), Jaya Jagajjaya (No. 28; Pl. III, Fig. 11), kings of Kāthmāndū; and the obverse of coin of Yoga Prakāśa of Pātan (No. 66; Pl. VI, Fig. 3). Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, two straight lines, which represent the imitation Persian characters on the above noted Malla coins, sword and wreath. Legend, in circle, <strong>śrī śrī bharatī</strong>; in petals, <strong>śrī śrī gorakhnātha</strong>. (Pl. VII, Fig. 1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>(As King of Nepal.) Similar to the preceding. Date, 1695 S.</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PṛTHVĪ NĀRĀYANA SĀHA.**

(After seizure of territory at Noakot.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal. Weight, Size</th>
<th>Date, A.D.</th>
<th>Obverse.</th>
<th>Reverse.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>R 85 (&lt;)</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>(Mohar.) Similar to the preceding. Date, 1695 ș.</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding. But legend in circle, śrī śrī lokanātha; in petals, śrī śrī gorakha-nātha. (Marsden, mcxxxv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>R 41.5 0.77</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>(Half mohar, or suka.) Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; legend, śrī 3 prthivi nārāyaṇa.</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, sword and wreath, sun and moon. Legend, saiva deva. Date, 1693 ș. (Pl. VII, Fig. 2.) Note.—The design and symbols of this coin are similar to the mohar of Jaya nrpendra malla (No. 16; Pl. III, Fig. 1); and with the exception of the symbol on the reverse, to the quarter mohar of Jaya bhāskara malla (No. 23; Pl. III, Fig. 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>R 171 (&lt;)</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>(Double mohar.) Similar to the mohar No. 1. Date, 1693 ș.</td>
<td>Similar to the mohar No. 1 (Marsden, mcxxxi). Note.—This is the first example of a double mohar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>N 85 (&lt;)</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>(Gold mohar or patī. Similar to the silver mohar No. 1. Date, 1690 ș.</td>
<td>Similar to the silver mohar No. 1 (Marsden, mcxxxvii).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>N 41.5 (&lt;)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Gold half mohar or sonko-sukā.) Similar to the silver half mohar No. 3</td>
<td>Similar to the silver half mohar No. 3 (Marsden, mcxxxviii).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gold Coinage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>N 10 (--)</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Gold eighth of mohar or son-ko-āñi.) Similar to the preceding. No date.</td>
<td>Similar to preceding (Marsden, mcxxvix).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N 3 (--)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold dām = ½ mohar.)</td>
<td>(Marsden, mcxxx.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>N 350 1.25</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>(Duitole asarft.) Large gold piece. Similar to mohar No. 1. Date, 1693 S.</td>
<td>Circle surrounded by eight-pointed star. Around, ornamental design between each point of the star. In circle, sword and dagger. Legend, in circle, &quot;śrī 3, bhavāni&quot;; in points of star, &quot;śrī śrī śrī gorakhanātha.&quot; (Pl. VII, Fig. 4.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>N 22.2 0.63</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>(Gold sukā.) Offering vase with cover in form of stūpa, surmounted by umbrella. Legend, &quot;śrī śrī narindra lakṣmī devī.&quot;</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; above, sun and moon. Legend, &quot;śrī śrī bhavāni.&quot; Date, 1693 S. Marsden, mcxxxiii. (Pl. VII, Fig. 3.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRATĀPA SIMHA SĀHA (1774-1777 A.D.).</td>
<td>Device as on mohar of Pṛthvī Nārāyana Sāha, No. 1. Legend, &quot;śrī śrī śrī pratāpa simha sāha deva.&quot; Date, 1696 S.</td>
<td>Device as on No. 1. Legend, in circle, &quot;śrī śrī guhyesvara&quot;; in petals, &quot;śrī śrī śrī gorakhanātha,&quot; as on No. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>83 1.15</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>R 42 0.80</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>(Sukā.) Device as on No. 4, but with crouching lion to 1., below. Legend, &quot;śrī 2, pratāpa (lion =) simha.&quot;</td>
<td>Device as on No. 4, but with umbrella above. Legend, &quot;sāha deva.&quot; Date, 1697 S. This coin is similar to No. 17. (See Pl. VII, Fig. 5.)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weight.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Sukī.) None.</td>
<td>Lion to l., with paw raised and tail curled over the back, and flower buds in front. Legend, sāha. Marsden, mCXXXVIII. (Pl. VII, Fig. 6.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10·5</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Anī.) Sword, without wreath. Legend, śrī Pratāpa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Adhānī.) Sword, and legend, śrī Pratāpa.</td>
<td>Nothing stamped on reverse. Design similar to Malla coin No. 43, of Jaya Prakāśa Malla. (Pl. IV, Fig. 14.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5·5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.35</td>
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**Gold Coinage.**

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold mohar or patlā.) Exactly similar to silver mohar No. 12.</td>
<td>Exactly similar to No. 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>(Gold sukā.) Exactly similar to silver sukā No. 13.</td>
<td>Exactly similar to silver sukā No. 13. Date, 1697 ś. Marsden, mCXXXVI. (Pl. VII, Fig. 5.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41·5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Gold sukī.) None.</td>
<td>Exactly similar to silver anī No. 14. Marsden, mCXXXVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11·0</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ānī.) Exactly similar to silver ānī No. 14.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Gold ādhānī.) Same as silver sixteenth of mohar.</td>
<td>Same as silver sixteenth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5·5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>(Duitole asarī.) Device as on No. 10. Legend, śrī ṇrī Pratāpa sīhma sāha deva. Date, 1698 ś.</td>
<td>Similar to the duitole asarī of Pṛthvī Nārāyana, No. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>356</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1·25</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>(Sukî.) Vase for offerings with cover in form of stûpa. Sun and moon. Legend, śrī śrī RĀJENDRALAKŚMĪDEVĪ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>(Gold sukî.) Similar to the preceding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1. Legend, śrī ŚRĪ RAṆA BAHĀDUR SĀHA DEVA. Date, 1705 Ś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Double mohar.) Similar to the preceding. (Date not noted.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>(Sukâ.) Device as on No. 4. Legend, ŚRĪ ŚRĪ RAṆA BAHĀDUR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>(Sukî.) Sword and wreath, two suns, crescents, and stars. Legend, ŚRĪ RAṆA BAHĀDUR SĀHA DEVA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Āni.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Adhānī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Dām.) Minute coins of thin silver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>a.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>(Duitole asarfi.) Square surrounded by four petals at the corners and four outer petals at the sides. In outer petals: top, sword and wreath, crescent and sun; to l, cakra and lotus; to r., shell and mace. In corner petals, floral device. In square, legend, <em>śrī śrī rāṇa bahādur sāha deva</em>. Below, date 1718 S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>(Gold mohar or patla.) Exactly similar to silver mohar No. 23. Date, 1700 S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukā,) Exactly similar to silver half mohar No. 25. Date, 1700 S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>(Gold anī.) None. (Gold anī.) None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold dām.) Minute pieces of thin gold leaf, weighing less than a grain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RĀJENDRA LAKŚMI DEVĪ.**

(As Queen Regent for her minor son Rāṇa Bahādur Sāha.)

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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.) Cakra on pedestal. Legend, <em>śrī śrī rājendra lakśmi devī</em></td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines, trident, and two crescents and stars. Legend, <em>śrī śrī bhavānti</em>. Date, 1700 S. Pl. VII, Fig. 8. Marsden, mcxLI (a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>(Suki.) Device as on No. 11, without the umbrella above. Legend, Śrī 2, Rāja Rājeśvarī Devī.</td>
<td>Similarto No. 11. Date, 1711 Š. <em>Note.</em>—There is a similar coin of date 1712. Marsden mcvl is a similar coin of date 1716 Š. = 1794 A.D.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>'80</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GIRVĀṆA YUDDHA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1799–1816 A.D.).

| 36  | R     | 83:5   | 1806 | (Mohar.) Device as on No. 1 except legend in place of crescent and sun. Legend: above square, Śrī Śrī Śrī; within square, GIRVĀṆA YUDDHA VIKRAMA SĀHA DEVA. Date, 1728 Š. | Similar to No. 1. But legend in circle, Śrī 3, BHAYANĪ. |
|     |       | 1:06   |      |         |         |
| 37  | R     |        |      | (Double mohar.) | |
| 38  | R     | 255    |      | (Large silver coin similar to the duitole asarfi.) Devicesimilarto No. 10, but no svastika within the square. Date, 1725 Š. | Similar to No. 10. |
|     |       | 1:25   |      |         |         |
| 39  | R     |        |      | (Half mohar.) | |
| 40  | R     |        |      | (Quarter mohar.) | |
| 41  | R     |        |      | (Eighth of mohar.) | |
| 42  | R     |        |      | (Sixteenth of mohar.) | |
| 43  | R     |        |      | No "svastika with central circle enclosing trident. Legend, GIRVĀṆA YUDDHA VIKRAMA SĀHA DEVA. No date." *Note.*—The obverse of this coin is the same as the device forming the square on the mohar, and of the same size. | "Circle enclosing dagger (=sword) with wreath, and legend Śrī BHAYANĪ; outside circle Śrī in each corner (pl. xxviii, 11)." — Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (1906), vol. i, p. 291. |
|     | Square | 34:4   | date |         |         |
|     |        | '6     |      |         |         |
### THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal. Weight</th>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>$N$ 85·5</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>(Gold mohar.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Date, 1721 Š.</td>
<td>Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Marsden, MCXLVII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>$N$ 356</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Duitole asarfi.) Device as on No. 10.</td>
<td>Similar to No. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>$N$ 170·94</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>(Gold double mohar or bakla.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Date, 1721 Š.</td>
<td>Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Marsden, MCXLVI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>$N$ 42·75</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Gold sukā.) Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, sword and wreath. In petals, legend Śrī Śrī Śrī GĪRVĀṆA YUDDHA.</td>
<td>Small square, inscribed diagonally within large one. In centre square, trident; above outer square, crescent and sun. Legend, above square, VI; within square, KRAMA SĀHA. Date, 1732 Š. (Pl. VII, Fig. 10.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukī.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ānī.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(QUEEN) SIDDHI LAKŚMI DEVI (1810–1814 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>$N$ 158·70</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Baklā, or gold double mohar.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukī.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RĀJENDRA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1816–1847 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>$R$ 82·8 1·07</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1. But with legend Śrī above the square. Legend within square, Śrī Śrī Rājendra Vikram Saha Deva. Date, 1738 Š.</td>
<td>Similar to No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal.</td>
<td>Weight.</td>
<td>Date,</td>
<td>Obverse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td>a.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Double mohar.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sukā.) Device as on No. 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>₯</td>
<td>42.82</td>
<td></td>
<td>Legend, Śrī Śrī Rājendra Vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Quarter mohar.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ānī.) Sword, crescent, and sun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>₯</td>
<td>6.52</td>
<td></td>
<td>Legend, Śrī Rājendra Vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ādhānī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Gold Coinage.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold mohar.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Duitole asarfi.) Of same denomination as No. 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Baklā, or gold double mohar.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukā.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold suki.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ānī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(QUEENS) LAKŚMI DEVI AND SUNDARI DEVI (1816–1832 a.d.).</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Suki.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ānī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Gold Coinage.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Baklā, or gold double mohar.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold suki.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>₯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ānī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>METAL. WEIGHT</td>
<td>DATE A.D.</td>
<td>OVERSE.</td>
<td>REVERSE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>R 20·6 76</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>(Samraja) Laksmi Devi.</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; above, crescent and sun. Legend, Srī Samraja Laksmi Devi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Suki.) Vase for offerings with cover in form of stupa, with flowers on either side. Legend, Srī Samraja Laksmi Devi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Note.—This coin is wrongly described in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as &quot;Humped bull r.&quot; (C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 291, and pl. xxviii, fig. 12). From the plate it appears that a lump of metal has stuck on to the coin, partly concealing the trident, and this has been taken for a &quot;humped bull.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>R 85·2 1·1</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1, but with legend Srī above the square, in place of crescent and sun. Legend within the square, Srī Srī Surendra Vikrama Saha Deva. Date, 1771 Ś.</td>
<td>Similar to No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Double Mohar.)</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. Legend, krama Saha Deva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>R 42·8</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Sukā.) Imitation Persian character in two lines. In centre, trident. Legend, Srī Srī Srī Surendra Vi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>R No date.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Suki.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>10·7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Ānī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·6</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td>In centre, sword; above, crescent and sun. Legend, Śrī Surendra Vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>5·2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Ādhāni.) Similar to preceding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·5</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>2·1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Paisā.) Similar to preceding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·4</td>
<td>date.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>·35</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>(Phokā dām or cūn dām = ( \frac{1}{2} ) of a mohar.) Minute coins on silver leaf. Similar to preceding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·30 to ·35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Gold Coinage.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>(Gold mohar.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 70. Date, 1738 S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>(Large gold coin.) Circle surrounded by triple lines, forming an eight-pointed star. In circle, sword and wreath; in the points of the star, pellets; in the outer angles, above, crescent and sun; to l., cakra and lotus; to r., shell and mace. Legend, in circle, Śrī Śrī Surendra Vikrama Sāha Deva. Date below, 1769 S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Baklā, gold double mohar.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>$\mathcal{N}$</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Gold sukā.) Similar to silver sukā No. 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Gold sukī.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ānī.) Similar to silver ānī No. 74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ādhānī.) Similar to silver No. 75.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold pai, one thirty-secondth of a mohar.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Phokā dām or cūn dām.) Minute gold coins similar to No. 77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(QUEEN) TRAIOKYARĀJA LAKŚMĪ DEVI.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>$\mathcal{R}$</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>20.5 0.75</td>
<td>(Sukī.) Device as on No. 11. Legend, Śrī Trailokya Lakśmi Devi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>$\mathcal{N}$</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold mohar.) Date, 1771 S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>$\mathcal{N}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukī.) Similar to silver No. 87.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>$\mathcal{N}$</td>
<td>21.2 0.74</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukī.) Indian Museum, Calcutta. “Temple” (should be, vase for offerings with cover in form of stūpa) “between flowers in centre; in field, legend Śrī Sura Rāja Lakśmi Devī.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Æ 153 1'1</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>(Dāk = sixteenth of mohar.) Incircle, plain square. Ornamental design in upper and lateral marginal spaces. Legend in square, Śrī Śrī Śrī Nepāl Sarkār, &quot;Government of Nepal.&quot; (Device similar to No. 88, vide Pl. VII, Fig. 11.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Æ 73 -9</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Similar to the preceding. Date, 1795 S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Æ 17'5 to 20'52</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>(Copperdām.) Nodevice. Legend, Śrī Nepāl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRTHVĪ VĪRA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1881 A.D.). The present king.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Ā 82'5 1'02</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1, but with legend Śrī Śrī above in place of crescent and sun. Legend, in square, Śrī Prthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva. Date below, 1805 S. Note.—This is a smaller coin than his subsequent mohars. The side of the square is only 52 inch, and the legend is in smaller letters.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Ā 85'2 1</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding, but larger square, and legend in larger letters. Date, 1821 S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Ā 340 1'11</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>(Four mohar.) Similar to the mohar No. 94. Date, 1817 S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to No. 1.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the mohar No. 94. Note.—This coin is 12 inch in thickness.
<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>170-5 R 1-08</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>(Double mohar.) Similar to mohar No. 94. Date, 1811 S.</td>
<td>Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, sword and wreath. Ornamented with two groups of three pellets above and also below, and two of four pellets in centre. Legend, krama Sāha Deva. 1817 S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>42-4 R 85</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sukā.) Trident in small central circle. On either side: above, crescent and sun; below, two flowers. Legend, Śrī Śrī Prthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva.</td>
<td>Trident in small central circle. Above, on either side, crescent and sun. Legend in field, Śrī Śrī Bhavānī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>11-5 R 50</td>
<td>No date.</td>
<td>(Ānī.) In centre, sword; above, to l. crescent, to r. dot for sun. Legend, Śrī Prthvī Vīra Vī.</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>5-2 R 45</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ādhānī.) Similar to the preceding.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>2-1 R 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Paisā mohar.) Incertre, sword. Legend, Śrī Prthvī Vīra.</td>
<td>No device. The coin is so thin that the die of the obverse shows through.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>R 35</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Phokā dām, or cun dām.) Minute silver coin, similar to the preceding.</td>
<td>Similar to the preceding. Note.—This coin is of same denomination as No. 77 of Surendra Vikrama Sāha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal.</td>
<td>Date.</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weight.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold mohar.) Similar to silver mohar No. 95.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Duitole asarfi.) Large gold coin of same type as No. 10.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukā.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold sukti.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold āṅi.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold ādhānī.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gold pai.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Minute pieces of gold leaf.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dāk = sixteenth of mohar.) Similar to paisā No. 113.</td>
<td>Similar to paisā No. 113.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Device similar to dāk and paisā of Surendra Vikrama Sāha (Pl. VII, Fig. 11), but with crescent and sun and legend Śrī in place of ornament. Legend, as noted above, Śrī; in square, 5, Ṣṛṭheī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deca. Date below, 1951 (Saṅvat).</td>
<td>Plain square. In margin: above, crescent and sun; on sides and below, ornamental design. Legend: above, Śrī; in square, Paśupati Nātha Nepal (“Paśupati, Lord of Nepal”).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dāk = sixteenth of mohar.) Device and legend similar to paisā No. 115.</td>
<td>Similar to paisā No. 115 (vide Pl. VII, Fig. 13).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal, Weight, Size.</td>
<td>Date, a.d.</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>£ 82.3 9</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Circle, surrounded by eight-pointed star, within a scolloped border, containing crescent between each point of the star. Within circle two kukhris (Gorkhā knives) crossed, above them pādukā (footprints of Viṣṇu), and around, legend Śrī 5, Prthvi Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva.</td>
<td>Within circle, surrounded by eight-pointed star and ornamental border, as on the obverse, small central circle, containing trident. Legend around central circle, Śrī 5, Bhavāṇi (date, 1950 Saṃvat), Gorkhā Sarkār. (Pl. VII, Fig. 13.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Within a rudely-formed wreath, legend Śrī 5, Prthvi Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva.</td>
<td>Within rude wreath, legend Śrī 5 Bhavāṇi Nepāl Sarkār. Date, 1953 Saṃvat. (Pl. VII, Fig. 12.) Note. — The obverse and reverse of this coin are transposed on the Plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name of King</td>
<td>Name of Mint</td>
<td>Date A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jayaraj-Dhauli</td>
<td>Bardia</td>
<td>1496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pratap-Dhauli</td>
<td>Bhekhari</td>
<td>1524-33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sivajyotindra</td>
<td>Gorkha</td>
<td>1596</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pratap-Dhauli</td>
<td>Bhekhari</td>
<td>1575-6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sivajyotindra</td>
<td>Gorkha</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pratap-Dhauli</td>
<td>Bhekhari</td>
<td>1617-33</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jagatprakash</td>
<td>Gorkha</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pratap-Dhauli</td>
<td>Bhekhari</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jagatprakash</td>
<td>Gorkha</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table I.** Contemporary List of the Kings of Bhaktapur, Kathmandu, and Patan from the Gorkha Conquest.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign (AD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jaya Ramajita</td>
<td>1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Jitamitra Mahān</td>
<td>1663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhupatindra</td>
<td>1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The table entries seem to be related to a historical or cultural context, possibly regarding rulers or significant events. The reigns mentioned are in the 17th century AD.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE II</th>
<th>PLATE III</th>
<th>PLATE IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BHĀTGĀON.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Serial No. of Coin</td>
<td>MALLA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jagatprakāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jitamitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bhūpatindra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Raṇajita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bhūpatindra <em>(‡)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Raṇajita <em>(‡)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KĀTHMĀNDŪ.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lakṣminara Simha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pratāpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(Rūpamati)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pratāpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Caṅkavartindra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pratāpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Serial No. of Coin.</td>
<td>PÅTAN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Siddhi Narasimha ... 1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>... (¼) 1654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Srinivasa ... 1661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>... 1666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Yoga Narendra ... 1688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>... 1686</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>... 1685</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>... 1686</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>... 1700</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>... (¼) 1687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Jaya Indra ... 1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>(Vira Narasimha) ... 1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Yogamati)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XVIII.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNA LXXI (Sp. LXX), 1–38,

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TREATED.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

FRAŠOŠTAR, the holy, asked of Zartušt, the saint:
give me the answer, (O thou) foremost 1 Zartušt
(most pre-eminent in authority and initiative), [that is to
say, before 2 this Dēnu, O Zartušt, thou didst come]:—

(2) Which is the full 3 recital of the liturgies? which
is the summarised-celebration 4 of the Gādas? (3) There-
upon said Zartušt: to Aūharmazd, the Holy Chief of
A(r)ša (as the Ritual), do I sacrifice. 5

(4) And I sacrifice to Zartušt, the Holy Chief of A(r)ša
(not 'gloss'; here we might of course suppose that a
pause or interval is to be accepted. The sentence looks
like an interpolation. This extraordinary mention of Z. is

* The text upon which this translation has been made has been
carefully prepared with the collation of all the MSS., and will appear
in due course. Only the early, and necessarily uncritical, translations
into Parsi-Persian and Gujarati have preceded this as in a continuous
treatment.

1 Hardly here in the text meaning simply 'beforehand.'

2 In the gloss, however, the idea of temporal priority seems present.
The Persian MS. with B. gives us 'pēš aē dēn' lak maē havēh,' which is
far better than 'pēš adēn' lak mata.' Zaraduštra 'came before the Dēn'
as being its author. He was also at the 'summit of humanity,' as being
a sort of 'second Adam.' See also (4), where sacrifice is offered him
next after that to Ahura. See his Frava(r)ši, the object of sacrifice
at 5, and mentioned before the Ameša Spenta. He is semi-deified,
almost 'a Lord from Heaven.'

3 The Persian MS. and B. insert frāž, 'the forth-recital,' with the
idea of an uninterrupted delivery of it.

4 Haukārīgih is the noun-form of haukārayāmi in Y. I, and can hardly
mean 'a summing-up' in the ordinary restricted sense; it was 'the
summing-up' in the act of 'celebration.' The Persian MS. has tamām.

5 This was indeed a worthy answer, for it implied everything.
an apt illustration of the fact that he, Z., had been long among the dead. The conceptions as regards his person are here altogether changed).

(5) Yea, I sacrifice to the Frava(r)šī of Zartāš, (the leading) saint, (6) and to the Holy Ame(r)šaspentas, (7) and to the holy, and good, and heroic (or ‘effective’), and august Frava(r)šis\(^1\) of all the saints, (8) of those of the world (whose sphere is below), and of those of Heaven; (9) and I sacrifice to the Chief most eminent\(^2\) (avartām = apanōtemem), who of the\(^3\) Yazats has the most closely approached us (in his course),\(^4\) who is the most deserving (of our worship) of the\(^5\) chiefs of A(r)šā, the most surpassing (avarmatartām = aivinasāstemen) in his course,\(^6\) the holy one, with the ritual enunciation of a chief of a(r)ša. (10) And I sacrifice to Aūharmazd, the holy [with an enunciation] of (i.e. fitted for) this ritual Chief; (11) and I sacrifice to the entire body\(^7\) of Aūharmazd, (12) and to all the Ame(r)šaspentas. (13) And I sacrifice to every one\(^8\) who is a chief of A(r)ša, (14) and to the entire Dēn of the Mazda-worshippers (with all its commandments, its ritual, and its doctrine); (15) and to all the measures (or ‘metres’ also of the sacred Gāthic verse); (16) and to all the august\(^9\) Lore of the Mazda-yasnians (the Holy Mādra-spenta), (17) and to all the Law-against-the-Demons (the Vidēva\(^10\)-dātā, the

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\(^1\) The Penates.

\(^2\) Or ‘the most ascendant.

\(^3\) ‘More closely than the other Yaštats’; hardly ‘most closely approaching us from them,’ though the word is min.

\(^4\) See note 5.

\(^5\) Again min.

\(^6\) Rasēmih.

\(^7\) ‘To all the body,’ a somewhat curious expression. One cannot say that the Zoroastrians of the time of this later edited commentary would have objected to a ‘body’ for Ahura any more than the early Israelites objected to the corporeal manifestations of Yahweh. They simply could only think of the ‘Heavens’ as His ‘clothing.’ Or, are the Ame(r)šia-spentas here dimly alluded to as ‘His body’? See Y. 1, 2, hukereptema.

\(^8\) Lit. ‘to all even.’

\(^9\) Or ‘holy.’

\(^10\) The 6 of vīdōyān is conspicuously false for the Av.-Pahl. sign for ‘a’ of the transitional period.
Vendidad) do I sacrifice, (18) and to all the long on-course ('the traditional pre-eminence' of it), (19) and to all the holy Yazats who are spiritual (or 'of the Heavens'), and to those also who are of earth, (20) and (even again) to all the holy, good, heroic (effective), and august frava(r)šis of the saints, and to all the creatures made by Mazda, the holy, (21) who were (therefore) endowed with A(r)ša (that is 'sacred and clean'), and (originally) so created through A(r)ša. (22) And I sacrifice also therewith to the priestly statutory-enactments constructed with (or 'corroborated by') A(r)ša; (23) and to the sacred (religious) authority, (as) the continuous (or 'forth-uttered frāz') sacrificial liturgy (frāyašt), with A(r)ša (perhaps the Vendidad Sade was here meant; it was continuous, 'without commentary'), even to that which was holy (24) within (or 'among') the holy praise-lore, (made widely known) through the celebrations of the ritual A(r)ša.

(25) And to all the Five holy Gābas also do I sacrifice, (26) and to all the direct intoning (fravāmešn) of the sacrifice, and to its responsive parts (patīrak rōvešnih), and to its taking up (sic, avar vaXdūnešn) (again after the response); (27) and to all the Stōt-Yasna (these Yasna-Yašts), and to all the words (spoken forth) of Aūharmazd (contained in the inspired documents), (28) which are the smitters against evil thought, (29) against evil speech, (30) and evil deeds, (31) which are the cutters-down of the evil thought, (32) and evil word, (33) and

1 Or 'holy.' 2 The public statutes. 3 Yazếšnih. 4 The Persian has mastsēr (sic), as if celebration or 'announcement' in a public service were held in view. 5 'The forth-going,' frātimē. 6 'Its meeting flow,' paititimēa. 7 Here we have a jar again persistently recognised in the sense of 'take,' jaretimēa; so the Persian MS. gīrītan; even Spiegel's form might be deciphered avar-gīrešnih, and not avar sacešnih. Should we accede here to 'tradition'? 8 See mē'im and the acc. of the original. 9 'Cutters-on' (sic); here we have the gen. of the original.
evil deed, (34) who are the most the cutters-down of every evil thought, (35) and word, and most annihilating (36) of every evil deed. (37, 38) It is like as when the Fire cuts dry wood, purified, and well sought out (that is, 'selected') for the burning [that is (it is as) when the Fire has cut it, and has put it on (so the barā hānāyént) for the burning of the hānas offering (this for hāvasuyeiti), and as when (aēγ) it burns it (dazaiti).  

1 As regards the form aive-karempa (A. kereta (?)), I now abandon my former adhesion to the hint of migirit; see below, preferring my alternative in the note. See S.B.E. xxxi at the place. Notice that the word (or 'words') are the 'cutting sword.'

2 The Persian text and that of B. alone here afford us a correct text throughout, the Pers. confirming B. (D., Pt. 4).

A. (DJ., 7th, Oxford C') has in 31, man' havend mé'im migiritur (i) * ādamat; in 32, man' havend mé'im migiritur (i) * dūshú-αχ' (sic, dūshúαχ')?; in 33, man' havend mé'im karēntü (a blot occurs as if a ni had been first written) (i)* dūshuvarś (i' dūši); in 34, man' havend mé'im migiritārtam (i) * harvisp' dūsmat (?) in 35, man' havend mé'im migiritārt (notice the ni, as if the first intention had been to write nigirt, while this A. has again nikarend (or va karemd) in 38 (i) * harvisp seems inserted in the MS.) dūshúαχ' (! dūši); in 36, man' havend mé'im karēntārtām (i) * harvisp' dūshuvarś (i' dūši).

The text of B. is everywhere karēnt, never nigirt, except correctly as = hupairīstem at end of 37 (erroneously so placed in the MSS. it should form the beginning of 38).

So the text of C., the Persian MS., as indicated by its translation; it has forms of burūdāba throughout. E. (Sp.) has mé'im nigiritar in 31, avar nigiritar in 32, avar nigiritar in 33; (here D., the Munich copy of this K', Sp.'s original, does not follow Sp. in this 33; it has avar karēntār, while in 34 Sp. himself has avar karēntārtam). So Sp. continues with avar karēntārtam in 35, and mé'im karēntārtam in 36, with karemd in 38. The curious error of nigirt evidently arose from the presence of the correct nigirt in 37 (or in the beginning of 38) = hupairīstem.

For hāvasuyeiti A., D., E. have only the hāvan, for which B. has barā hānēxtānt so freely; C. also translates bih nihad, apparently to represent hāvasuyi. B., C. add a sōzē in the form of a gloss, after aēγ and kū.

The text of B. here is va xup nigiritak (i so, or nigirti va (i)) mé'im karēnt (C. burīdah) vaavan ādāzēd αγī ṣatār barā hānēxtānt αγī sōzē. The Persian translation has va xup nigiriidak avar burad pah d . . . . tēn (?) + kū ātāk bih nihad, kū bih sūzdad.

* is here supplied.
+ Probably meaning ādāza; see B. and the original.
XIX.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF KANAUJ AND OF KING YASOVARMAN.

By VINCENT A. SMITH.

KANAUJ, the most famous of Indian cities during the period extending from the early years of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, undoubtedly was founded in very ancient times, but when, how, or by whom it is impossible to ascertain. The city is mentioned not only in both the great epics, the existing texts of which date from many different ages, but also in the Mahâbhâshya of Patañjali, which is known to have been written in or about 150 B.C. Its foundation, therefore, must be anterior to 200 B.C., but nothing more definite can be said on the subject.¹

¹ I am indebted to the late Professor Kiellhorn and Dr. Grierson for the reference to Patañjali, who gives as examples of a certain grammatical rule, the forms Ahichchhatra and Kânyakubjâ in the sense of a woman born at Ahichchhata and Kanauj respectively (Mahâbhâshya, ed. Kiellhorn, vol. ii, p. 233, l. 7). This use of the adjective formed from the name of the city or town is decisive proof that Kânyakubja was a well-known place in the second century B.C. Dr. Grierson has kindly examined for me the references in the epics. A list of tirthas, or holy places, given in Mbh., iii, 8313, includes the words Kânyakubjâ.

5 पिन्नमैयमलियण सहकोशिक: “At Kânyakubja Kauśika (scil. Viśvamitra) drank soma with Indra.” Böhtlingk and Roth also cite Mbh., i, 6651; iii, 11044; xiii, 216, for the form Kânyakubja as the name of a town or country.

In the Râmâyana the name Kânyakubja (cf. Kanya-) occurs in only one passage, namely i, 3, in Schlegel’s edition. The passage is wanting in the Calcutta edition, and probably is an interpolation. But chapters 32 and 33 of Book i, in the Calcutta edition, give as part of the story of Viśvamitra’s ancestors, a long account of the well-known legend of the crippled (kubja) maidens (kanyâ), the daughters of Kuśanâbha, and this indirect reference may be understood to imply the author’s knowledge of the town of Kanyakubja. Concerning the variant spelling of the name see subsequent notes. The statement made by Kalhana (Rûjâtar., Bk. i, v. 117) that Kanyakubja was included in the extensive conquests effected by Jalukha, the son of Ashoka, cannot be relied on as good evidence of the alleged fact.
Commentators ordinarily assume that the city of Kanauj is mentioned twice in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, written about 140 A.D., firstly, under the name of Kanagora, and secondly, under that of Kanogiza (Bk. vii, ch. 1, sec. 52; ch. 2, sec. 22; transl. McCrindle, *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 352, 380). But the assumption has been made somewhat rashly, and with little justification. The name Kanogiza, which bears some slight resemblance to Kanyakubja or Kanauj, occurs in a list of the inland towns and villages of Transgangetic India, and is placed in long. 143°, lat. 32°. Beyond the slight resemblance of name, no reason exists for identifying Kanogiza with Kanauj, and it is unlikely that Ptolemy should assign to Transgangetic India a town actually situated on the bank of the Ganges. Unfortunately, not one of the places named in the list which includes Kanogiza can be recognized, and the attempts to identify them are all utterly unconvincing.

Kanagora, long. 135°, lat. 30° 40', is one of seven towns enumerated as belonging to Prasiakē, or the East. Three of these towns are Sambalaka, Adisdara, and Sagala, which probably represent respectively Sambhal in Rohilkhand, Ahiuchhhatra (Ādikōṭ, etc.), now Rāmmagar in the Bareli District of the same province, and Sākala, the modern Siālkōṭ in the Panjāb. It would be natural to find Kanauj in such company, and it is possible that Kanagora may be intended for that city, but there is nothing like proof of the supposed identity. It is obvious that if Kanagora of Prasiakē in long. 135°, lat. 30° 40' be Kanauj, the Kanogiza of Transgangetic India, in long. 143°, lat. 32°, cannot also be identified with that city. Consequently, no adequate reason remains for the customary positive assumption that Kanauj is mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, although it is true that the town was then of sufficient importance to be mentioned, and its name may be concealed in the corrupt form of Kanagora.

Kanauj or Kanōj, the name still in use, is, like the town
itself, ancient, and can be proved to have been current fifteen hundred years ago.¹ The transliteration, Ka-nao-yi or Ka-no-yi, used by Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century, certainly represents, as Watters observes, the ordinary spoken name Kanauj or Kanōj. The fuller Sanskrit form Kanyakubja (also spelled Kānyakubja and Kanyakubja), which may be an artificial literary modification of the vernacular name, was preferred by Huen Tsang, who transliterated it as Ka-no-kū-she. Other Chinese authors choose to write Kan-na-ku-po-she.²

Huen Tsang also mentions that ‘once upon a time’ the city had been known as Kusumapura, or ‘Flower-town.’ It is remarkable that Pātaliputra, the earlier imperial capital, bore the same name or title.³

The authors of the Rājatarangini and certain inscriptions frequently use the name Gādhipura, or the synonymous Gādhinagara, instead of Kanyakubja.⁴ In

¹ Bühler wrote Kānoj (Ind. Ant., vi, 181, etc.), presumably following a Western spelling. In Northern India the first vowel undoubtedly is short. Muhammadan authors write Kanauj (ناو). This name is frequently confounded with that of Kinnauj (كناو), a dependency of Multān—an error resulting in much fictitious history, which vitiates many passages in vol. i of Elliot’s History, namely pp. 14, 21, 22, 23, 33, 87, 90, 91, 147, 153, 207, 208, 210, 405, 7409. Al Masudi’s detailed account (ibid., pp. 21-3) is reproduced in Bomb. Gaz. (1896), vol. i, part ii, p. 518, as applying to Kanauj, whereas it is really concerned with Kinnauj. The proof is given by Raverty (J.A.S.B., part i, vol. Ixii (1892), pp. 206-8, 254; Notes on Afghanistan, pp. 509, 566, 571). See E. Hist. India, 2nd ed., corrigenda.

² Watters, On Yuan Chüan-yu’s Travels, i, 341. Kanyakubja (grant of Madanapāla, etc., Ind. Ant., xviii, 18); Kanyakubja (Stein, transl. Rājatar., Bk. iv, 237, and index); Kanyakubja (grants of Chandradeva, etc., Ind. Ant., xviii, 13, 133, etc.). The Chinese form written by Watters as Ka-nao-yi or Kano-yi is spelled by Giles as Chi-jao-i, by Rémusat (Laidlay) as Ki-jao-i, and by Beal as Ki-jou-i.

³ Huen Tsang records the name of Kusumapura for both cities:—Kanauj (Beal, i, 207; Watters, i, 341); Pātaliputra, or more accurately, an adjoining site (Beal, ii, 83, 85; Watters, ii, 87).

⁴ Gādhipura (Rājatar., Bk. iv, 133); Gādhinagara, Gwālior Sāsbahu inscription of Mahi-pāla (Ind. Ant., xv, 35).
the inscriptions of the Parihār dynasty the name Mahodaya or Mahodayā is the favourite.\(^1\) Grants of the later Gaharwār dynasty enumerate as the four great sacred places of pilgrimage, Kāśi (Benares), Kuśika, Uttarakaśalā (Ayodhya), and Indrāsthāna (probably Indraprastha near Delhi). In this list the second name, Kuśika, is understood by Professor Kielhorn to be a synonym for Kanauj.\(^2\)

Most of the Jain chroniclers of Gujarāt agree in affirming that the first Chauḷukya ruler of that country was descended from Rāja, a son of King Bhuvanāditya, who ruled at Kalyāna (Kalyānakaṭaka), the capital of Kanauj. The intention of this tradition seems to be to identify Kalyāna with Kanauj, and the Sanskrit word kalyāna being practically synonymous with mahodaya, meaning ‘great prosperity,’ the official name of the city in the ninth and tenth centuries, there is no difficulty in believing that Kalyāna was one of the many names in use for the city.\(^3\) The name Calinipaxa mentioned by Pliny is generally supposed, although not proved, to designate Kanauj. If it does, the first element in the name probably represents Kalyāna.\(^4\)

An inscription dated 882 A.D. in the reign of the powerful Parihār sovereign, Mihira-Bhoja, records the grant of endowments to a temple of Vishnu at Bhojapura on the bank of the Ganges near Kanauj. Bhojapura must have been founded by King Bhoja, and presumably was a suburb of the imperial city.\(^5\)

The earliest account of Kanauj with any details, which can be dated approximately, is the notice in the work

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\(^1\) Ep. Ind., v, 208, etc.
\(^2\) Ind. Ant., xv, p. 8, note 46; xviii, 13.
\(^3\) Bühler (Ind. Ant., v, 181, 183). See also ibid., iii, 41; iv, 46.
\(^6\) Peheva (Pehoa) inscr., l. 9 (Ep. Ind., i, 187).
of Fa-hien, the first Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India between the years 399 and 414 A.D., during the reign of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, and visited the town at the beginning of the fifth century. His brief notice is as follows:—"Fa-hien stayed at the Dragon vihāra till after the summer retreat, and then, travelling to the south-east for seven yojanas, he arrived at the city of Kanyakubja, lying along the Ganges. There are two monasteries in it, the inmates of which are students of the hinayāna. At a distance from the city of six or seven le, on the west, on the northern bank of the Ganges, is a place where Buddha preached the Law to his disciples. It has been handed down that his subjects of discourse were such as 'The bitterness and vanity (of life) as impermanent and uncertain,' and that 'The body is as a bubble or foam on the water.' At this spot a tope was erected, and still exists."¹

It is clear from this account that at the beginning of the fifth century, when the power of the Gupta dynasty was at its height, Kanauj, as regarded from the Buddhist point of view, was a place of small importance, containing only two monasteries, both belonging to the school of the Lesser Vehicle, and a single stūpa worthy of notice. No mention is made of any buildings devoted to Brahmanical worship. The inference justly derivable from the particulars given by Fa-hien that Kanauj was a comparatively unimportant town in the fifth century is borne out by the statistics of Gupta coins found there. Analysis in 1884 of the provenance of the Gupta gold coins proved that only five or six specimens could be traced to Kanauj, whereas about seven or eight hundred were known to have been obtained in the provinces to the east, and the fact was thus "established with mathematical certainty

¹ Travels, ch. xviii, in Legge's version. The renderings of Beal (Buddhist Records of the Western World, i, p. xliii) and Giles agree substantially.
that Kanauj supplies only an infinitesimal proportion of the Gupta gold coins, the great bulk of which have been obtained far to the east of that city. Subsequent investigations have fully confirmed that conclusion. No hoard of Gupta coins in any metal is recorded as having been found at Kanauj, and the silver and copper pieces obtained there are not numerous. Although Prinsep's designation of the Gupta gold coinage as the 'Kanauj series' is demonstrably erroneous, and the demonstration has been in print for many years, his mistake has not yet ceased to mislead writers on Indian archeology, and the phrase "the Guptas of Kanauj" may still be found in many books. There is no reason to suppose that the Gupta kings had even a mint at Kanauj, much less that they considered that city to be their capital. As a matter of fact, when Patañjali declined, and was found to be inconvenient as the headquarters of the empire, Ajodhya appears to have become the capital, and to have enjoyed that honour during the reigns of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The next definite mention of Kanauj known to me is found in the pages of the Harsha-charita of Bana, who describes the events immediately preceding the accession

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2 Ibid., p. 158.
3 Gupta coins in all metals are frequently found at Ajodhya. Out of fifteen specimens of the scarce copper coinage in Sir A. Cunningham's cabinet ten came from Ajodhya, and the five copper coins in the late Mr. Hooper's collection all came from the same place. Tregear's example of Kumāragupta's copper issues, at one time considered unique, also was obtained at Ajodhya. The few specimens of Kumāragupta's copper coinage discovered in recent years all come, I think, from Ahichhatra. The evidence indicates that Ajodhya and Ahichhatra both possessed mints for copper in the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I (J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 50). Paramārtha, a Buddhist author of the sixth century, describes Skandagupta as "king Vikramaṇḍita of Ajodhya." Skandagupta assumed the title Vikramāṇḍita on certain silver coins (E. Hist. of India, 2nd ed., p. 292).
of his hero, Harsha, in 606 A.D. Rājyaśri, the younger sister of Harsha and his elder brother Rājyavardhana, had been married during the lifetime of their father Prabhākara-vardhana, or Pratāpaśīla, king of Thānēsar or Śrīkanṭha, to Grahavarman, eldest son of Avantivarman, a Maukhari, or member of the house of Mukhara, which, we are assured, stood “at the head of all royal houses.” Almost exactly at the same time as Prabhākara-vardhana died, Grahavarman was attacked and slain by the king of Mālava, who put Rājyaśri in fetters and imprisoned her at Kanauj (Kāanyakubja). The Mālavan army was easily defeated by Rājyavardhana, the elder son of Prabhākara-vardhana, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Thānēsar, and Rājyaśri effected her escape from confinement. But the victor was not allowed to enjoy the fruits of his valour, being himself treacherously slain by Śaśānka, king of Bengal (Gauḍa, Karnāsuvarna), who seized Kanauj. In due course, Harsha, having been called to occupy the throne left vacant by his murdered brother, recovered his sister, drove Śaśānka back into his eastern territories, and occupied Kanauj.

In the *Early History of India* (2nd ed., p. 311) I assumed that Grahavarman must have been king of Kanauj, where his widow was imprisoned. This assumption is a natural and legitimate inference from Bāña’s narrative, but not a necessary one. The presumption certainly is that Grahavarman’s young bride when captured was residing at her husband’s capital; but, as a matter of fact, Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit is correct in the remark that “the *Harsha-charita* is silent as to where the family of Grahavarman were living or reigning,”¹ and it is possible that Kanauj may not have been either the residence of Rājyaśri or the capital of her husband. All that Bāña actually says is that “his

majesty, Grahavarman, was by the wicked lord of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśri, also, the princess, has been confined like a brigand’s wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja.” We are further informed that “after his majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise and Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta [i.e. Śaśāṅka], queen Rājyaśri burst from her confinement, and with her train entered the Vindhya forest” (Cowell and Thomas, pp. 173, 224). These statements undoubtedly suggest the inference that Rājyaśri was living at Kanauj when made prisoner, but do not expressly state that proposition as a fact; she may have resided elsewhere and been brought to Kanauj after her capture. The position of the Mālava country referred to is quite uncertain, and it may be that Kanauj had been included in the dominions of the defeated king of Mālava, which were occupied in succession by Rājyavardhana, Śaśāṅka, and Harsha. Śaśāṅka, apparently, had been in alliance with Rājyavardhana, otherwise the victim could not have been “allured by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and then weaponless, confiding, and alone, despatched in his own quarters” (Cowell and Thomas, p. 178). Shankar Pāṇḍurang Pāṇḍit definitely adopted the view that “up to the time that Rājyaśri’s husband was murdered, Kanauj was the capital of the Mālava kings,” and he may be right.

The result of this discussion is that we are not in a position to affirm positively what kingdom Kanauj belonged to at the beginning of the seventh century. Nor are we able to locate precisely the kingdom governed by the Maukhari Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman. King (paramēśvara) Avantivarman is mentioned in the damaged Deo-Baraṇārāk inscription of Jīvitagupta II (Fleet, G.I., p. 215). That record comes from the
Shāhābād District of Bihār. Other Maukhari inscriptions also come from Bihār (Magadha). Seventeen coins of Avantivarman have been found recently in the Fyzabad District of southern Oudh associated with coins of Śilāditya (Harsha), and his father Pratāpaśīla (Prabhā- karavardhana). The dates on some of them are supposed to be equivalent to 567, 569, and 570 A.D. (Burn, J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 849). The subject of Maukhari history requires to be worked out afresh in the light of the new information afforded by the Fyzabad coins, but I cannot go into the question here.¹

The six years from 606 to 612 A.D. were spent by Harsha in the subjugation of all the princes and kingdoms of Northern India between the Sutlaj, the Narmadā, and Eastern Bengal. His power does not appear to have extended beyond the Sutlaj, and it is known that as late as 619 A.D. Śaśāṅka was still the overlord of a feudatory ruling on the eastern coast.² Even in 643, when his authority in Upper India had been established for fully thirty years, Harsha found it necessary to lead an expedition against the sturdy inhabitants of that remote coast. Kanauj, no doubt, passed under the sway of Harsha from the time that Śaśāṅka was obliged to retire, and thereupon it ceased to be the capital of a separate kingdom. After 612, from which date Harsha was the acknowledged paramount sovereign of Upper

¹ Dr. Mark Collins has contributed to the discussion of the Maukhari problem in his dissertation entitled “The Geographical Data of the Rāghuvamśa and Dasakumāracharita,” pp. 24, 49, and Table iii (Leipzig, G. Kreysing, 1907). He holds that Grahavarman was king of Kanauj, that the original Maukhari territory probably was Aṅga, to the east of Magadha, and that the Mālava of Bāṇa probably was the district so called near Fatehpur (pp. 24, 25, 49–54). Compare Tāranāth’s “Mālava in Prayāga” (Schiefner, p. 251). In E. Hist. India, 2nd ed., p. 311, note 1, the words “Perhaps it was Mo-la-po” should be cancelled.

² Ganjām plates dated 300 G.E. = 319–20 A.D., recording a grant by the mahārāja mahārājakeshava Mādhavarāja II, feudatory of the mahārāja-dhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja (Ep. Ind., vi, 143).
India, he fixed upon Kanauj as the headquarters of his imperial government, and so raised it to the rank of premier city of India, enjoyed in the olden days by Pātaliputra. The glory of Kanauj dates from the period of thirty-six years, 612–48 A.D., during which Harsha wielded the imperial sceptre with vigour and success. We learn from Hiuen Tsang, who paid his final visit to the city in 643, how great a change in its aspect had been wrought since Fa-hien was there at the beginning of the fifth century.

The summary translation of the later pilgrim's text by Watters (i. 340), which agrees substantially with the fuller versions of Beal and Julien, may be quoted textually:—“The capital,” we are told, “which had the Ganges on its west side, was above twenty li in length by four or five li in breadth; it was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere; there were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water, and in it rarities from strange lands were collected. The inhabitants were well off, and there were families of great wealth; fruit and flowers were abundant, and sowing and reaping had their seasons. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in glossy silk attire; they were given to learning and the arts, and were clear and suggestive in their discourse; they were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 Brethren who were students of both the ‘Vehicles.’ There were more than 200 Deva-Temples, and the non-Buddhists were several thousands in number.”

The reader will observe that the two Hinayāna monasteries of Fa-hien’s time had developed into more than a hundred monastic institutions occupied by more than 10,000 brethren belonging to both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools. The recorded facts appear to justify the conclusion that the wealthy and luxurious
city described by Hiuen Tsang was mainly the creation of Harsha, who as Lord Paramount of Northern India, was able to lavish vast sums upon the adornment of his chosen capital.

When Harsha died in 648 his empire fell to pieces, his minister usurping the throne. But the usurper was soon crushed by the combined forces of Tibet and Nepal, which had been called in by the Chinese ambassador, and was deported to China. Darkness then falls upon the history of Kanauj, and nothing whatever is known concerning the fortunes of the city or the nature of its government for about eighty years. I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled in India between 673 and 687 A.D., visited Kanauj, but has not recorded what he saw there.

After Harsha's death the earliest king of Kanauj whose name has been preserved is Yasovarman, who is recorded to have sent an embassy to China in 731 A.D. Presumably such a mission would have been dispatched not very long after the accession of the Indian prince. We may, therefore, assume that Yasovarman ascended the throne of Kanauj between 725 and 731 A.D., in or about 728 A.D. At that time the Chinese government, under the guidance of the emperor Hiuen Tsang, was engaged in vigorous and partially successful efforts to establish its influence on the northern and north-western frontier of India with the purpose of checking the advance of the victorious

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1 The passages in the Chach-nāmāh which Sir H. Elliot translated as referring to Kanauj in the time of Muhammad bin Kāsim, early in the eighth century, really are concerned with Kinnauj (किन्नाज), a dependency of Multān (Elliott, Hist., i, 153, 207, 208). Professor Dowson's note to p. 153 proves that he perceived the error, although he was not in a position to explain it. The territory of Kinnauj lay to the north-east of the kingdom of Sind, of which the capital was Alor (Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, pp. 509, 590, 571; "The Mhrán of Sind," J.A.S.B., part i, vol. lxi (1892), pp. 207, 208, 254; E. Hist. of India, 2nd ed., corrigenda). For the story of the usurpation by Harsha's minister see E. Hist. of India, 2nd ed., p. 326.

2 Record of the Buddhist Religion, transl., Takakusu, pp. liii, lv.
armies of Islam, and curbing the arrogance of the Tibetans, who sometimes co-operated with the Arabs. Chandrāpiḍa, king of Kashmir, received investiture as king from the emperor of China in 720, and thirteen years later his powerful brother and successor, Muktāpiḍa-Lalitāditya, was similarly honoured. Royal titles were conferred about the same time by the emperor on the chieftains of Udyāna (Suwāt), Chitrāl, Khottal (west of Badakshān), Yasin, Ghazni, and Kapiṣa (Kāfīristān). The Rāja of Kanauj necessarily must have been fully informed of the relations between China and the frontier powers, and it is not surprising that he should have sought to secure the favour of the great eastern potentate. The successes gained by the Chinese over the Western Turks in the years 640–8 had been sufficient inducement to Harsha, a greater monarch than Yaśovarman, to take similar diplomatic action and so to gain the support of the most important state in Asia, which controlled the military forces of Tibet and Nepāl.1

Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa, king of Kashmir, who ascended the throne about 724 A.D., was, we are told, "eager for conquests, and passed his life chiefly on expeditions, moving round the earth like the sun." In addition to Kashmir he was master of the kingdoms of Taxila, Siṃhapura, or the Salt Range, Uraśā or Hazāra, and the small hill-states of Punach and Rājapura or Rajauri. During the early years of his reign while still in alliance with Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, he withstood the

1 Yaśovarman = 1-cha[sha]fon [? fou-]mo, king of Central India [Mauṭhadeśa], who sent his minister Sang-po-ta to the Chinese court in 731 (Pauthier, quoted by Stein, transl., Rājat., Bk. iv, v. 134 note). The Tch'a-fou-yuen-koei, ch. 964, p. 18r, states that "La vingt et unième année K'ai-yuen (733), le quatrième mois, on conféra par brevet au roi de Kou-che-mi (Cachemire), Mou-to-pi (Muktāpiḍa), le titre de roi de ce pays." The historian proceeds to give a copy of the grant (Chavannes, Les Turcs Occidentaux, p. 209). See Early Hist. of India, 2nd ed., pp. 334, 335, 343, 349, and corrigenda.
Tibetans and blocked their "five great roads." Relying on the merit of these services he sent an embassy to the Chinese court, professing submission, and requesting the grant of investiture with the royal title. His prayer was received with favour, and in the year 733 A.D. the emperor conferred the desired dignity, and honoured the ambassador, named U-li-to by the Chinese historian, with rich gifts and a banquet in the imperial palace.

Some years later, probably about 740-745 A.D., Lalitāditya's ambition led him to attack the kingdom of Kanauj or Gādhipura. A prolonged struggle ended, according to the chronicles of Kashmir, in the submission of Yaśovarman and the conclusion of a treaty. But the heading of the document, which was superscribed as "the treaty of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya," with the name of the southern monarch placed first, gave offence to Mitraśarman, the Kashmiri Foreign Secretary, who persuaded his master, contrary to the advice of the generals, to renew the war. Ultimately Lalitāditya prevailed, the unfortunate Yaśovarman being "uprooted entirely," and no doubt put to death. The victor, who is recorded to have reigned for thirty-six years seven months and eleven days, survived his opponent for some fifteen years, more or less.

At an earlier date, apparently between 730 and 740 A.D., Yaśovarman had himself indulged his ambition and led victorious armies to distant conquests. The record of his

1 "Moi-même et le roi de l'Inde du centre, nous avons obstrué les cinq grands chemins des T'ou-po (Tibétains) et nous avons empêché leurs allées et venues; nous avons livré bataille et avons été aussitôt victorieux" (Tung-chou, ch. cxvii, in Chavannes, Turcs Occid., p. 167). The king of Central India (Madhyadeśa) referred to by the Chinese historian must have been Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who is called by the same title in another Chinese work (note, p. 776, note).

2 Stein, transl. Rajatara, Bk. iv, vv. 131-46, 366. The story of Lalitāditya, as told by Kalhana, is a strange mixture of fact and romance. We do not know the Kanauj version, which might have differed materially from that of Kalhana.
exploits is chiefly preserved in a vague and unsatisfactory form in a Prákrit work entitled *Gauḍavahó*, "The slaying of the king of Gauḍa," composed by a poet named Vákpatirāja, who after the war transferred his allegiance from the conquered to the conquering king. The poem as it now exists appears to be only the prelude to a missing work designed to narrate in detail the exploits of Yaśovarman in the Bengal campaign, and the actual references to the nominal subject of the poem, the slaying of the king of Gauḍa, are few and indistinct. But the poet's composition, being that of a contemporary, still has considerable historical value, and may be taken as sufficient authority for believing that the king of Kanauj effected the temporary subjugation of Bengal. We learn that Yaśovarman started on his campaign, in the approved Indian fashion, after the close of the rains, in October, and marching in a south-easterly direction, reached the valley of the Són. The only indication given of the line of march is that he visited the temple of Vindhyavāsini, the bloodthirsty goddess whose shrine stands in the southern part of the Mirzāpur district. It is interesting to be informed that as late as the eighth century human sacrifices continued to be offered daily to the goddess with every circumstance of horror. The natural route to the shrine would lie through Prayāga (Alláhábád), and Yaśovarman may be assumed to have followed that road. His approach frightened the king of Gauḍa (Bengal) and Magadha (Bihār), who is not named but who is described as "lord of Magadha" (*Magadhādipa*). He fled, avoiding his enemy. Yaśovarman kept the field—where we are not told—and the rainy season came on. When the time for campaigning again arrived, a year after Yaśovarman's departure from his capital, the nobles of Gauḍa succeeded in bringing up their timid sovereign to face the invader. A great battle resulted in the defeat and death of the king of Gauḍa and Magadha. Yaśovarman then advanced
eastwards, and subdued the land of Vanga, or Eastern Bengal, even to the sea-shore.

The poet represents him as next turning to the south and conquering a king, whose name or locality is not indicated. The Pārasikas, supposed to be a western nation of foreign origin, were defeated in a hard-fought battle, and Yaśovarman reached the Narmadā and the Western Ghāts. After some stay on the banks of the Narmadā he moved northwards, and crossing Rājputāna (Marudeśa), arrived at Thānēsar (Śrīkaṇṭha). He is alleged to have marched then to the site of Ayodhyā, the city of Hariśchandra, which had disappeared from earth and been removed to heaven, to have visited the Mandara and Himalayan mountains, and ultimately to have returned to Kanauj.1

I see no reason to doubt the substantial truth of this contemporary testimony. There is nothing incredible in the assertion that a powerful king, occupying at Kanauj a good central position, should have carried his arms eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmadā, and northwards to the foot of the mountains. The Ayodhyā referred to cannot be the well-known city of Rāma in Southern Oudh, but must mean some place much farther north to which the legend of Hariśchandra’s aerial city was attached.2 It is not unreasonable to suppose that this military excursion of Yaśovarman, which must have lasted for three or four years at least, should have excited the fears and jealousy of Lalitāditya of Kashmir, who felt himself compelled to challenge Yaśovarman’s claim to paramount power. The contest between the rival monarchs, as we have seen, was prolonged, and ended in the ruin of Yaśovarman.

2 For the legend see Dowson, Classical Dictionary, s.v. Hariśchandra. The name of Ayodhyā is not given in Dowson’s version of the tale.
If Vākapatīrāja’s outline of his hero’s wars of aggression be accepted as correct in its main features, it is probable that Cunningham was right in attributing to Yaśovarman of Kanauj the origin of the name of the town Yaśovarma-pura in Bihār, and in regarding him as having been for a time the paramount sovereign of Northern India.\(^1\)

Several Jain books, the oldest of which may date from the thirteenth century, record jumbled traditions of Yaśovarman’s war with Bengal. These works, as Shankar Pāṇḍurang Pandit observes, exhibit “a strange mixture of correct or nearly correct tradition with a great deal of absurd fiction.” They make out erroneously that the King of Gauḍa, Yaśovarman’s opponent, was named Dharma, meaning apparently Dharmapāla, the second of the Pāla dynasty, who did not come to the throne before the year 777 A.D., or thereabouts, but exhibit correctly Yaśovarman as the patron of the poet Vākapatīrāja.

Yaśovarman’s right to be reckoned as a liberal patron of literature is established by incontrovertible evidence. Kalhaṇa (Bk. iv, v. 144) records that he was “served by Vākapatīrāja, the illustrious Bhavabhūti, and other poets,” a statement amply confirmed by Vākapatīrāja himself and the literary traditions of the Jains. Bhavabhūti, the celebrated author of the Mālati-mādhava and two plays dealing with the Rāma legend, wrote in Sanskrit, and was senior to Vākapatīrāja, who was content to boast that the best things in his Prākrit compositions were but “particles of the liquid nectar of poetry that came out from the ocean Bhavabhūti.” The Sanskrit dramatist, a native of Vidarbha (Berār), seems to have resided for a time at Ujjain, and it is not known how he came to the Kanauj court. Vākapatīrāja, who wrote in Prākrit, was at first, according to the Jain traditions, in the service of the King of Gauḍa at Lakṣhaṇāvati (Gaur), and

\(^1\) Reports, iii, 135; xv, 164.
thence passed to the court of the victorious Yaśovarman. It is alleged that in his latter days, that is to say, after the destruction of his patron by the king of Kashmir, he retired to Mathurā, practised austerities, was converted to Jainism, and ultimately starved himself to death, in accordance with the Jain rule for men desirous of making a good end. He considered his early poem the Mahamahavijayo (Madhumatha-vijaya) to be his best composition, but no text of it has been discovered, and nothing more can be said about it than that the subject probably was the death of the demon Madhu by the hand of Vishnu. His only extant production is the Gaūḍavaho, which comprises 1209 couplets, and seems to be no more than the prelude to a much larger work, which may or may not have been executed. The editor has shown reasons for supposing that the Gaūḍavaho was written after the death of Yaśovarman, and consequently that, according to the chronology adopted in this paper, it cannot be earlier in date than 745 A.D. Whatever may have been the facts of the early and the concluding years of the life of Vākpatirāja, we know from his own testimony that he was well read in Sanskrit literature, logic, and dialectics, that he was a disciple of a poet named Kamalāyudha, and a warm admirer of Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa, and other renowned authors. At the court of Kanauj he became a personal friend of the king, and was appointed his kavirāja (kāi-rāya), or poet-laureate.

Kanauj during the reign of Yaśovarman certainly was

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1 In addition to the testimony of the Jain works analyzed by the editor of the Gaūḍavaho in his Introd., pp. cxxxv-cxli, the paṭṭāvalī of the Tapagachhha sect records the important statement that "at this time [sc. 800 Vikrama = 742-3 A.D.] Bappabhaṭṭi, who converted king Āma, was born; died 1365 Vira or Sam. 893." The other legends show that Vākpatirāja lived at Lakshanjavati, and that Yaśovarman reigned at Kanauj about the same time (Klatt, Ind. Ant., xi, 253). It is not correct to affirm that the paṭṭāvalī itself gives the date for Vākpatirāja and Yaśovarman. They are mentioned only in Klatt's note. But the year 800 Vikrama must fall within the limits of Yaśovarman's reign.
entitled to rank as a literary centre. Lalítáditya, the conqueror of Yaśóvarman, having passed most of his time in foreign regions, was too much occupied with war to attend to literature, and is not recorded to have been a patron of authors. His capture of Kanauj must have inflicted a severe blow on the well-being of polite letters. He seems to have retained dominion, at least nominally, over Kanauj for some time, as he made a formal grant of the city and surrounding villages to the temple of the Sun (Āditya) which he built at Lalítapura, the modern Latapor on the right bank of the Biáś (Vitastá) in Kashmir (Rājat., iv, v. 187). It is not likely that the beneficiaries ever drew revenue from an estate so remote and difficult to hold, and the grant would seem to have been made rather as a vaunt than as a substantial benefaction.

Kalhaṇa (Bk. iv, vv. 323–35) tells a strange story about the treacherous murder of a king of Gauda (Bengal) by Lalítáditya at Trigrámi on the left bank of the Biáś (Vitastá) in Kashmir, which I am unable to understand fully or explain with certainty. The chronicler notes this murder as one of Lalítáditya's faults, and states that it was committed under his orders by assassins, although his guest's safety had been assured by his committal to the care of the image of Parihárakeśava, a manifestation of Vishṇu. Certain servants of the murdered king, determined to avenge their master's death, having come to Kashmir on pretence of visiting the shrine of Sāradā, surrounded the temple of Vishṇu Parihāsakeśava, the deity who had been made surety, and attacked it. "They reached in a vigorous onslaught the silver statue of Vishṇu Rámasvāmin, and mistaking it for that of Parihāsakeśava, they overturned it, and broke it into dust." Soldiers quickly hurried up from Śrinagar and cut the bold assailants to pieces. The tale, strange though it is, reads like truth, but it is not easy to determine who the
murdered king of Gauda could have been. One unnamed king of that country had been slain by Yaśovarman in or about 730 A.D., and another, apparently Gopāla, the first prince of the Pāla dynasty, was defeated by Vatsarāja Gurjara between 770 and 780. If Gopāla reigned for 45 years, as alleged by Tāranāth, he must have come to the throne about 730 or 732, and been the immediate successor of Yaśovarman's opponent. Perhaps the explanation may be that Lalitāditya's guest was the heir of the king slain by Yaśovarman, and had come to Kashmir in order to invoke aid for the recovery of his father's throne, usurped by Gopāla. We may conjecture that Lalitāditya contemplated the subjugation of Bengal, and was convinced that he would find the enterprise easier if the lawful claimant to the throne were put out of the way. If Kalhana (Bk. iv, vv. 146–50) can be believed, the whole of Bengal, as far as the eastern ocean, actually was overrun by Lalitāditya. But the account of that monarch's adventures includes so much incredible romance, that it is impossible to feel confident in the reality of the alleged victorious march through Bengal, although it is not intrinsically incredible.

The barbarous coins bearing the name of Yaśovarman have long been and continue to be a puzzle to numismatists and historians. In metal, type, and all characteristics they belong unquestionably to the Kashmir series. They closely resemble the issues of Durlabhaka (Pratāpāditya II), who was reigning about 700 A.D., and also those of Jayāpida (Vinayāditya), who came to the throne about 772 A.D., twelve years after the death of Lalitāditya, the conqueror of Yaśovarman. The names of the kings of Kashmir at that period are well ascertained, and do not include Yaśovarman, so that it appears to be impossible

1 Wâni grant (Ind. Ant., xi, 156, 160); Râdhanpur grant, dated 730 Šaka = 808 A.D. (Ep. Ind., vi, 240).
to reckon the issuer of the Yasovarman coins among the sovereigns of Kashmir. These rude pieces, which look a little more barbarous than the coins of Pratapaditya, are yet not quite as degraded as those of Vinayaditya; consequently, from the numismatic point of view, their natural place is between the coinage of those two princes. The date thus obtained agrees exactly with that of Yasovarman of Kanauj (c. 728-45), and it is difficult to resist the inference that they should be assigned to him. But if they are his, why are they made in the Kashmiri fashion? Another difficulty is that they seem to come from the Panjab and Kashmir rather than from the Kanauj territory. It is impossible to believe that they were minted at Kanauj, and they look as if they were struck in the Kashmir mints. But there is no record that Yasovarman ever held Kashmir.

The puzzle remains unsolved. At one time I conjectured that the coins might have been "struck by an unrecorded Raja in either the Panjab or Kashmir during the sixth or seventh century" (Catal. Coins I.M., vol. i, p. 266); but, on reconsideration, I am convinced that they must date from the eighth century, and am inclined to accept the old attribution to Yasovarman of Kanauj. No other Yasovarman in that period is known. The coins are common (Cunningham), and must, therefore, have been struck in large numbers by a prince of considerable power, such as Yasovarman of Kanauj undoubtedly was. If Vakpatiraja can be believed when he affirms that his hero marched triumphantly defeating all enemies between the Narmada and the Himalaya, can it be possible that Lalitaditya may have been for a time the subordinate ally of the king of Kanauj and constrained to strike coins in his name? If such were the case, the coins in question must have been struck by Lalitaditya in the earlier years of his reign prior to the protracted war with Yasovarman. But I must confess my inability.
to frame any hypothesis is adequate to explain the problem in a satisfactory fashion, and so must leave the question open. It is a curious fact that no coins assignable on the face of them to any period of Lalitāditya’s long reign have been discovered. The issues of both his predecessors and his successors are abundant, while absolutely nothing is known about his own.

No definite information is on record concerning the lineage of Yaśovarman or the manner in which he attained power. Vārāhâmihira eulogizes him as an ornament of the Gupta race of kings, and therefore must have considered him to be a Kshatriya, not a Vaiṣya as Harsha-vardhana was. The termination -varman of his name suggests that he may have been a Maikhari, like Grabavarman and the other Rājas of that distinguished family whose names ended in -varman, and both Cunningham and Shankar Pándurang Pándit have hazarded the conjecture that the Maikharis may have been connected with the Mauryas. The chief support of this conjecture is Huien Tsang’s statement that Pūrṇavarman, Rāja of Magadha in his time, was the last of the race of Aśoka. The death of Pūrṇavarman seems to have occurred between 619 and 637 A.D.

1 These mysterious coins are described and figured in my Catal. of Coins in the I.M., vol. i, pp. 91, note 265, 268; by Rapseon, in Indian Coins, sec. 112, pl. iv, 22; and by Cunningham in Coins of Med. India, p. 44, pl. iii, 11. See also his Reports, vol. ii, 150; iii, 138. The only specimen of which the exact provenance has been recorded is that inserted in the great Māñjukṣa stūpa, but I do not think the Yaśovarman coins ever occur in the Kanauj country, or, indeed, anywhere to the south of the Panjāb. I never saw them in the United Provinces.

2 Gāndhāra, Introd., p. xxxix.

3 These limiting dates are determined by the known facts that Saśāṅka was alive in 619, that, according to Huien Tsang, he died miserably when he heard of Pūrṇavarman’s restoration of the Bodhi-tree (Beal, ii, 121), and that the pilgrim visited Bodh Gaya about 637. The narrative implies that Saśāṅka predeceased Pūrṇavarman, who did not die until Harsha was in a position to offer Jayasena the revenues of eighty villages in Orissa (Beal, Life of Huien Tsang, p. 153). Harsha was not in such a position before 612 A.D. at the earliest, and probably not until considerably later.
A Jain work, the Prabhāvakacaritā, describes Yaśovarman as being descended from Chandragupta and a bright ornament to his race. This statement seems to mean that the writer believed Yaśovarman to be of Maurya descent. The kings of the imperial Gupta line, which included two Chandraguptas, did not take names ending in -varman. But the conjectures above noted are far from being proved, and at present the person of Yaśovarman stands in isolation, without either ancestors or descendants. It is clear that when he was "entirely uprooted" by Lalitaditya, his family cannot have inherited the crown, and his immediate successor as Rājā of Kanauj, who apparently was Vajrāyudha, must have belonged to a different stock.

The actual existence of Vajrāyudha as king of Kanauj and Pañchāla is known solely from a passing allusion made by Rājaśekhara, the dramatist who lived at the Parihār court of Kanauj in the eleventh century. But we know that the throne of Kanauj was occupied in 783 A.D. by Indrāyudha, who was dethroned about 800 A.D. by Dharmapāla, king of Gauda, and replaced by Chakrāyudha, who retained power until his kingdom was annexed by Nāgabhaṭa Parihār about 810 A.D.¹ The

¹ The Jain books relate wonderful stories about Āma, king of Kanauj and Gwālior, who is described as the son of Yaśovarman (Gaṇḍavaḥo, Introd., pp. cxxxvii, cxlv, cl).

² The authority for the date 783 is the Jain Harivāṁśa. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Parihār inscriptions are the principal sources of information concerning the annexation of Kanauj by the Parihārs (Gurjara-Pratihāras) of Bhīmlāl. I have discussed the subject fully in a separate essay on the Gurjaras, and given the results briefly in E. Hist. of India, 2nd ed., pp. 349, 350. Rājaśekhara writes: "To the capital of Vajrāyudha, the King of Pañchāla, to Kanauj" (Karpūra-maṇḍya, iii, 5, ed. Konow & Lanman, p. 266).

Pañchāla, or the land of the Pañchālas, according to the Mahābhārata, as summarized by Cunningham (Coins of Ancient India, p. 79: Reports, xi, 11), was divided, after the great war, into two kingdoms, namely, Northern Pañchāla, with its capital at Abichchhātra, and Southern Pañchāla, with its capital at Kāmpīla. The Chinese writer does not mention Pañchāla as the name of a kingdom.
form of the names indicates that Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha, and Chakrāyudha, all belonged to one family, and it is impossible to find a vacant place for Vajrāyudha anywhere except between Yasovarman and Indrāyudha. I feel confident that he really filled that vacancy.

Kalhana (Bk. iv, vv. 402-659) gives an account of the adventures of Jayāpīṭa-Vinayāditya during his reign of 31 years, extending from about 772 to 803, which is even more marvellous than the story of the exploits of Lalitāditya. Parts of the tale obviously are mere folklore, while other parts look like genuine history. The concise statement (v. 471) that Jayāpīṭa, after defeating the king of Kanyakubja in battle, carried off his throne, the ensign of royal power, is one of the matter-of-fact passages which seem to deal with real events. If the alleged defeat of a king of Kanauj by Jayāpīṭa be true, the vanquished monarch must have been Vajrāyudha, and the date of his dethronement cannot be far removed from time of Harsha, as well as in the best days of both the Maurya and the Gupta empires, the whole of Pañchālā must have been comprised in the home provinces, and presumably administered by imperial officials. The Pañchālas are included by Varāha Mihiira among the peoples of the middle country (Madhyadēśa = Ārāvarta), and the country of Pañchāla is reckoned by him as one of the nine great kingdoms (Bṛhat Saṃhitā, various passages, especially xiv. 32; Ind. Ant., xxii, 186; Collins, op. cit., p. 19). The list of nine kingdoms is repeated by Alberüni in 1930 A.D. with the remark that the names were not then in common use. Varāha Mihiira wrote in the sixth century, but his lists may, and apparently do, refer to much earlier times. So far as I know, the kingdom of Pañchāla is not noticed again under that name until the beginning of the ninth century, in the Pāla copperplates, and Rājaśekhara's allusion to it in the tenth century is the latest on record, except Alberüni's. Nothing is known about the history of Kāmpilya (Kampil). Kanauj is situated in the Southern Pañchāla of the Mahābhārata. For Ahicchatra (Ahichhatra, Ahichhatra, Adhichhatra, Ahikshetra, Ahikshatra, Ādikot, 'Ādiśrīprada), see Cunningham, Reports, vol. i (1871), pp. 255-65, pls. xliii, xlv; Führer, Monumental Antiquities N.W.P. and Oudh (1891), pp. 26-9; Progress Rep. Archaeol. S., N.W.P., for 1891-2, pp. 1-5; Ep. Ind., ii, 243 (genealogy of early kings); ibid., iv, 210 (bhakti, 'province'); Catal. Coins in I.M., vol. i, pp. 97, 145, 184, 185.
772 A.D. The attack on Kanauj must have taken place at the beginning of Jayāpida’s reign. Of course, the suggested date is merely approximate. Nothing more concerning Vajrāyudha is known or can be inferred.

Vajrāyudha’s successor, Indrāyudha or Indrarāja, is known to have been reigning in 783 A.D., at which time Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king of Rājputāna, and Dhruva, the Rāśtrakūṭa king of the Deccan, were his contemporaries.1 About the beginning of the ninth century he was attacked and dethroned by Dharmapāla, the powerful king of Bengal (Gauḍa), who placed on the throne in his stead Chakrāyudha, perhaps his younger brother. The installation of the new Rājā was solemnized with great pomp, the ceremony being attended by the kings of the principal northern states, nine in number, who signified their formal assent to the proceedings. This solemnity raised Dharmapāla for the moment to the rank of the premier monarch or paramount power in India to the north of the Narmadā. The attendant kings were those of the Bhojas, probably from Berār, the Mātysyas of Eastern Rājputāna, the Madras of the central Panjāb, the Kuru, probably of the Cis-Sutlej districts, the Yadus, presumably of Mathurā, the Yavanas and Gandhāras of the north-western frontier, Avanti, or the Ujjain territory, and the Kīras of the Kāṅgrā Valley.2 The assembly at Kanauj of the rulers of territories extending from the Narmadā to Peshāwar is clear proof not only of the widespread fear caused by the victorious arms of Dharmapāla but also of the pre-eminence enjoyed by Kanauj among

1 Jain Harivināka (Bomb. Gaz., 1896, vol. i, part ii, p. 197 n.).
2 Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyana-pāla (Ind. Ant., xv, 304; xx, 188); Kālīmpur plate of Dharmapāla (Ep. Ind., iv, 252). The position of the Bhojas in Berār has been determined by Dr. Mark Collins (Geogr. Data of the Raghuvaṅsa and Daśakumāravacanita, Leipzig, G. Kreysing, 1907). The approximate positions of the other nations are fairly well known. The history of these transactions is examined more fully in my essay on the Gurjaras. Here it is dealt with only so far as it concerns Kanauj.
the cities of India. From the time of Harsha’s imperial sway Pañchāla had taken the rank formerly held by Magadha as the premier kingdom of the North, and Kanauj, like Pāṇaliputra in the olden time, had won universal recognition as the imperial city.

Chakrāyudha, the nominee of Dharmapāla, did not enjoy his elevation very long. A few, possibly ten years, after his installation, he was attacked by Nāgabhaṭa, the Gurjara king of Rājputāna, dethroned, and presumably put to death.1 The new conqueror did not, like Dharmapāla, retire after setting up a vassal king. He boldly annexed Pañchāla to his ancestral kingdom in the west, and moved the seat of government from Bhīrmāl in Southern Rājputāna to Kanauj, and by so doing, claimed and assumed the position of Lord Paramount of Northern India. The date of this momentous change in the political system of the northern states may be expressed in round numbers as 810 A.D.

Nāgabhaṭa belonged to the Pratihāra (Parihār) clan of the Gurjaras, a foreign horde which had entered Rājputāna some two centuries or more earlier, and, quickly becoming Hinduized, had been absorbed into the Hindu caste organization. The members of the Parihār clan, which still survives, and occupies a good social position in Upper India, were recognized as Kshatriyas or Rājpūts. Kanauj thus passed under the rule of the Parihārs, and so continued for more than two hundred years until January, 1019 (8th Sha’bān, 409 A.H.), when the city was captured by Mahmūd of Ghazni, and its numerous temples destroyed. The reigning Rājā then fled and transferred his court to Bāri on the other side of the Ganges.

During the two centuries of Parihār rule Kanauj attained great glory and also suffered severe disasters. For

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1 The leading authority is the Sāgar Tāl inscription from Gwālīor, ed. and transl. in Archæol. S. Annual Rep., 1903–4, p. 277; discussed by Kielhorn in Nachr. der K. Gesellschaft d. Wissensh. zu Göttingen, 1905.
some seventy years, from about 840 to 908 A.D., the Parihar kings Mihira-Bhoja and Mahendrapala governed from the capital a vast empire extending from the borders of Bihar to the Arabian Sea, the Hakra, or 'Lost River,' and the Sutlaj. About 916 A.D., Indra III Rashtrakuta captured Kanauj, but did not attempt to retain his conquest. This mishap, which occurred early in the reign of Mahipala, marks the beginning of the decline of the Kanauj empire, and probably involved the immediate loss of the western provinces. Notwithstanding this diminution of his patron's power, Rajaasekhara the dramatist, who resided at the Kanauj court, does not hesitate to describe Mahipala as being the sovereign of Aryavarta, or Northern India. The latest play composed by Rajaasekhara, entitled the Bala-bhavata or Prachanda-pandava, was performed in the presence of Mahipala, and presumably at Kanauj. Inasmuch as Rajaasekhara had been the guru or teacher of Mahendrapala the previous king, and Mahipala came to the throne about 908 A.D., it is possible that the poet's career may have come to an end before the raid of Indra III in 916 A.D.

The next event recorded in the history of the city of Kanauj is its capture by Mahmud of Ghazni in January, 1019 A.D. Raja-yapala, the ruling Raja, abandoned his capital without resistance, made his submission to Mahmud, and allowed him to occupy in a single day the seven forts which defended the city. It is said that Kanauj then contained ten thousand temples, which the Sultan destroyed. The town was more or less completely spared, but quickly sank into a state of ruin and decay as noted by Alberuni some twelve years later. The Raja, in 1019 A.D., removed his court to Bar on the other side of the Ganges, which in its turn was plundered

1 Cambay plates (Ep. Ind., vii, 30, 43). Indra III reigned from February, 915 A.D., to about 917.
2 Konow and Lanman, Karpura-maibur, p. 188.
by Maḥmūd in the following year, 1020 A.D.1 During the interval between the departure of the Sultan in 1019 and his return in 1020 Rājyapāla was attacked and slain by a confederacy of Hindu princes.

Nothing more is heard of Kanauj until about 1090 A.D., when a Gaharpār adventurer named Chandradeva seized the city and founded a new dynasty, which attained considerable power and splendour under Govindachandra, who reigned from about 1114 to 1154 A.D. No description of the city at this period is extant, but it is evident that as the capital of a vigorous dynasty Kanauj must have recovered much of its former prosperity.

The end of the famous city came in 1193 A.D., when Shihāb-ud-dīn captured, sacked, and destroyed it. The site does not seem to have been wholly abandoned at any time, and certain mediæval Muhammadan buildings attest its continuous occupation. Kanauj, as it now exists, is a commonplace country town of the Muhammadan type, in the Farrukhābād District, United Provinces (N. lat. 27° 2', E. long. 79° 58'), with nothing save shapeless mounds to preserve the memory of its ancient glories.2 Even these mounds have been destroyed to a large extent during the last thirty years by the excavations of railway contractors in search of ballast.3

Notwithstanding the almost complete devastation of the city by Shihāb-ud-dīn in 1193 A.D., the Hindus at any rate continued to recognize the existence of a Rājā of Kanauj, who in 1195-6 had sufficient authority to justify him in making a grant of a village in the Mirzāpur District more than two hundred miles distant from

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1 Al 'Utbi and Alberūnī in Elliot, vol. i. The name of Rājyapāla, erroneously read as Rāi Jaipāl in Al 'Utbi, has been recovered from inscriptions (Ind. Ant., xviii, 34; Ep. Ind., ii, 235; see also Ep. Ind., i, 219).
2 Cunningham, Reports, i, 279-93.
Kanauj.\textsuperscript{1} Perhaps this Rājā, whose name has not been preserved, retained only a titular connexion with Kanauj, residing at some town out of the reach of Muhammadan generals or officials. It is likely that the residence was near Jaumpur. Zafarābād, four miles to the south-east of that city, is said to have been the site of a palace of the later Rājās of Kanauj.\textsuperscript{2} A few years afterwards, in 1219–20 A.D., the Rājā of Kanauj (Gādhīpurādhipa) was named Gopāla, who was succeeded by Madana. In the year mentioned the Rājā's hereditary counsellor founded a Buddhist monastery at Setmāhet, the ancient town in Northern Oudh, on the boundary of the Gondā and Bahraich Districts.\textsuperscript{3} These two incidents prove that during the period immediately succeeding the Muhammadan conquest the titular Rājās of Kanauj exercised jurisdiction over a territory of considerable dimensions extending more than two hundred miles towards the south-east, and more than a hundred miles towards the north-east. It is, of course, possible that the Rājās may have been obliged

\textsuperscript{1} Pillar inscription at Belkharā, twelve miles S.E. of Chanārgarh (Chunar), roughly edited and translated by Cunningham, \textit{Reports}, xi, 128, pl. xxxviii. Lines 3 and 4 read . . . śrīmatānyakubjāwijaya rāyge sahavat 1253 vaisākha sudi 11 bhaume. This record does not seem to have been properly edited by anybody.

\textsuperscript{2} Cunningham, \textit{Reports}, xi, 104; Führer, \textit{Sharqi Archit. of Jaumpur}, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{3} Set-Mahēt inscription, edited by Kielhorn (\textit{Ind. Ant.}, xvii, 61). The record is dated simply in Sahavat 1276, and Gopāla is described as Gādhīpurādhīpa. Set-Mahēt (Saheṭ-Mahēt), I may note, certainly is not Śrāvasti, as Professor Kielhorn supposed it to be when writing twenty years ago. My opinion is not altered by the recent discovery of a well-preserved copper-plate inscription "in the foundations of a cell of the large monastery which occupies the south-western portion of the Saheṭ mound," recording the donation of six villages by Gopālachandra, Rājā of Kanauj, "to the community of Buddhist friars residing in the Great Convent of Holy Jetavana" \textit{(Pioneer Mail}, 15th May, 1908). The date is given as 1136 S., which may be a misprint for 1236 or 1286 S. The writer of the article assumes that this find is "conclusive proof" of the identity of Saheṭ-Mahēṭ with Śrāvasti, but I need hardly say that such a plate may have come from elsewhere. Its presence probably indicates official connexion between the Saheṭ-Mahēṭ monastery and the Jetavana, but nothing more.
to pay tribute and render some service to a representative of the Sultan of Delhi. The second inscription referred to is also interesting as a proof of the late survival of Buddhism in Northern Oudh. There is nothing in the inscriptions to indicate the race or family of the two chiefs whose names happen to have escaped oblivion, but they may be presumed to have been relatives of Rājā Jaichand (Jayachchandra), who was killed in 1193.

The leading events in the story of the city of Kanauj, so far as they are on record, may be exhibited in chronological order as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Not known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentioned by Patañjali</td>
<td>150 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit of Fa-hien</td>
<td>403-5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captured by Śaśāṅka</td>
<td>605*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied by Harsha</td>
<td>606*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became capital of Harsha’s empire</td>
<td>612*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Harsha</td>
<td>648*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defeat of Harsha’s usurping minister</td>
<td>650*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit of I-tsing</td>
<td>673-87*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession of Yaśovarman</td>
<td>728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vākipātirāja and Bhavabhūti poets at court</td>
<td>743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of Yaśovarman; Vajrāyudha acc.</td>
<td>745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indrāyudha acc.</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakrāyudha acc.; meeting of kings</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captured by Nāgabhata; became capital of Gurjara empire</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greatest splendour in time of Mihira-Bhoja, etc.</td>
<td>840-910*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captured by Indra III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa</td>
<td>916*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captured by Mahmūd of Ghazni</td>
<td>1019*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital removed to Bāri</td>
<td>1019*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied by Chandradeva Gaharwār</td>
<td>1090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renewed prosperity in reign of Govinda-chandra</td>
<td>1114-54*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed by Shihāb-ud-dīn</td>
<td>1193*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnamed Rājā of Kanauj</td>
<td>1195-6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopāla, Rājā of Kanauj</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madana, Rājā of Kanauj in</td>
<td>1219-20*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates marked * are practically certain.
XX.

ON THE NEWLY DISCOVERED SAMARITAN BOOK OF JOSHUA.

By M. GASTER.

A peculiar fate seems to be hanging over the Samaritan literature. Although it is very old, and parts of it go back to centuries before the Christian era, yet one may say that it remained unknown to our very days. It was a continued discovery, one book after the other turning up haphazard, the first discovery dating only from the end of the sixteenth century. Since Scaliger came in contact with the Samaritan community in Cairo, the knowledge of Samaritans and Samaritan literature began to penetrate into Europe.

In 1616, for the first time, the Pentateuch according to the Samaritan recension became the property of Pietro della Valle, who obtained a copy in Damascus, and then through the efforts of Englishmen, like Huntington and Marshall, a little more became known of the Samaritans. The chief interest centred round that Pentateuch, and was almost limited to it. In the course of time a few fragmentary books of prayer and a few calendars were obtained from the Samaritans. Of their other books very little was known; few asked after them, and less cared for them. Only from the middle of the last century some of their Arabic and other secular writings came into European hands. Another danger threatened the remnants of the older Samaritan literature. Once the interest in the Samaritans was roused, the number of visitors grew, and as every visitor was anxious to retain a memento of his visit, many of the ancient books of the Samaritans have been
carried away, and may lie unrecognized in private libraries, scattered through the whole of Europe and America; some have even been torn into single leaves, which of necessity have also disappeared in a similar manner. Either for this reason, or because the Samaritans themselves attach no great significance to their secular literature, it so happens that, perhaps with the stray exception of a prayer-book, no old manuscript has been preserved by them outside the Pentateuch. I took special pains on my last visit to Nablus in May, 1907, to examine every manuscript in their possession. And I make bold to state that save one or two less important books, all the rest were comparatively modern copies from originals lost long ago. It will be seen later on that the Samaritans, whom we may consider as a fossilized remnant of the ancient Jewish sect, copied their old manuscripts with the utmost fidelity and care, and the test which I have made by obtaining two independent copies by two different hands of one and the same old prayer-book and of other documents has satisfied me on that point completely. The variations between one copy and the other were quite insignificant. It seems that they have concentrated all their best energies in copying the old MSS. For the rest their education does not rise above the level of the surrounding Mohamedan population. Not only have they forgotten Hebrew, but their own dialect (Aramaic) had become an extinct language as far back as the eighth or ninth century. And even their prayers are translated into Arabic and written side by side with the original in their most ancient collections of the Liturgy.

It is necessary to dwell upon these points before I attempt to describe the finding of the Book of Joshua, and before I give the reasons which have prompted me to recognize, in the two independent copies obtained from the Samaritans, the very Hebrew original of which, though known by a vague reference still, every scholar from the time of
Scaliger to this day was convinced that it had never existed. So deep-rooted was this conviction that even after having the book in my hands I did not believe that it was the old book, or that it was that Hebrew text. I thought it was either a transcript of the Arabic text into Samaritan characters or perchance a translation. It was only after I had read a few chapters and had compared it with the Arabic versions that I became aware that it could not be but the Hebrew original. Nothing, either in the way I obtained it or in the manner it was offered me, led me up to that belief. It came to me by chance, and those from whom I obtained it treated it with the utmost indifference. I claim no merit for the finding. It was a mere chance, and I shall not be surprised to learn that similar copies have come unrecognized into the hands of other visitors to the Samaritans. Nay, what is much more curious is, that since writing my letter to the *Times* (Tuesday, 9th of June) Mr. P. Goodman drew my attention to the fact that a similar copy had come into the hands of Mr. Lunez, and, as far back as 1902, he had printed a bare transcript of it in the *Jerusalem* periodical. It shared, evidently, the fate of the Samaritan original, it has remained unknown and unrecognized, and but for my own independent discovery it would perhaps have remained buried in that periodical. By the way, I may remark that that manuscript is somewhat incomplete. Important portions are left out. It is therefore not for the finding that I claim any merit. With deep thankfulness and humility I wish to recognize the grace of Him who guides man's steps, that He had enabled me after these manuscripts had got into my hands in 1907 to recognize their true character, and to contribute, as I trust, a small fraction towards the elucidation and interpretation of His Word.

I will now briefly sum up the process of the investigation which I followed, in order to establish the genuineness and antiquity of the text so curiously placed in my
hands. A modern copy, for that is what I possess, is apt to rouse suspicion as to its genuineness, especially as I have not seen among the Samaritans any old copy, even when my attention has not been drawn to it in any way or manner. Was this text a copy of an older original, and was that original a copy of other older originals, going thus back to the pre-Christian era, or was this copy a modern compilation? Such was my first question. The second question was, assuming it not to be a modern compilation, was it perhaps a translation, and if so, from which language, and at what time?

I will endeavour to answer these questions in the same order in which I have put them. Before doing so I must refer to what I stated at the beginning, that most of the manuscripts found among the Samaritans are only recent copies of older books. The first secular treatise brought to Europe and published was the "Tolidah," brought by Dr. Neubauer, and published by him in 1873 from a copy made in 1859 by the same Samaritan, Jacob ben Aaron, who is now the High Priest, and from whom I obtained one of my copies of the Book of Joshua. Now that manuscript proves to be a faithful copy of a book composed in the twelfth century (1149), of which only another modern copy existed in Samaria, and yet no one doubted its authenticity, in spite of the absence of any old copy. A second copy of the same book made recently for me by another Samaritan, the verger of the Synagogue, from whom I obtained also a second copy of the Book of Joshua, agrees absolutely with the copy obtained by Dr. Neubauer. I mention this as a proof for the statement advanced above of the faithfulness and accuracy with which the Samaritans copy their ancient manuscripts, and which take then the place of the old originals which are lost or destroyed. I have made this a test case, for Abul-Fath, in the fourteenth century, refers to this book and quotes
it, and the quotation agrees also entirely with this modern copy. Then comparing this chronicle with the one published by Adler and Seligsohn and with the manuscript Chronicle of the High Priest, in which the Book of Joshua forms the initial part, we are struck by the close resemblance between all these chronicles. This is a further reason why every reliance might safely be placed in their copies. The antiquity of the Book of Joshua could therefore not be assailed on the ground that it was preserved only in a modern copy. The book could for all that be very old. Still, the question whether it was a modern compilation could not be answered from the mere palaeographical point of view, for it might just as easily be a modern compilation as it could be a copy of an old original. Is there, then, anyone among the Samaritans who would compile such a book, and if so, which were the sources available? Wherefrom could he borrow the elements that make up this remarkable book? And is there anyone among the Samaritans capable of such a compilation in modern times? A further question would have to be asked, which to my mind would be the most important. What aims would be satisfied, what purpose would be served by such a modern compilation, which would be a very difficult scholarly piece of work, an accomplishment of the first order?

I prefer answering this last question first. A compilation of this kind could only be undertaken, as already hinted, by a scholar who not only would have access to the Hebrew Bible, Rabbinical literature, Josephus, etc., but would be abreast of the latest researches of Biblical criticism. Could such a work be done without any reward being expected? And if any attempt had been made to produce in modern times such a book and claim for it so high an antiquity, the most elementary precautions would have been taken to prepare it in the approved style on old parchment, to have it water-stained and weather-beaten,
to draw attention to it as an extremely ancient and important book which had recently been discovered, and to ask for it such a fabulous price as the Samaritans know how to ask when they offer some of their old Bibles for sale, or when they offered me an old mystical document on parchment and obtained it. They were then fully aware of the importance of this last-mentioned document, and for a "Ketubah," or "marriage contract," on parchment, which I obtained from them, I paid many times the amount over that which I paid for a copy of the Book of Joshua. And as for the dogmatic interests which were to be served, they had lost their point some 1,800 years ago. Who, in modern times, would pay any attention to a modern copy of a Book of Joshua by means of which the Samaritans might claim to be the true Israelites? They, moreover, have never advanced their claim on any other basis than on that of the Pentateuch alone, which was the only book considered as sacred and authoritative to both Jews and Samaritans alike. There was, therefore, no reason to doubt the authenticity and genuineness of the book on the score of being a modern copy.

I will now go one step further and say that, if for any unknown reason, they still might have decided or desired to make this compilation, there is not a Samaritan living, nor has there been anyone living for many a century, who was sufficiently conversant with the Hebrew Bible outside the Pentateuch to undertake such a gigantic task. The knowledge of Hebrew, except among the few who have still some closer acquaintance with the Pentateuch, was primitive and elementary, and I include among them the High Priest and his nephew Ishak ben Amram, with whom I am in correspondence, and whose Hebrew letters are a sufficient answer to any supposition of extensive knowledge of Hebrew. Nor is there, as far as I have been able to ascertain, anyone else in the Samaritan community capable of writing a single Hebrew line.
From all the evidence available it is clear that the work cannot be a modern compilation. Is it, then, perhaps, an old translation, and not the ancient original book?

I will now briefly sum up the contents of this work, for it bears on this last-mentioned problem. I have subdivided the text into twenty-four chapters, arranged more or less in accordance with the division of the Bible.

Chapter 1. Moses dies in the year 2794 from Creation, in the first of the twelfth month. (Let me at once point out that no other era is mentioned here except that of the Creation. Any late compilation would have either the year of Yezdejerd or of the Hedjra.) Joshua is appointed leader. He orders the counting of the people (which is missing in our Bible), and he asks the two and a half tribes to go with him.

Chapter 2. The spies go to Jericho. They return and bring report to Joshua and to Eleazar, the High Priest.

Chapter 3. The Ark goes in front of the army. The priests sing a hymn. The cloud is lifted. (All this is missing in our Bible, and is in strict accordance with the narrative in the Pentateuch.) The crossing of the Jordan.

Chapter 4. Stones are taken out of the Jordan. The erection of the twelve stones in the Jordan. The going up from the Jordan into the land of Canaan.

Chapter 5. The song of Joshua and of the children of Israel. (Not in our Bible.) The erection of the twelve stones in Gilgal.

Chapter 6. The rising of the cloud was in the first year of the Shemittah and of the Jubilee, the counting of which commenced in the year 2794. (Missing in our Bible.) Manna ceases, and the messenger of the Lord appears to Joshua.


Chapter 8. First attempt against Ai; failure. Complaint of Joshua. The discovery of the guilty one who had
taken a golden idol from the Temple in Jericho, who is discovered by the stones on the breastplate of the High Priest getting dim when his name was mentioned. Punishment. (The incidents of the golden idol and the oracle are missing in our Bible.)


Chapter 11. War of the five kings against the Gibeonites. Joshua to their rescue. Five kings are killed and their cities conquered. The second Passover kept in the second year. (No mention of sun and moon standing still.)


Chapter 13. Temple erected on Mount Gerizim. Joshua judges the people. The two and a half tribes are now free to return.

Chapter 14. The division of the land among the nine and a half tribes in the following order: Judah, Simeon, Benjamin, Dan, Ephraim, half Manasseh, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and the six towns of refuge.

Chapter 15. The two and a half tribes return. Nobach is appointed king.

Chapter 16. King Shobach gathers the kings of the North, and they threaten Joshua with war.

Chapter 17. Joshua receives a message on the last day of the seven weeks before Pentecost. Pentecost kept on the Sunday. Joshua reads the letter of Shobach to the people.

Chapters 18 and 19. Reply of Joshua.

Chapter 20. Joshua's message delivered to Shobach. Great consternation among the people. Shobach calls
for the wizards. His mother is a witch, and they promise assistance.

Chapter 21. Joshua marches against Shobach. Suddenly surrounded by seven iron walls. Prays to God. A dove comes. He ties a letter to its wings. The dove delivers its message to Nobach, and his people come to the assistance of Joshua. Phineas comes with trumpets, and on blowing same the seven iron walls fall down.

Chapter 22. Joshua assembles the people before his death. Urges upon them to decide which God they wish to serve. They only wish to serve the God of their forefathers. Joshua dies, and is buried close to Mount Gerizim.


Chapter 24. Abisha, son of Phineas, writes the scroll of the Law in the thirteenth year since the entry of the children of Israel to Palestine, which is kept to this very day in the Synagogue of the Samaritans.

Of these twenty-four chapters, more than half agree verbatim with the Hebrew text of our Bible; of course with many omissions, and with very large additions. Eliminating these additions, the rest agrees even in strange expressions and in rare forms entirely with what we call the Massoretic text. Can this book, then, be a translation, and if so, from what language? Was this book really unknown to the Samaritans? For whose benefit should a translation have been made? That it cannot be a modern compilation I think has already been proved. There is no man who could do it, and no object to be gained for having done it. The strange idea that the book might have been a translation—for I must call it strange since we now have it in our hands, agreeing so closely with the Massoretic—rests on the fact that for centuries no other text was known but what purported
to be an Arabic romance of Joshua, compiled or written by Samaritans, and found in at least two Chronicles, one of the fourteenth century of Abul-Fath and another probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century, by an anonymous author. The latter is found in the manuscript that came to Scaliger from Cairo, and which up to 1847 remained in manuscript, and was the only source known to Europe of a Book of Joshua among the Samaritans. This author, who, as Juynboll, the editor, has shown, must have lived about the thirteenth century, says distinctly in his introduction that among the sources for his work he had utilized a Hebrew History of Joshua. And a letter which came from the Samaritans in 1598 mentions also expressly that they have the Book of Joshua, so therefore the existence of a Book of Joshua in the hands of the Samaritans as early as the thirteenth century cannot be gainsaid. The efforts made by Scaliger and Huntington to obtain that Hebrew copy having failed, to my knowledge no other attempt has been made during all these centuries. For the last 200 years no one seems to have asked or enquired among the Samaritans whether they had or what had become of such a book. European scholarship had satisfied itself that it did not exist, and therefore no one asked for it. Who knows whether others, having gone to Samaria, and having asked for it as eagerly as they asked for copies of the Pentateuch, might have perhaps preserved to us a still older copy than those in my possession. The fact is that no one believed in its existence, and when I got it, as I said before, I was under the same impression as everyone else. Abul-Fath says also that he has used a Book of Joshua. But it is difficult to say definitely whether he means a Hebrew or an Arabic. A slight transposition of the two letters ב and ד is sufficient to change 'Hebrew,' ירבע, into 'Arabic,' יברע, or 'Arabic' into 'Hebrew.'
These Arabic chronicles show unmistakably that a Hebrew text of Joshua existed in their time. And even without their statement it is self-evident that such must have been the case. They must have had access to some kind of a Book of Joshua, invested with some authority for them so as to start their history with that book. No other source is known from which they could have derived the narrative embodied in their own work. What, then, would be more natural than to suppose that an identical Hebrew text, which for the Samaritans forms part of their secular literature, which has been given to me as part of that secular literature, should be the very source of the Arabic expansion and paraphrase in both chronicles? It must be made perfectly clear that the whole history of the Samaritans, the references in their liturgy and in many other writings to which it would be impossible to allude in detail, all presuppose among the Samaritans the existence of an old Hebrew book containing the history of Joshua. The only question to be answered is in what relation this version of the supposed ancient text stands to the Arabic chronicles. Are they dependent on this text, or is the Hebrew text a translation and thus a re-translation from the Arabic? Can this text be considered as a direct translation from either of these works? A glance suffices to convince one that this text is absolutely independent of the Arabic chronicles. They are more in the nature of a paraphrase; Abul-Fath being more sober, whilst the anonymous, is much more expanded. He himself says that he has 'paraphrased' it, and he has in fact taken very great liberties with his original. But all the essential points, small details wherein the Samaritan text differs from the Massoretic, are found in both Arabic chronicles. Sufficient evidence that the original from which the Arabic translations have been made must have contained already all these additional elements. It is thus out of the question to consider this
text as a translation. But assuming for argument's sake that it is a translation from the Arabic. First, for whose benefit? No one understood Hebrew, except a very limited number, and they, in a very mixed manner; for at least 1,500 years there were no readers. And then, assuming it were a translation, would that would-be translator vary his style? Would not the whole work appear in a uniform character? And would it then not agree much more closely with any of these chronicles than it does, for they contain a large number of details and greater developments of the Shobach legend than are found in the Hebrew text. Why should the translator omit them? I can easily understand that a writer wishing to compose a romantic history of the past would add to the legends already found in his original; but why should a translator go out of his way to omit part and insert another part? And where was the necessity for anyone to translate the book back when, according to the testimony of ancient writers, the very Arabic translations and paraphrase referred to a Hebrew text, no doubt still in existence? Even if another Arabic translation should at any time turn up, which would approximate more closely to the Hebrew text, even that would only be a translation from the Hebrew which must have existed long before the Samaritans started translating their works into Arabic. It must also be added that in the whole range of their literature, of which I possess as complete a collection as could be got under normal circumstances, there is not one single book or treatise translated from Arabic into Hebrew. Surely a book like that of Joshua would be the last singled out for a translation. It would mean a retranslation into the original language, and, as mentioned above, using the very words of the Bible. But is there any reason whatsoever to doubt the existence of the Hebrew book among the Samaritans? Ignorance of their literature is
no argument. I have brought back many books of the Samaritans of which nothing has hitherto been known. On the contrary, the correspondence with Scaliger and the direct reference in the Arabic chronicles prove that as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century they had a Hebrew book of Joshua, which in all essentials agreed with this Hebrew text. We are, therefore, fully justified in recognizing in these MSS. a modern copy of that book which they had in their possession for many centuries past.

Having thus answered the two questions in the negative, first whether the book is a modern compilation, and secondly whether it was a translation from the Arabic, we may ask finally whether it could not be a translation from the Greek. The reason for asking this question lies in the curious fact discovered by me that we find in Josephus (fifth book of the "Antiquities"), with the exception of the Shobach legends, almost all the incidents contained in the Samaritan recension and missing in our Bible. More striking than all is the parallelism between Josephus and the Samaritan Book of Joshua. In the brief sketch of the division of the land of Canaan among the nine and a half tribes, both differ radically from the very expanded treatment accorded to this division of the land in the canonical Book of Joshua. Did the Samaritan borrow from Josephus or from the Greek sources, from which also Josephus might have borrowed, or do both go back to a more ancient Hebrew text accessible to both? A comparison between the Samaritan and the LXX shows that in contradistinction to the Pentateuch, the Samaritan Joshua agrees more closely with the Massoretic than with the Greek. It would be short of a miracle to find a Hebrew book translated from the Greek, agreeing at the same time so closely with the Hebrew Massoretic text. Besides, no other book is known in the whole range of old Hebrew or Samaritan literature which has been translated from the Greek. The reverse
has taken place. Hebrew books have been translated into Greek, but not *vice versa*.

From whichever point of view we study this newly recovered book, no doubt is left that it must be an old Hebrew text, taken over by the Samaritans, and handled by them in the same way as they handled the text of the Pentateuch, and even with greater freedom. For they treated this text as a mere secular book, which had no sanctity for them, but only the value of an old chronicle with which to start their own history. They interpolated and curtailed this text so as to fit their dogmatic views, and also followed the tendency of the time, so conspicuous in all the writings from the second century B.C. downwards, viz., to present the past in a more glorified form, to omit from the narrative everything that could be turned and used as an attack against the purity, loftiness, and greatness of their forefathers. An apologetic tendency is clearly marked, and legends which seem to have been in circulation at least as early as the second century B.C. were readily taken up by the Jewish Midrash and by the Samaritan adaptors of the Book of Joshua. In the course of time various influences, first Samaritan, then Arabic, have no doubt moulded and changed the language of the Samaritans, and however faithful a copyist may be he will unconsciously introduce such popular forms and idioms with which he is familiar in the text which he copies. Our text of Joshua has escaped this influence as little as their own Samaritan Targum, or even the Pentateuch itself, which is not free from those blemishes. But these are questions which do not touch the history of the origin and antiquity of the Hebrew Book of Joshua, and its relation to our Massoretic book of the Bible.

With the philological aspects of the book, the parallels, and sources, I have dealt elsewhere (*Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*). Here I have limited
myself to the establishment of its genuineness and antiquity. It will now be the duty and the object of Biblical students to follow the investigations up, and to estimate at its proper value this newly recovered ancient text. It is sure to have an influence on the history of the Canon, on the origin of the Apocryphal literature, on the sources of Josephus, and on many points of Biblical philology and antiquity, for it carries us back to the first centuries of the pre-Christian era.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

THE LAST EDICT OF ASOKA.

There is no doubt that, in many cases, final renderings of the Brāhmī and Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, including even the records of Aśoka, have not been attained yet, and will be reached only by the combined efforts of different scholars, whether working in actual collaboration or putting forward individual treatments for criticism.¹ We are always glad to see the arrival of new workers in any division of the epigraphic field, and to welcome in particular anything tending to elucidate the meaning of the difficult records indicated above. And so we naturally receive with appreciative interest a joint article in this line by Mr. V. A. Smith and Mr. F. W. Thomas which has appeared, under the general heading "Aśoka Notes," in the number of the Indian Antiquary for January, 1908, page 19 ff., received here at the end of April.

The Note in question is titled "No. 9: the Third Rock Edict," and consists of three parts. The first part of it, which includes the text of the edict, appears over the name of Mr. Smith. The second part stands over the name of Mr. Thomas: it includes an incidental treatment, which we shall examine below, of another record of Aśoka. The third part, which presents a new translation of the edict in the form of a "free version," is endorsed by the initials of both scholars.

¹ What we need just now for the Aśoka records is an index verborum which shall include the revised readings and additional materials obtained since the time when M. Senart's index was made. It should present the Sanskrit equivalents, so as to expedite utilization of it.
We do not propose to criticize this new translation in detail. But a few comments may be made. And it must be remarked that there is one point, certainly, in which the new version cannot be regarded as an improvement on the translation which was given to us by Professor Bühler: namely, in substituting "in the thirteenth year of my reign" for "by me twelve-years-anointed" as the rendering of ḍbādasu-vās-ābhatisēna mayā. In the first place, the innovation, started by Mr. Smith in his Asoka (1901), misses altogether the characteristic force of the manner in which Asoka was accustomed to date his formal proclamations. In the second place, there is a tendency to confusion in connection with it. The Ceylonese tradition tells us (see this Journal, 1906. 985, note) that Asoka slew all his brothers or all save one, and ruled for four years without anointment, and was then anointed to the sole sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha. From that we gather that Asoka did not succeed to the throne peaceably, in the natural order of things, but seized it against opposition, even if he did not actually usurp it. And the inference is endorsed by the Indian tradition as presented in the story given in the Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil, 372 f.): when Bindusāra was at the point of death, at Pāṭaliputra, his eldest son Susima was absent, quelling an insurrection at Taxila: the ministers brought Asoka into the presence of Bindusāra, and said:—"Install this one in the sovereignty for the time being; when Susima returns, we will install him;" the king was enraged by the proposal; but Asoka said:—"If the sovereignty belongs justly to me, let the gods crown me!;" whereupon, the gods crowned him (by some means which the story does not disclose); and, when Bindusāra saw that, the hot blood rushed out from his mouth, and he died: when Susima heard what had happened, he at once returned from Taxila; but Asoka, taking his stand at
one of the gates of Pāṭaliputra, contrived a device by which Susīma was slain as soon as he arrived there, and thus secured himself in the succession. The method in which such of the formal proclamations of Aśoka as contain dates at all are dated by stating in each case the number of years elapsed since his anointment, shows that it was only when his anointment was performed that Aśoka felt himself to be really the ruler of Northern India; and the anointment is evidently the right point to select as the commencement of his reign. It may be admitted that that is recognized, in a way, by the present rendering of the expression in the third rock-edict, though it is not a reproduction of the original term. On the other hand, however, we have, for example, the following anomaly. The thirteenth rock-edict tells us that Aśoka conquered the Kalinga countries when he was "eight years anointed." For this, Mr. Smith has in his Aśoka, p. 129, substituted "in the ninth year of his reign," on the same lines as in the present case. But in his Early History of India, 2nd edition (1908), p. 145, he has placed this event "in the thirteenth year of his reign, or the ninth, as reckoned from the coronation;" introducing a contradiction which is decidedly apt to be misleading. The best course, even in making a "free version," is to render original expressions by terms which do not depart from the meanings of them. And a similar comment applies to the rendering of the term Dēvānāmpriyo by "His Majesty:" the word dēva itself, as applied to a king, is customarily and suitably rendered in that manner; and (see page 484 f. above) the term Dēvānāmpiya, 'priya, = Dēvānāmpriya, 'dear to the gods,' was an appellation of the nature of another personal name of Aśoka, and is best used without translation.

In this new translation of the third rock-edict, the most conspicuous change is in the final clause:—Parisāpi yute ānapayisati ganānāyam hētuto cha vyamjanato
cha. Here, M. Senart translated:—"Au clergé ensuite d'instruire les fidèles en détail dans le fond et dans les termes" (Inser. de Piyadasi, 1. 92). Professor Bühler translated:—"Moreover, the teachers and ascetics of all schools will inculcate what is befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit" (Epi. Ind., 2. 467). The new translation, which is put forward as "an entirely novel rendering, which makes the sentence refer to the audit of monastic expenses," says:—"Let the Fraternities also appoint officials for the reckoning, with regard to both the objects and the accounts." It is not easy to pass an opinion off-hand on the relative merits of three so divergent renderings. Perhaps, however, the following remarks may be submitted, on the assumption that the proposed new rendering is correct in its leading idea. The preceding clause certainly seems to inculcate economy and a "simple life." But there is no allusion in any part of the edict (except where it is supposed to exist in this final clause) to any fraternity, or even to monks: whereas there is a mention of certain officials. The word for 'fraternity' would be samgha rather than parishad, which usually means 'an assembly, meeting, council, etc.', and is found in the terms amātya-parishad and mantri-parishad, 'an assembly of ministers or councillors.' The noun and the verb appear to be in the singular, not the plural: and the verb is a future, not an imperative. Instead of the yute of the Girnār text, the Kālsī and Dhauli texts have distinctly yutāni: the same word, actually written yutani according to the Kharoṣṭhī spelling, is given by the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra texts: and in Pāli, at any rate, yute is another form of the accusative plural neuter yutāni, in addition to being the accusative plural masculine. It thus seems possible, on the said assumption, that the text points to something in the shape of a Board of Control, and that the meaning may be:—"Moreover, the Board
will issue commands as to what items are proper in the counting (the framing of estimates), both on account of any \textit{specific} cause and by way of \textit{general} suggestion or indication;" that is, by special order in any particular case, and by standing orders.

However, that may be as it may be: what we are more concerned with here is the point that the proposed new rendering involves assigning a quite new meaning to the word \textit{vyāmjanato}, and that the justification of that meaning has led on to Mr. Thomas' separate part of the joint note. He has there dealt with that record which we may conveniently name "the Last Edict of Asoka,"\(^1\) and which we have, in various recensions, at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt in Northern India, and at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jaṭīṅga-Rāmēśvara in Mysore.\(^2\) And he has done so because we have the same word there, in the Rūpnāth text, in the instrumental singular. The points in his argument are as follows.

The Last Edict of Asoka mentions a \textit{sāvana}, — according to Professor Bühler, 'a sermon;' according to M. Senart, 'un enseignement;' according to Mr. Thomas, 'a proclama-
tion or precept;' — which it describes as \textit{kāte}, 'made' (according to the Rūpnāth text), or \textit{sāvite}, \textit{sāvāpīte}, 'caused to be heard, or proclaimed' (according to other

\(^1\) The additional matter in the Mysore texts, introduced by the words \textit{se kēvan Dēvānāpiye āha} (Brahmagiri, line 8-9), may be regarded, not as a separate edict, but as a supplement to the northern version: compare the frequent repetition of the words \textit{Dēvānāpiye Piyadasi lājā kēvan āha} in the seventh pillar-edict.

\(^2\) We can, however, mostly quote only the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Brahmagiri, and Siddāpura texts. The Bairāt text is much damaged. And the Jaṭīṅga-Rāmēśvara text is very fragmentary.

Mr Smith, in a footnote to the joint article (loc. cit., p. 23, note 6), has advised future editors of the Mysore texts to take note of "the very clear facsimiles" published by Mr. Rice in the \textit{Epigraphia Carnatica}, vol. 11, Chitaldroog ("Bangalore" is a mistake), texts pp. 162, 164, 167. Practised epigraphists, however, will prefer to rely on the less clear but entirely mechanical reproductions given with Professor Bühler's article in the \textit{Epigraphia Indica}, 3. 138 ff.
texts), by someone who is not alluded to in the first mention of it. The possibility is noted by Mr. Thomas, that sāvana may have the weakened sense of śruti, 'an authoritative saying,' and that we might suppose that Aśoka was citing some word of Buddha or even a proverb. And on a previous occasion (this Journal, 1903, 833) he has treated it as a quoted sāvana which may be partly metrical. Now, however, guided by the word kāte, "which seems to imply rather a newly composed, than an ancient, precept," he has arrived at the conclusion that the author of the precept was Aśoka himself. This is his first point. We may ask, however:—If that was intended to be the meaning, why does not the text, which represents throughout a speech by Aśoka, include the word mē or mayā, 'by me,' as in:—ētāye mē athāye dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpītāni (pillar-edict 7, circular part, line 1), and in:—ētamēva mē . . . . dhamma-[s]ā[van]ē kāte (ibid., line 2)? The mē or mayā could have been introduced just as easily and naturally here as there: and the absence of it is at least strongly suggestive that this particular sermon or precept was not composed, preached, or proclaimed by Aśoka.

Mr. Thomas' next step is as follows. Farther on in the edict, this sermon or precept is referred to as having been sāvite, sāvāpite, or kāte by a person who is there described as vivutha, vyutha, or vyūtha. Mr. Thomas has remarked, on this last word, that "probably all scholars agree that it is a participle corresponding to the Sanskrit vyushita and meaning 'gone abroad.'" Now, that is the meaning which underlies my rendering of the word as denoting Buddha in his character of "the Wanderer" (see this Journal, 1904, 26). But it seems doubtful whether it can be correctly said that probably all scholars are agreed on that point: there are recent indications that some would still prefer to derive the word from vi + vas, 'to shine,' rather than from vi + vas, 'to dwell.' However,
Mr. Thomas has decided that the word does mean 'gone abroad,' and has thus arrived at the conclusion that "the proclamation was made and published by Aśoka upon his travels." But here, again, we may ask:—If that meaning was intended, why does not the text include the word mē or mayā, 'by me,' which could have been most easily and naturally introduced in apposition with the instrumental vivuthēna, vyuthēna, vyuthēna, which does stand in the text?

Mr. Thomas' third step is the first towards determining an answer to a question which presented itself to him at this point:—"What travels?" He has here quoted the following phrases:—

Sahasrām:—Duve sa-paṁmalātī satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6.
Rūpānāth:—200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta(or ti).
Brahmagiri:—Vyuthēna 200 50 6.

Now, these phrases are from any point of view laconic and elliptical; and they have been interpreted in various ways,¹ as giving the number of (1) the years elapsed since the death of Buddha; or (2) the years elapsed since the time when Buddha went forth from his home to seek for true knowledge; or (3) the illumined beings who had appeared in the world; or (4) the beings (Buddhas) who had departed into Nirvāṇa; or (5) the missions sent out by the orders of Aśoka; or (6) the syllables in the edict; or, more recently, (7) the years elapsed since the "illumination" of Buddha, the attainment of sambōdhi by him; or (8) the years elapsed since the admission of Buddha’s son Rāhula into the Order. Mr. Thomas has rejected all those renderings, as far as he has mentioned them.² And, following the view that the words vivuthā

¹ The different views are presented here in the order in which they were propounded.
² He has referred to Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6: No. 8 had not been published when he wrote. His view comes as No. 9: and the proposals in this matter now promise to become as numerous as those regarding the date of Kanishka.
and vivāsā are nominatives plural, not ablatives singular, he has translated them so as to match his rendering of vivutha, vyutha, vyutha by 'one who has gone abroad, one who is on his travels,' and has arrived at the result that the number 256 denotes the number of "changes of abode" made by Asōka.

Mr. Thomas has next dealt with the passage, found in the Rūpnāth text only, which contains the word vyāñjana, and presents also another word, vivasetavāya, which comes from the same root with vivutha, vyutha, vyutha, and vivāsa. He has interpreted it as an injunction issued by Asōka to his subordinates:—"With this "document (or in accordance with this 'signification' = "'command')¹ you must everywhere go abroad so far as "your district extends." And he has arrived at the conclusion that the vivāsas or "goings abroad" of Asōka were, like those which he directed his subordinates to make, of a missionary or propagandist character.

His final step is as follows. The edict in question is a short lecture, delivered by Asōka, on the good results of displaying energy in matters of religion; the sāvana, whoever may have been the author of it, being something which is cited in the course of the lecture. The edict was interpreted by Professor Bühler as specifying first a period of "somewhat more than two and a half years" during which Asōka was a Buddhist disciple or lay-worshipper without much exerting himself, and then a period of "somewhat more than six years" during which, having formally joined the Order, he did exert himself strenuously, with the result that Buddhism was established as the true religion throughout his dominions. Mr. Thomas, however, has rejected the sad-vachhale of the Sahasrām text and the chha-vachhare of the

¹ This is the rendering of vyāñjana here, against the proposed translation of vyāñjanaato in the third rock-edict by 'with regard to the actual documents or figures, with regard to the accounts.'
Rūpānāth text, to both of which expressions there attaches the undeniable meaning of "six years," and has found there, from the somewhat different word in the Brahmagiri text, the mention of a period of only one calendar year.\(^1\) And he has wound up this part of his topic by remarking:—"Now if Asoka, having joined the "Sangha, adopted a course of activity in the form of "constant travel and changed his residence about once "every day, 256 would be a probable number of changes "— for the rainy season would be excluded:" which observation Mr. Smith has elucidated by a footnote, in which he tells us (loc. cit., 23, note 5) that "365 days — 119 = 246; — 109 = 256; 120 or 121 days = 4 months," and cites a passage from Hiuen-tsiang to the effect that, for the Buddhists as for the other people of India, the rainy season lasted for four months.

The above-stated result is ingenious. But let us consider it from a practical point of view. The rainy season in India does last for four months. Is it, however, the case that the whole of the rest of the year is available for touring? The Assistant and Deputy Collectors and

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\(^1\) He has had recourse to the expedient of assuming mistakes: we are to understand that the Sahasrām text has, not sauvāchhale, but savināchhale for probably sauvāchhale (but sauvāchhale); and we are to regard the chha-vachhara of the Rūpānāth text as standing for savāchhara, under the influence of the neighbouring chha's. But it is a primary rule that we are not to assume mistakes: we must apply ourselves to interpreting texts as they stand. And I may observe that I have already pointed out (see this Journal, 1907. 521, and note 2) that there are no grounds for the assumption, which has been made, of mistakes in another important word in the Rūpānāth text, lākhḍipetraya.

As a matter of fact, whether the second period was of six years or of one year is not of vital importance: the chronology of Asoka's career can be arranged from either point of view. In agreement with Professor Bühler, however, I find in the Sahasrām and Rūpānāth texts the mention of a period of six years. In the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura texts I find, with him, a mention of the same period, but — (and in this detail I differ from him) — with a special signalization of one year, the last of the six.
Magistrates in the Bombay Presidency probably do as much systematic touring as any other Indian officials. But it is recognized that they must not remain on tour after the commencement of the rains, and that, at the end of the rains, about a month should be allowed, for the country to become dry and traversable, before (unless in any emergency) they may move out into camp again; and the touring season is consequently limited, even in Bombay, by official orders, to seven months, or say 213 days. In that respect, regard is had to the health and convenience of the Native establishments, quite as much as to anything else. It does not seem probable that an ancient Indian king, even when posing as a missionary, could travel without an appreciable retinue and clerical staff, to whose circumstances attention would have to be paid, as well as to his own. And considerations of the same kind with those which now prevail must, surely, have more or less attended the touring expeditions of Aśoka. For the rest, the officials mentioned above are quite sufficiently active in the matter of touring. But it is questionable whether any of them has ever changed his camp 213 times, much less 256 times, in the course of one season. Nor would such a display of energy exactly meet with encouragement: quite the reverse, indeed; it would be instantly checked, as interfering seriously with details of local work—some of them precisely analogous, if we only substitute "administration" for "dhamma," to the duties prescribed by Aśoka for himself on his tours for dhamma (see page 490 above)—and with the convenience of all parties having business in the migratory courts. The modern District Officer makes it his object to choose for his camps well-selected centres, and to remain at them long enough for the people of surrounding villages to hear of his arrival and to come in with any representations they may wish to make. And it is hardly unreasonable to think that Aśoka must have
arranged his tours on much the same principles; especially
in view of the fact, disclosed by the third rock-edict, that
he allowed his local officials styled Rājūka and Prādesika
five years in which to make a complete tour through their
charges.

But let us suppose that Aśoka did make a continuous
tour of eight months, with 256 changes of camp, for the
purpose of propagating Buddhism throughout Northern
India. To what extent would he be able, by such an
arrangement, to penetrate the country in such a manner
as to bring his mission home to the thoughts of the great
mass of his subjects? He might traverse his dominions,
in a fashion, by marching from Pātaliputra to Taxila,
thence to Ujjain, and thence straight back to his capital.
That route, however, measured from point to point, is
not less than 2310 miles. It would represent no fewer
than 190 stages if Aśoka travelled at the rate of 12·12
miles = one day's journey (see this Journal, 1906, 1013),
or 254 stages if he travelled by shorter marches, utilizing
the camping-grounds, provided with rest-houses and wells,
which (see ibid., 412) he had built at intervals of 8 kōs
= 9·09 miles (see ibid., 1012) along his high-roads. And
how vast an extent of his territory would remain un-
touched by such an expedition; most of it being so
far distant from his route that the people, even if they
heard of his movements, would not have sufficient time
to ascertain his camps and go in to them.

Such are some practical objections which present them-
selves to this new proposal for interpreting the number
256 in the Last Edict. Perhaps, however, one or the
other of the two scholars who have given us the joint
Aśoka Note No. 9, can lay before us information which
might lead us to hesitate before we dismiss as untenable
the view that Aśoka would make a preaching-tour of
eight consecutive months (say 243 days) and move his
camp 256 times in that period.

Meanwhile, following Professor Bühler, we retain our conviction that the number 256 denotes the number of years elapsed, at the time when the Last Edict was framed, since the death of Buddha. We know (see page 495 above) that Asōka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha, and reigned for 37 years. That carries us on to the year 255, completed. The edict, which distinctly belongs to quite a late time in the career of Asōka, presents the number 256. And from a consideration of the purport of the whole record we can see that it tells us that it was framed one year later, after the completion of the 256th year, when Asōka, having abdicated in accordance with a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian kings, had taken the vows of a Buddhist monk, and was spending his closing days in religious retirement at Suvarṇagiri, Sōngir. From this point of view, the number 256 is at once intelligible, and everything fits in exactly.

J. F. Fleet.

The Inscription on the Sohgaūra Plate.

In connection with some remarks made by me on page 187 f. above, Professor Jacobi has kindly drawn my attention to the point that the word tia, tiya, = tika, = trika, is found in the Aupapātika, §§ 38, 40, and in the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, §§ 89, 100. In each place, it occurs in combination with other terms of the same nature: and the use of it may be illustrated by the Kalpasūtra, § 89. Here we have:—siṁghādaesu va tiēsu va chaukkēsu va chachcharēsu va chaumuhēsu va mahāpahēsu va gāma-tṭhānēsu va nagara-tṭhānēsu va, etc., in a passage which Professor Jacobi has translated thus (SBE, 22. 248):—" (From that moment in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra was brought into the family of the Jñātiris, many demons . . . . . . brought
old and ancient treasures which were hidden) in triangular places, or in places where three or four roads meet, or in courtyards, or squares, or high roads, or on the site of villages or towns," etc.

It follows that *trikā* has had the meaning of 'a place where three roads meet' from decidedly ancient times.

J. F. Fleet.

The Rummindei Inscription.

There is another not impossible explanation of the syllables *vigaḍa* in the Rummindei inscription (page 473 above). It occurred to me when I had the record under consideration. But I did not mention it in my article, because I could not carry it on to any definite result.

Hiuen-tsiang several times mentions "stone and brick walls." The record on the Kaṇheri copperplate, dated in the time of the Traikūṭaka kings and in the year 245, tells us that the Chaitya or Stūpa mentioned in it was made *ghaṭita-pāshān-ēśṭakābhiḥ*, "with dressed stones and bricks." And modern excavations seem to show that the two materials in combination were used freely by the ancient Hindūs for building purposes.

Can any vernacular word be traced, resembling *vigaḍa*, and meaning 'a brick'? If so, we might very suitably take:— silā-vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāpita; "he caused a stone and brick wall to be made." This much at any rate is certain, that Aśoka caused to be built round the site of the Lumbini garden a wall which was more or less of stone.

J. F. Fleet.

The Game of Dice.

In his most interesting treatise on the game of dice in India,1 Professor Lüders finds in a Kārikā in the

Mahābhāsya on Pāṇini, ii, 1, 10, a reference to the game in the form in which it appears in some Gāthās¹ found in one Burmese MS. of the Vidhurapanditajātaka, and in which, instead of Vibhidaka nuts, are used pāsakas with four marked sides, the victory falling to him who throws the number fixed upon by agreement beforehand as bringing him victory. There is otherwise no early evidence for this form of the game; even in the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, which recognises the use of pāsakas² and which is notoriously late,³ no mention is made of it, and I agree with Professor Lüders that in the Nala (Mahābhārata, iii, 59, 7) the word vṛṣa denotes rather the prize than the mode of play, unless indeed the passage is to be reckoned as one of those which show that that famous and popular episode has been rewritten from time to time until its original sense has been obscured, a game with pāsakas being substituted in part for the old game with Vibhidaka nuts, which alone explains the episode of Rtuparṇa.⁴

Now the evidence of the Gāthās does not carry us back with any certainty to an early date. The certainly genuine Gāthās in the Jātaka and the rest of the Pāli canon recognise only⁵ the Vibhidaka game, and the Gāthās of the Burmese MS. may be relatively late. The Kārikā, on the other hand, must probably belong to the early part of the second century B.C. at latest,⁶ and before

¹ And in the prose of the Jātaka, to which, of course, no importance attaches.
² Lüders, p. 21.
³ Ibid., p. 22, n. 1; Hopkins, J.A.O.S., xxiv, p. 53.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 57, 58. Professor Lüders has, I think, misunderstood Dr. Grierson's note (J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 356) on this point, as Dr. Grierson does not give as his own the view that Rtuparna challenged Nala to a game of "odd or even." Further, Dr. Grierson's view that the Vibhidaka was chosen by Rtuparna because of his skill in dice seems certainly correct, and agrees with Professor Lüders' own view that dice in the Epic game were of Vibhidaka (p. 18).
⁵ Lüders, p. 62.
⁶ J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 175, n. 2.
THE GAME OF DICE.

accepting the view that it confirms the Gāthās of the Burmese MS. it is desirable to consider if it cannot be interpreted in another sense.

Pāṇini's rule runs aksāsalākāsanīkhyāḥ parinā, and the Kārikā is—

aksādayas trtiyāntāḥ pūrvoktasya yathā na tat
kitavvyavahāre ca ekatve 'ksaśālākavyoh

As Professor Lüders explains, this means that aksa, etc., are compounded with pari to denote how much the cast is more than that which has before been said; e.g. aksa-pari, for aksena pari, means 'by one die more.' The word pūrvoktasya, which Patañjali merely treats as equivalent to pūrvasya, he takes to show that the writer of the Kārikā knew a form of the game of dice in which, as in the Jātaka, the aim was to throw a number determined beforehand. This argument, however, is hardly cogent, and a more satisfactory explanation is suggested by Professor Lüders' own explanation of the terms dvāpara and ekapara, the former of which occurs as early as the Taittiriya Saṃhitā, the latter in the Rgveda itself.

He holds that the former means 'more by two' than the kṛta, the latter 'more by one' than the kṛta, and his interpretation seems conclusive. But what is the kṛta itself? Surely nothing more or less than the pūrvokta. Kṛta means what is fixed upon (as in kṛtakālāh, dharmo vājakṛtaḥ, cited from Yājñavalkya, ii, 184, 186, by Professor Lüders) rather than 'das Gelungene,' as Professor Lüders takes it, and in Baudhāyana's Śrauta Sūtra the words kṛtam kṛtam, which accompany the division of the 49 dice into three sets of 12 (4 × 3), leaving one of 13, denote 'the fixed number is made up.'

The only objection to this view—and probably the reason why Professor Lüders has not adopted it—is the

1 p. 64.  
2 p. 43, n. 2.  
3 9, ii (p. 48, l. 10); cited by Lüders, p. 51.
fact that kṛta appears early to have been stereotyped into the sense of a cast of dice divisible by four, as it is compared in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i, 5, 11, 1, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 3, 2, 1, with the catuṣṭoma, and appears elsewhere alongside of kāli when that is considered the best cast. But other passages leave it open to suppose that the original number could be fixed at will. For instance, in the Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā, iv, 4, 6, a hundred dice are used for the ritual game, and then five are given to the king. No doubt this does not prove Weber's theory of a game played with five dice, but to argue, as Professor Lüders does, that the winning number is a multiple of four, and that the five dice presented to the king stand outside the game, is rather difficult. It is quite true that the game is over, according to the Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā, before the dice are presented to the king, though in the Vajasaneyi Saṃhitā the order of events is reversed; but it is obvious that if the winning number was four, that would be the natural number to present to the king.

But why not five? If there are 400 dice, they are exactly divisible by five, and the ritual game can as easily be played with five as with four. But, argues Professor Lüders, Kātyāyana, Śrauta Sūtra, xv, 7, 18, ascribes to the king in the ritual game the kṛta cast, while five dice would be kāli for him. Clearly this begs the question, and assumes that kṛta can only mean a four cast, while it is surely much more natural to assume that the kṛta cast here is five, giving a real significance to what is

1 The only direct statement to this effect is that of Rudradatta (Lüders, p. 52). I think, however, this view correct. R.V., i, 41, 9, must then mean 'as one fears one about to throw (attempting to throw) fours until he actually throws (a sidhātōh),' when, of course, fear is out of place. It cannot mean, as Lüders (p. 56) seems to take it, 'one who holds fours,' for the game is to throw a number sufficient to make up a multiple of four.

2 p. 53.

2 He thinks the act is symbolical of the five dīṣaḥ. There is no doubt of the symbolism, but four dīṣaḥ would have suited it.
clearly an important feature in the ritual, the solemn presentation to the king of a number of dice symbolising the east of victory.

It is possible that the five cast once was as popular as the four, and so survived in the ritual custom, but it is easy to see how, for greater simplicity and celerity, the number four became accepted as usual, and *kṛta* became practically synonymous with a cast of four. But it cannot have meant this originally; it must have been no more than the *pārvokta* of the *Māhābhāṣya Kārikā*.

While on this subject I may notice a *Rgvedic* verse to which Professor Lüders has given new force by seeing in it a metaphor from dicing. In *x, 116, 9*, we read:

\[ \text{āyā īva pārī caranti devā yē āsmābhyaḥ dhanadāḥ udbhidaś ca} \]

This must mean "The gods move about like dice," but only optimism, perhaps too great for even a Vedic Indian, can render the last Pāda "(the gods), who are givers to us of wealth, and are victorious (i.e. give victory)." No doubt *udbhid* means in gaming language 'victorious,' but we get a more probable sense by remembering that both in Vedic and classical Sanskrit \(^1\) we can supply *dhana* as the object of *udbhidas* and render "who give us wealth and take it away," the word *udbhidas* being chosen because of its gaming flavour. Dicing may bring wealth, but the Vedic Indian, as the *Aṣṭasūkta* shows, remembered also that it led to loss of family and liberty.

In conclusion, I may add that golden dice are actually mentioned, presumably as in secular use,\(^2\) in the hymn in the *Sāṃkhāyana Āranyaka*, xii, v. 3, which reads:

\[ \text{āyā īva pārī caranti devā yē āsmābhyaḥ dhanadāḥ udbhidaś ca} \]

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\(^1\) See ref. in Wackernagel, *Altindisches Grammatik*, ii, 1, p. 30; Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 35.

\(^2\) Lüders finds them only in ritual use in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*, p. 21.
The Atharva Veda, xiv, 1, 35, has—

\[ \text{yāc ca vārco aksēṣu} | \]
\[ \text{sūrāyāṃ ca yād āhitam} | \]

There is no reason to doubt the Śaṅkhāyana text, and the context is in favour of a secular reference.

A. Berriedale Keith.

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The Bābar-nāma: Dr. Kehr’s Latin Version and a New Letter by Bābar.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg, Mr. Serge d’Oldenburg, and the kind mediation of Mr. F. W. Thomas, I have now been able to examine Dr. Kehr’s final Latin version of the Bābar-nāma.¹ His translation is bound in two books, and extends only to the end of 908 H. Here he has a note which, after stating that what is to come treats of India, concludes with: “Hisce narrationibus passim insertae sunt egregiae regnorum Indicorum descriptiones quae opportune hoc tempore in lucem prodibunt quo bella inter Persas ac Indos gesta sunt.” The wars, as he wrote in 1739, will be those of Nādir Shāh.

Dr. Kehr reproduces in his final version, with little variation, the notes he entered on interleaves of his transcript volume.² That his translation, therefore, can be counted only as a negative result of his work on the Bābar-nāma is, however, a small matter for students of the book, compared with the positive service he has done

² J.R.A.S., I.c.
them by accurately copying a manuscript which has not since been traced. To this great service it is revealed by examination of his Latin volume that he added another, which, if it has even before been referred to in Bābarīna, has at least not been mentioned by Erskine, Ilminsky, or P. de Courteille. It is this; he has prefixed to his Latin version translations of several disconnected writings which, it may be presumed, he found with his archetype Bābar-nāma. Of these the most important is a letter from Bābar to his second son, Kamrān, which is unknown elsewhere in European literature or in or with any other of the MSS.

These unexpected acquisitions I will now enumerate.

(1) After his own title-page, he writes, "Jam sequitur versio ipsius textus Tatarici," and follows this by translating what may be the title-page of his Turki archetype: "Exhortationum atque Documentorum authenticorum Diploma regium et opus historicum memoriale Orientale Turcicum (i.e. Tataricum) Majestatis Bāburi Monarchæ victoriosi qui in terrâ beatâ requiescat!" ex Indiâ Kandahâram ad Mirzam Camrânun transmissum."

(2) Entered on a new page is the "Diploma Regium." Its superscription, adjectives omitted, is as follows: "Filio suo ... Mohammedi Camrânó ... salutem amicitiae scopum et finem appercatur parenis ipsius Bābur."

Of the letter itself, it seems safest to give merely a summary. In it Bābar expresses pleasure at having received a letter from Kamrān, warns him of some characteristics of Khurasānīs, recommends to him a counsellor of unrecognizable name, gives him good advice, quotes Ḥāfiz, Saʿdī, Jāmi, and another, warns him against low company, tells him he can learn the state of India from an accompanying fath-nāma, and, finally, informs him that the son of Ibrāhīm Lodi has been sent to his

1 The words here, from victoriosi to requiescat, seem likely to represent "Ghāzi and Firdaus-makān."
charge and should be carefully watched. At this point Kehr writes "Vale," and the letter presumably ends.

Its date can be inferred from the mention made of Ibrāhim Lodi's son, because the Bābar-nāma records his consignment to Kamrān's watch and ward and his departure for Qandahār on Thursday, Rabī' i, 29, 933 H. (January 3rd, 1527). He joined (توموب) for the journey a messenger of Kamrān, a certain Mullā Sārsān (or Sartān), who had come to Bābar "on several matters," and will have brought the letter Bābar expresses pleasure at receiving and have conveyed the reply to it, summarized above.¹

(3) What is entered after Kehr's "Vale" is manifestly a fragment, as it stands. His alternative readings of it show that it puzzled him; its Turki source is certainly needed for its reasonable interpretation. As it is short and entertaining I quote it in full:—"In soecrūs tuae deambulatioune spectationis ergo iucundā contiguus apud nos oculus non est (id est, non semper possum perspiciere cum soecrus tua delectionis causā deambulat). Colloquium meum hoc est. Quod praeter Creatorem meum aliud colloquium non sit (id est, interea dum illa deambulat, ego cum Creatore mei soliloquium instituo)."

(4) Entered after what may represent a scribe's note introducing them, there follow four verses (one by Khwāja Kilān,) all of which are included in the Bābar-nāma. Bābar writes more than once of sending verses to Kamrān, it may be observed.

(5) A passage comes next which adds to one's desire to see its Turki source: "Quicunque hæc facta et facta mea perlegerit scito quales calamitates et quales agritudines (i.e. molestias) et quales maiores expertus sim."

(6) The last entry, before the Bābar-nāma begins, is one telling how the book came into an owner's hands, and is

¹ Haydarābād Ms., f. 307; Memoirs of Bābar, Leyden & Erskine, p. 349.
as follows:—"Has res gestas feriâ secundâ (i.e. die Lunæ) mensis Dschumadi prioris, die secundo, anno (Hegirae) 957 (i.e. 1550) in statione (vel hospitio) Haudschi-Tâsch Mohammedes nobis donum attulit."

The import of this passage may be that on Monday, Jumâda i, 2, 957 H. (May 19th, 1550), Hâji Muhammed kûkultâsh (then prominent in Humâyûn's service) presented the Waqîât ("res gestas") to Humâyûn ("nobis"). This import is sustained by the known historical details of the fighting between Kamrân and Humâyûn, the capture of camps and peripatetic fate of libraries.

(7) This passage is followed by Kehr's Latin version of the Bâbar-nâma.

It is disappointing that Dr. Kehr's volumes contain no information about his Turki archetype beyond the adjectival reference at the end of 904 H., in vol. i, quoted here for the word 'Indico'—"Ex rarissimo manuscritto Tatarico-Indico, Bâbar-nâmah dict, Latine ad verbum explicuit, scripsit Kehr"; and the following note which may refer to some collection of MSS. of which Kehr's archetype was one—"Ex archivi Tataro-Indici protocollo Tatarico-Turcici conscripto interpretatur est G. J. Kehr" (vol. ii, p. 143).

A. S. Beveridge.

The Battle between the Pâñḍavas and Kauravas.

Dr. Grierson has, in connection with Mr. Pargiter's important paper on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pâñḍavas and Kauravas," suggested a new view of the relation of the Kurus and the Pañcâlas, the former being later immigrants and Brâhmanical, the latter earlier and anti-Brâhmanical. This view is in some respects so revolutionary that it is desirable to consider how far it can be supported by the evidence available.

Now it is clear that the main evidence must be found, if at all, in the texts of the earlier Vedic literature. For, without doubting the early existence of epic lays whence are derived the main theme of the Mahābhārata, it is clear that that work in its present form cannot claim an earlier age than perhaps 200 B.C. even for the non-didactic elements, and Mr. Pargiter has in several places shown the existence of serious inconsistencies in the text as handed down. Further, Mr. Pargiter has not found, nor do I myself find, any clear traces in the Mahābhārata of the war as one of Brahminism and anti-Brahminism. The Pāṇḍavas, indeed, are "beyond the pale," but this proves nothing for the Pañcālas, and against Dr. Grierson's theory it may be noted that the Somakas, firm allies of Pañcāla, show clearly by their name that they cannot have been asūrvants. No doubt the great ally of the Pāṇḍavas was Krṣṇa Vāsudeva, but I must demur to the theory that the monotheistic Bhāgavatas were anti-Brahminical. Doubtless their views were not those of the writers of the Upaniṣads, but they were, it seems to me, sufficiently close to those of the writers of the earlier Brāhmaṇas, in which Prajāpati, Viṣṇu, and especially Śiva receive a prominence which shows that the old polytheism was in rapid decay. This condition of affairs could easily lead to diverse results, either to quasi-monotheism or pantheism, or to the more philosophic doctrine of the Upaniṣads; that the former was in any sense the work of anti-Brahminical persons is certainly not proved, nor, I think, even plausible. Nor can I admit that the Śaṃkhya system was allied to the Bhāgavatas; the two

1 I do not, of course, accept the identification of itihāsa-purāṇa suggested in J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 530, which rests on a complete misunderstanding of the Vedic passages in question.
2 See pp. 313, n. 1, n. 2, n. 10; 317, n. 7; 320, 321, etc.
3 Hopkins, Great Epic of India, p. 376.
4 Cf. Grierson, p. 697.
5 Cf. Aufrecht, Altaragya Brāhmaṇa, p. v.
systems, of course, differ *toto caelo*, as the one is almost monotheistic, the other absolutely and decidedly atheistic, and the evidence in favour of an anti-Brahminist Sāṃkhya is, if possible, less than that for an anti-Brahminist Bhāgavata. Professor Garbe has attempted to set up the Sāṃkhya as a reaction against Vedāntism from outside, because the Sāṃkhya doctrines are not found in the earlier Upaniṣads. But that fact merely shows that the Sāṃkhya is later than the doctrine of those Upaniṣads, and not that it is a reaction. Further, the theory that in the struggle of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra over the favours of Sudās there is a forerunner of the cult war of the Mahābhārata seems for Vedic times conclusively disproved by the fact that Viśvāmitra, instead of being a “Kṣatriya priest of Kanyākubja,” is in the Rgveda and the later Vedic texts a Rṣi pure and simple, one of the members of the priestly class whose hymns are collected in the Rgveda Śaṁhitā. Nor is a theory which regards the Brahminical party as allied with a choice collection of northern barbarians, Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, and Barbaras against the anti-Brahminical Kṣatriyas free from serious difficulty.

But the greatest difficulties in the theory become apparent when the evidence of the Brāhmaṇa literature is considered. For then the Kuru-Pańcālas are not merely connected, more closely than any other two tribes, but their Brāhmaṇas are the Brāhmaṇas *par excellence*. Vāc is at home with them, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii, 2, 3, 15; the *caturavatta* is performed best among them, ibid., i, 7, 2, 8; their kings perform the Rājasūya, the most striking example of priestly control over royalty, ibid., v, 5, 2, 5. They form the centre of the Madhyadeśa Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 14. Their Brāhmaṇas occur in

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1 Sāṃkhya *Philosophie*, pp. 20 seq. See also his *Beiträge zur Indischen Kulturgeschichte* and my remarks n it in this number of the Journal.
2 Grierson, p. 605.
the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, ii, 78, and the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa\(^1\) and in other Upaniṣads, and amongst them probably all the great Brāhmaṇas\(^2\) were composed. Neither in that literature nor in that of the Rgveda do I find any trace of a Kuru-Pañcāla quarrel. Such a quarrel was conjectured by Weber\(^3\) to have been the origin of the story in the Kāṭhaka\(^4\) of a dispute between Vaka Dālbhya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravirya, the former being held to be a Pañcāla by origin. I am not sure whether Weber continued to hold that view; at any rate, the passage in the Kāṭhaka has nothing of a dispute between Kurus and Pañcālas, and merely preserves one of the constantly recurring tales of a difference of opinion between a priest and a prince on a ritual question; the very passage refers to the Naimişiya sacrifice among the Kuru-Pañcālas, and again emphasises the union of the people. There is still less evidence in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xxiii, 18, where Weber\(^5\) conjectured that Subhadrīkā of Kāmpīla was the Mahiṣī of the king of a stem in the neighbourhood of the king for whose Āśvamedha the verse was used, for not only is that interpretation open to grave doubt,\(^6\) but in any case we have no right to say that the Kuru king is the king in question, while in the Kāṇva recension of the Saṁhitā, xi, 3, 3, we have at the Rājasūya the words \textit{esa vah Kuruva vājaśa vah Pañcālāḥ}, which shows that the Kuru-Pañcālas had actually one king. In the Rgveda itself the Kuru-Pañcāla federation does not appear under that name, but there is

\(^{1}\) iii, 30, 6 ; iv, 6, 2 ; cf. iii, 7, 6 ; 8, 7 ; iv, 7, 2. See also Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, iii, 1, 1 ; 9, 19 (Kāṇva); Kauśitaki Upaniṣad, iv, 1.

\(^{2}\) Cf. Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i, 8, 4, 1. 2. The Pañcaviṃśa knows Kurukṣetra (xxv, 10), if not the name Kuru-Pañcāla. For the Kauśitaki, cf. J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 387.

\(^{3}\) Ind. Stud., iii, p. 470.

\(^{4}\) x, 6.

\(^{5}\) Ind. Stud., i, pp. 184, 205, 206 ; Ind. Lit., p. 114.

\(^{6}\) Eggeling, S.B.E., xlv, p. 322.
no trace of hostility between the tribes which are held to have merged into these two great peoples. The old name for the Pañcālas¹ is stated to have been Krivi, and the similarity to Kuru renders the theory of Zimmer² that the Kurus and Krivis formed the Vaikarnau of Rgveda, vii, 18, extremely plausible, especially in view of the fact that both peoples are found about the Sindhu and Asiknī, while Vaikarna reminds us of the Epic Karna and Vikarna.

The Vedic literature seems thus to negative any possibility of finding an opposition both in ritual and origin between the Kurus and the Pañcālas, nor does the Epic, so far as I can see, represent the struggle as one of Kuru versus Pañcāla. To the Epic, indeed, the struggle is primarily one between two closely connected stems within the Bharatas, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. Some of the tradition may reflect vaguely the ancient contest of the Trutsu-Bharatas against the other Aryan tribes, equally bearers of the Vedic traditions, and in this sense we may believe in a Kuru epic, before the Pāṇḍavas appear. But a Mahābhārata has meaning only as a Pāṇḍava epic, and the existence of such an epic is probable in the time of Pāṇini,³ so that it is in the centuries between the end of the Brāhmaṇa texts and the grammar of Pāṇini (b.c. 350⁴) that we must look for the real origin of the Epic story. The most probable theory seems to me to be that the Pāṇḍavas were a northern, perhaps semi-Mongolian tribe who succeeded in winning the leading position among the Bharatas;⁵ at least the hypothesis

¹ Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 5, 4, 7.
² Altindisches Leben, p. 103.
³ Hopkins, op. cit., p. 391.
⁴ This I think the most probable date; cf. my Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 23-25.
⁵ The later Upaniṣad literature (Chāndogya, i, 10, 1) and the Sūtra (Sāṃkhāyana Śrauta, xv, 16—a quasi-Brāhmaṇa passage) know of a disaster to the Kurus.
explains best their name and the curious features of their history. The struggle may have been bitter, but no doubt the great war of the Epic is mainly the fruit of poetic invention and Brahminical theory. The motives of the various parties and their grouping in this view lose much of their historical interest. If Pañcāla sides with the Pāṇḍavas, no racial or religious grounds can safely be assigned, nor can we fairly conclude that any serious hostility existed in Vedic times between the two tribes of Kūrus and Pañcālas. Similarly, it is surely impossible to regard as divided by racial or religious lines the Matsyas, and Western Māgadhas and the Kāśis who stood by the Pāṇḍavas, and the Eastern Māgadhas, the Kosalas, and the Videhas who fought for the Kauravas. For Dr. Grierson's theory what is needed is a division setting off Kuru-Pañcāla against Kosala-Videha tribes which the Vedic records allow us to regard as really distinct.

I conclude, then, that for ethnography the Mahābhārata is of little use; that it does not represent the victory of Ksatariya over Brāhmaṇa, or preserve a record of a time when Pañcāla was unorthodox. I am therefore unable to follow Dr. Grierson's view of the position of the Bhagavad Gītā, or even Mr. Pargiter's conjecture as to the significance of the Nāga Taksaka as a sign of the ruin of the Punjab principalities in the war. If it be held that there must be a substantial substratum for the Epic, it may be asked what real substratum is there for the Roland or even for the Iliad. In each case, as in the case of the Mahābhārata, a great structure has been reared on a small foundation.

A. Berriedale Keith.
NOTE ON MR. KEITH'S NOTE ON THE BATTLE BETWEEN
THE PÂNDAVAS AND THE KAURAVAS.

Through the courtesy of the Secretary, I have been
afforded an opportunity of seeing the proof of the above
interesting note, and would ask leave to make the
following remarks:—

Mr. Keith will understand that it is with no desire to
belittle the importance of what he says that I refrain
from entering into a detailed controversy. The reason
for refraining is simply want of space in the pages of the
Journal, together with want of time on my own part.
To answer fully every proposition which he has put
forward would indeed require the ample room of a whole
number.

I therefore content myself, in the first place, with
pointing out that in my remarks on Mr. Pargiter's paper
I never said that the Pañcâlas were anti-Brahmanical.
I said that they were anti-Brahmanists, which, to my mind,
conveys a very different idea. The Bhâgavatas seem to
me to have been opponents of the orthodox 'Brahmaism'
of the older Upanisads, and, as this was mainly taught by
Brâhmanas of the Madhyadēśa, so far, and only so far, can
they have been called anti-Brahmanical.1

As for the Kurus being later and the Pañcâlas earlier
immigrants, that theory is at least as old as Lassen,2 and,

1 The anti-Brahmanist tendency of the Bhâgavata religion is well
illustrated by the story of Ambaraśa, as told by Priyā-dāsa, the com-
mentator of the Bhakta-māla. Durvāsas, the Brāhmaṇa, has insulted
a Bhâgavata Kṣattriya (Ambaraśa). He is pursued by Viṣṇu's discus,
and after appealing without avail to Brahmā and Siva, is constrained
at length to supplicate Bhagavat (Viṣṇu). Bhagavat tells him that he
(Bhagavat) had formerly three qualities, viz., (1) that of protecting
suppliants, (2) that of abolishing distress, and (3) that of being the God
of Brāhmaṇa-hood (Brâhmanga-dēva). "Now," he proceeds, "I no
longer honour these qualities, for they have all been put aside (tiraskṛta)
by my new quality of tenderness to bhaktas (bhakta-vātsalya)."

2 I.A., i, pp. 743 et passim.

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whether it is right or wrong, I would suggest that my stating a theory which has been held by many scholars down to the present day can hardly be styled 'revolutionary.' Indeed, my difficulty in answering Mr. Keith is that he challenges, not any theory of mine, but a series of theories regarding the early history of India which have been stated by much greater scholars than I can ever hope to be. All that I did was to put down what I at the time believed to be generally accepted assumptions, to group them together, and to suggest (if even this was new) religion as the immediately exciting cause of the cataclysm, just as the wrath of Achilles was that of the war sung of in Homer's epic.

That the earlier and later Aryan immigrants formed what might almost be called different nationalities is, I think, admitted by every one from Lassen down to Professor Hillebrandt. The mutual relationship of the Prakrites and that of the modern vernaculars confirm this, and so does ethnology.¹ That the earlier immigrants were to the east of the later ones is not only to be expected, but is fully borne out by the Vēdas, to which Mr. Keith appeals, as well as by later literature. It is to be expected that, as generations rolled by, the centre of gravity would gradually shift eastwards, and with it the scene of the struggle between the old and new comers.

While fully admitting the importance of the evidence of Vedic literature—I used it freely myself—I must also put in a plea for the grains of truth to be found in the traditions of the older parts of the Mahābhārata (going back to 400 A.D.) and of the Rāmāyaṇa. That the main theme of the original Mahābhārata was not a war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, but between the former and the Pāṇcālas, whose allies were the Pāṇḍavas, is,

¹ See, for instance, Mr. Risley's Chapter on Caste in the last Indian Census Report.
I think, almost universally admitted. The theory is not mine. It is again as old as Lassen, is tacitly assumed as a fact which needs no proof in nearly every book which I have read upon the subject, and is accepted even by some native Indian scholars. The common name for the war at the present day is the Kuruc-Pañcāla war, not the Kuruc-Pāṇḍava war. As for the epic having been originally written on the side of the Kauravas, and long afterwards changed round in favour of the Pāṇḍavas, I think that, from the time of the elder Holtzmann, this is accepted by every scholar who has written on the subject, except Dahlmann. Here again, if the theory is revolutionary, I am not the culprit.

As for Bhakti and monotheism, there are traces of both in the Rg Veda, especially in the Varuna hymns; but, in the old Madhyadēśa, they disappeared before Brahmaism, and it was the Bhāgavatas, representatives of people who lived in the outer band round Madhyadēśa, that cultivated and preserved them. As for the Sāmkhya-Yoga (not the pure Sāmkhya, as mentioned by Mr. Keith) system being allied to the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas, here, again, I have said nothing new. It has been said many times by others, including Professor Garbe, M. Senart, and Professor Barnett, and I can leave the question in confidence in their hands. But it is unnecessary for me to depend even upon these eminent scholars. The fact is plainly stated over and over again in the text-book of the Bhāgavatas—the Narayaniya section of the Mahābhārata.

Again, when I look upon the struggle between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra as a forerunner of the cult war, I am only again following the example of Lassen. I also have his authority for assuming that there was a struggle for

1 See, for instance, Professor Macdonell, in the Indian Empire, vol. ii, p. 235.

2 I.A., I, pp. 703, 713. I merely quote Lassen as the oldest authority I know of, and not because he has not had many followers.
supremacy between the Kṣattriyas and the Brāhmaṇas. Then as to Viśvāmitra—of course he was a Vedic Rṣi, but surely Mr. Keith will not maintain that all Vedic Rṣis were Brāhmaṇas. The Veda makes him an Eastern, and the epic tradition is that he was a Rājaṛṣi,—a Kṣattriya. His struggle to become a Brāhmaṇ is a well-known episode in the Rāmāyana.

I approach the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads with much diffidence, for Mr. Keith is familiar with them, and I am not, but surely the much discussed passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, ii, 3\(^1\)) is not decisive. If we read it in the light of Professor Eggeling’s note in the preface to S.B.E., XII (p. xli), we shall see that while that scholar puts the Kurus in the Madhyadēśa, he expressly excludes the Pañcālas from that tract.\(^1\) The fact that the Kuru-Pañcālas are mentioned together does not prove that they were related, any more than the frequent use of similar compounds at the present day does so in similar cases.\(^2\) All that we can deduce is that the territories of the two tribes adjoined each other. The passage quoted from the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa does not, I think, put them in the Madhyadēśa. The word is not used, and the context shows that all that is meant is that there were two powerful tribes in the centre of northern India, as opposed to the north, south, east, and west. Mr. Keith

\(^1\) Even so late as the eleventh century A.D. the country inhabited by the Kurus (not Kurus and Pañcālas) was looked upon as the true home of Brahmanical orthodoxy. In the second Act of the Prabodha-candrīdaya we have the unorthodox Cārvāka congratulating King Mahāmōha that all the world has abandoned the Vēdas. “Even in the Kuru-kṣētra, not to speak of other countries, nothing is to be feared from learning or knowledge.” Kuru-kṣētra.”diṣṭ ātavā dēvēṇa svayaṁ ‘pi na vidya-prabodhōdayāḥ śaṅkuniyāḥ.

\(^2\) It might even be argued that the compound ‘Kuru-Pañcāla’ referred not to two related tribes but to the country inhabited by two sets of opposing tribes, of whom the Kurus and the Pañcālas were respectively the leaders. It is in this sense that we talk of the ‘Kuru-Pañcāla war.’ See also the passage already referred to by Professor Macdonell in the Indian Empire.
maintains that these and some other passages prove that both the Kurus and Pañcālas were specially orthodox. As regards the Pañcālas, I cannot agree with him in the light of the passages from the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad which I quote in the next paragraphs, and of the fact that Drupada, the Pañcāla king, consented to the polyandrous marriage of his daughter. The Jaṭīs or Jaṭs, the cultivating class of the country which was formerly South Pañcāla and Matsya, are said to be polyandrous even at the present day. The argument that Brāhmaṇ priests performed grand sacrifices there fails to distinguish between Brāhmaṇ teachers and Brāhmaṇ priests. Any king in India of those days who felt himself strong enough, and who had the necessary funds, would try to have a Rājasya performed, and the fact that Brāhmaṇ priests officiated would no more prove the king's Brahmaist orthodoxy than it would prove the orthodoxy of an aboriginal tribe amongst whom (as does occur) a Brāhmaṇ priest performs a similar sacrifice in 1908. Brāhmaṇ priests follow wealth, not orthodoxy. If a Rājasya was performed among the Pañcālas, it only proves that the tribe was powerful and wealthy. They might have been as barbarous as the Gōṇḍs or the Maṇipuris of the present year of grace.

As regards the Upaniṣads, they contain several references to Kṣatriya teachers, and it is significant that none of these belong to the Madhyadēśa. Pravāhana Jaivali was a Pañcāla Kṣatriya, a Rājanya-bandhu, a wretched Rājanya, who¹ silenced Brāhmaṇs, and even gave instruction to the Brāhmaṇ Gautama. He goes so far as to claim (V, iii, 7) that the true knowledge did not belong to the Brāhmaṇs, but in all worlds belongs to the Kṣattras alone.

The same Upaniṣad (III, xiv) has a famous description of Brahma. It claims to be a quotation of the teaching of Śāndilya, to whom, with Nārada, is attributed the systematization of the bhakti religion. It is well-known that this description is condemned by Śaṅkarācārya as far as he dare condemn anything in the Upaniṣads, and that it closely agrees with the idea of the Deity contained in the Nārāyanīya.¹

In another section of the same Upaniṣad (V, xi), we find ourselves in a different portion of our outer band, the Kaikēya country of the Western Pañjāb. Five great theologians go to the Brāhmaṇ Uddālaka with hard questions which he cannot answer. So he sends them on to Aśvapati, the Kṣattriya king of Kaikēya,² and it is he who solves their difficulties. If it is objected that, in the Kuru-Paṅcāla war the Kaikēyas sided with the Kurus, it is easy to show that, all the same, in the early times, before the great war they belonged to the outer band. Linguistic and ethnographic evidence, which it would be too long to detail here, shows that they were in post-Vedic times conquered from the Madhyadēsa in the westward reflux expansion of the inhabitants of that tract.³

As regards the general question of ancient Kṣattriya learning, especially of its monotheistic and ethical tendencies, and its early rivalry with Brahmaism, it is

¹ As illustrating the frequent touches showing the connexion, pace Mr. Keith, between the Bhāgavata bhakti religion and Śāmkhya-Yoga, we may note that the word 'Śāndilya' is a patronymic from 'Śaṇḍīla.' The latter (see Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, ii, 167) was a son of Kaśyapa, who married thirteen daughters of Dakṣa. Dakṣa's thousand sons were taught Śāmkhya by Nārada himself (MBh., I, lxxv). This is all that we know about them.

² He was a father-in-law of Daśāratha (Rām. II, i, 2), a fact which brings him into close connexion both with the Eastern Aryans and with the Bhāgavata religion.

³ The question as to how the Kurus got to the Madhyadēsa has been frequently discussed elsewhere. See, for instance, my Languages of India, pp. 52 and 65.
sufficient to refer to Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883–4*, pp. 71 ff., and to the Introduction to Professor Garbe's translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Let me here merely draw attention to the number of Kṣattriya names connected with the origins of both the Sāṅkhya and the Bhāgavata systems. Kapila, himself, is said to have belonged to Kṣattriya stock, his mother being the daughter of a Rājarṣi.\(^1\) So was Janaka, and so was Bhīṣma, who in *Mbh. XII*, excxiv and cclxxxvi, endeavours to reconcile the Sāṅkhya with the Brahmaism. As for the Bhāgavata doctrine, it came from the Sun.\(^2\) The Sun told it to the gods. From them it descended to Bhīṣma, who records it in the Nārāyanīya. Indeed, the whole of the Nārāyanīya is full of Kṣattriya names.

Mr. Keith's remarks about the Matsyas, Kōsalas, Māgadhas, and other tribes hardly apply to what I said, for I have specially confined myself to what was the sum of the whole,\(^3\) namely that, owing to political alliances and personal reasons, the war of the Mahābhārata resolved itself into a combat between Pañcāla and South Madhyadēśa on one side, and the rest of India on the other.

To sum up. I believe that there is nothing new in any of the following statements:—

(1) That there was in India a long struggle for supremacy between the Brāhmans and the Kṣattriyas.

(2) That in early days, the country east, south, and west of the Madhyadēśa, in its narrowest sense as the country of the Kurus, was unorthodox from the point of view of the Brahmaists of the Madhyadēśa.

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2. *Mbh. XII*, 12,986. We may perhaps note this in connexion with what I said about the Lunar and Solar races in my former remarks.
3. See Mr. Pargiter, p. 333.
(3) That the unorthodoxy was thought out and fostered by learned Kṣattriyas.

(4) That some of these unorthodox Kṣattriyas had a home amongst the Pañcālas.

(5) That the Pañcālas lay to the east and south of the Madhyadēsa, as defined above.

(6) That the Pañcālas permitted polyandry, as their descendants do to this day.

(7) That the fons et origo of the war was the insult offered by Drupada, the Kṣattriya king of the Pañcālas, to a Brāhmaṇa, who took refuge with the Kurus.

(8) That the war of the Mahābhārata was in its essence a Kuru-Pañcāla war.

If my theory is revolutionary—and I do not see that it is—the revolution consists only in putting these facts together, and in making deductions from them. The deductions may be right or they may be wrong, but I think that all the facts are admitted by most scholars.

If the facts and the deductions are correct, we can find a good many grains of ethnological information amongst the vast amount of chaff contained in the epic. To me, the great merit of Mr. Pargiter's paper is that, for the first time, it puts students in the way of sifting out these grains.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.
May 27th, 1908.

VEDIC RELIGION.

I am afraid Mr. Jackson, in his note on this matter at p. 533 of the April number of the Journal, is somewhat precipitate in finding analogies for the so-called sacrifices of the Vedas in the Greek mysteries or the secret dances of many savage tribes. The latter comparison it is, in the absence of any specification of the tribes referred to,
impossible to criticise; of the former I can only say that I shall await with interest an explanation of the points of contact between the mysteries and Vedic religion as they appear to Mr. Jackson, observing merely that the real significance of the Greek mysteries still forms a subject of dispute and doubt far exceeding that entertained in regard to any problem of Vedic ritual.

I also fear that the description of a sacrifice as a case of substitution of the victim for the sinner does not help much towards its understanding. Does Mr. Jackson really suppose that the sinner originally sacrificed himself or that others sacrificed him to that somewhat abstract deity Nirṛti? Yet, if he does not, his description appears to me meaningless, nor do I understand his remark that the ass is the 'vehicle' of Śitalādevī, who may stand in the place of the vaguer Nirṛti, for nothing is said in the Vedic text of the ass being the 'vehicle' of Nirṛti, and the view that the wearing of the skin is a mere penance will hardly survive a perusal of the passage in Pāraskara, to which I would refer Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Jackson seems to have overlooked my remarks on p. 944 when writing his note on the sacrifice of a man at the Agnicayana. He will find that his view coincides, so far as it goes, with mine; I have, however, endeavoured to suggest an explanation of the facts, the object of my paper being of course explanation, not enumeration of modern instances which certainly prove nothing for the Veda.

I should like, however, to supplement my article by a reference to the curious ritual at the Avabhṛtha of the Āśvamedha,1 in which the sacrificer is purified from sin by offering a sacrifice to Jumbaka (Varuṇa) on the head of a man of repulsive appearance, who stands in the water.

1 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 3, 6, 5; Taิตtiriya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 9, 15; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xx, 8, 16; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 18.
until it enters his mouth. Hillebrandt has suggested that in this legend, taken in conjunction with the Śunahšēpa legend, we have a relic of a Vedic practice of slaying at stated intervals the aged and worn-out king. No text, however, suggests that the man was killed, and, as Professor Eggeling points out, the oblation could not properly have been performed on the head of a drowning man. The real nature of the ritual seems to be explained by a remark in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 18, where it is said that the man is driven forth after the oblation, the guilt of the village outcasts being thus removed. The man is clearly a scapegoat on whose head are deposited the sins of the village, and his numerous physical defects may be explained (as in the case of the φαρμακοί of Hipponax and the victims at the Thargelia) by the preference of the tribe to banish one whose natural defects at once decreased his tribal value and seemed to render him peculiarly fitted to be a sin receptacle. Probably the offering to Jumbaka on his head is a priestly refinement on a formal touching of the head in transferring the sin. The priests considered that the expulsion of sin was effected by the grace of Varuṇa won by sacrifice, and substituted this conception for the more magic conception of sin-transfer. The further remark of the texts ascribing to Varuṇa the physical peculiarities of the bald man should not be interpreted as showing that the god was normally so conceived. The ritual when the sacrifice to Varuṇa was introduced had to explain the appearance of the man, and the simplest way was to ascribe his

1 Ved. Myth., iii, p. 32.
2 Frazer, Golden Bough, i, p. 227.
3 S.B.E., xlv, p. xl. His discussion of the whole question is most valuable.
4 Murray, Rise of Greek Epic, pp. 253 seq.
5 Farnell, Greek Cults, iv, p. 271.
6 Frazer, ii, p. 202. The bathing in water may be merely purificatory, or it may be a reminiscence of a vegetation ritual. Both explanations may in different cases be true. Here I prefer the former.
characteristics to Varuṇa, the man being clearly regarded as a temporary embodiment of the god.

A. Berriedale Keith.

**Bhagavant and Kṛṣṇa.**

Just before the late Professor Kielhorn’s lamented death I had written to him—not knowing that he had sent a communication to the *Journal*\(^1\)—to ask his opinion on the question of Bhagavant, as my attention had been called, by reading Weber’s review of his edition of the Mahābhāṣya, to the fact that the reading of the text\(^2\) was there *tatrabhavataḥ*, not *bhagavataḥ*. My difficulty was that the version of Kaiyatā\(^3\) ran, *nityaḥ paramātma-devatāviśeṣa iha Vāsudevo grhyata ity arthaḥ*, and that this evidence seemed to me to favour *bhagavataḥ*, while the difference of *bhagavataḥ* and *bhavataḥ* in MSS. is so small that a defective archetype might produce the present unanimity of what is, after all, the not very large number of MSS. consulted. Further, I pointed out that the existence of Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, and quasi-identification at least with Viṣṇu were regarded by Weber\(^4\) himself as hinted at in the fact that the special subjects of the representatives of the actors mentioned by Patañjali were the binding of Bali, Viṣṇu’s famous deed, and the slaying of Kamsa, Kṛṣṇa’s famous deed. Professor Kielhorn might well have replied so as to remove my difficulties, but even with *tatrabhavataḥ* as the reading Kaiyatā’s rendering is intelligible, and appears to me to be strongly supported by Professor Kielhorn’s own example. For, as he points out, the precise phrase *sanjñā caiva tatrabhavataḥ*, which

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2. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, iv, 3, 98.
4. Ibid., p. 491.
on his view occurs with regard to Vāsudeva, occurs with regard to Ka (= Prajāpatī), and it may be that Kaiyāta is precisely accurate in equating tatrabhāvant with para-mātmadevata, when we find Prajāpatī so described. In that case we would have from the Mahābhāṣya the most satisfactory proof of the identity of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, for except through such identification no one could dream of putting Vāsudeva on the same plane as Ka.

The usage of tatrabhāvant in the Mahābhāṣya, as given by Professor Kielhorn, appears decidedly in favour of this view. It is otherwise used only of sages and learned persons, Brāhmaṇas who speak pure Sanskrit untaught, etc. The expression, therefore, in Vāsudeva's case must, it seems, mean either that the personage was a god (as with Ka) or a learned person of some sort, and the probabilities are certainly in favour of the first alternative. But certainty is impossible, and I must leave the matter doubtful, remarking only that the argument in favour of the early identification of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa seems, so far as it rests on the Mahābhāṣya, to remain unaffected by the divergence in reading between the Benares edition and that of Professor Kielhorn; indeed, taking Professor Kielhorn's reading the evidence seems to be rendered more rather than less cogent.

A. Berriedale Keith.

Note on the Kāvādi Ceremony among the Hindus in Ceylon.

Among the Hindus in Jaffna and other parts of Ceylon a custom exists that in some ways resembles the Hookswinging (which used to be so popular in the Madura district and elsewhere) and the Tûkkam ceremony in Travancore.

For illness or some other cause a person will vow to carry milk to the temple for the purpose of bathing the
image of the god. At the auspicious time the votary buys about two bottles of milk which he pours into a sumbu. He then procures a wooden arch decorated with peacocks' feathers which is strapped to the shoulders, and to which the vessel is fixed, the mouth of it having first been carefully sealed with a plantain leaf tied round with string. He next goes from the nearest temple to the one where he has promised to wash the image. When hooks are used these are put in the man's back at the temple from which he starts, and on the journey between the two shrines he is accompanied by a procession at which the native band plays. A close relation or intimate friend holds the coir ropes attached to the hooks while the man himself trots slowly, thus pulling against them. Meanwhile other friends burn incense in his face to drive away the devils. On arrival at the second temple the milk is given to the Brahmin, or in his absence to the Pandaram. The votary often waits there until the wounds heal, and the only unguent applied is the burnt cow-dung used for smearing over the body.

A friend can make the vow on behalf of a sick person, who has to fulfil it later on.

The number of hooks used varies from four to sixteen. The writer was able with considerable difficulty to procure a complete set from a Brahmin who felt some scruples as to parting with them, and who was more than usually curious to know why they were wanted. This set consists of twelve hooks, an exceptionally large number. They are 6 inches long, which is rather an uncommon length, and suggests that they were made some time ago, since there is a tendency now to decrease the size.

It is a curious fact that while Hinduism only came to Ceylon from India, the Kāvādi ceremony is apparently unknown in that country, although, as Mr. Thurston, of the Madras Government Museum, points out in a letter on the subject, "Kāvādi occurs as the name of a division of
Kuravas who carry offerings to Perumalswámi at Tirupati on a pole. It also occurs as a name for Kannadiyan curd-sellers in Madras, who carry the curds in pots on their heads.”

H. Anderson Meaden.

**Ubalike = Ubārī.**

In discussing the Rummindéi inscription of Aśoka in the April part of this volume, Dr. Fleet has dealt with the phrase in lines 4 and 5, *Luvrumini-gáme ubalike kate athabhāgiye cha*, on pp. 478–9. For *ubalike*, which he renders ‘free of rent,’ he proposes to read *umbalike*, and explains this word from South Indian forms, the Kanarese *umbali, umbalige, ummali*, the Telugu *umbalike*, etc., and the Tamil *umbalikkai*.

It is possible that the Southern forms may be connected with the word in Aśoka’s inscription, but I wish to point out that the modern equivalent of *ubalike* appears to exist in the province of Bundélkhand, at no great distance from the sub-Himalayan tract in which Rummindéi is situated, in the word *ubārī, उबारी*. This tenure, which is common in the Jhánsí and Jálaun districts of the United Provinces, signifies in the present day an estate held, not free of rent or revenue, but on a quit-rent at something less than the full assessment. In the present day the proportion of remission varies in different estates: in some the quit-rent is only one-third of the full assessment; in others a higher proportion is taken (see the Jhánsí Settlement Report, 1871, pp. 91, 126, etc.).

Etymologically it appears to be certain that *ubārī* is the equivalent of *ubalike*, the lengthening of the vowel in the second syllable being probably due to the modern dialect.¹ In Mr. W. Crooke’s *Rural and Agricultural*

¹ Some of the Kanarese forms in Southern India also appear to present a long ı in the penultimate.
Glossary, p. 280, the modern form is given as ubari, with short a; but this is an error, probably due to the omission of the mark of length in the N.W.P. Gazetteer, vol. i, pp. 34, 216, 283, 346, where the tenure is explained. Sir James La Touche confirms my recollection that the correct spelling is ubāri. The word does not occur in Platt's Hindostani Dictionary.

I must leave to others the question whether in the fiscal language of Aśoka's time ubalika meant altogether free of rent (revenue) or, as at present, paying a quit-rent.

C. J. Lyall.

Magadha and Videha.

In his appreciative remarks upon my paper on "The Nations of India at the great Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas" (for which let me thank him), Dr. Grierson has offered a number of suggestions that throw valuable light upon the Aryan religious and tribal movements that took place in ancient India, and that may have influenced the story narrated in the Mahābhārata. They appear to be well worth further investigation. How far tribal movements were affected by religious feelings and vice versa is a point to be considered, and history perhaps generally indicates that religion has followed rather than instigated such movements. All these questions would demand a long and intricate enquiry, and here I would wish to notice merely one of his remarks. He has pointed out that the vanguard of the Aryan migration in India was less subject to Brahman influence than were the tribes further west, and that it was in Kosala and Videha (and Magadha may be added) that new philosophies and religions arose. This is undoubtedly true. Similar phases may be observed in other lands where similar movements have taken place. There is one feature that I should like to add to his notice of that region.
In a paper on the "Ancient Countries in Eastern India" (JASB, 1897, vol. lxvi, part 1, p. 85) I pointed out that the five nations of the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Pundras, and Suhmas constituted a closely connected ethnic group, and that they probably invaded India from the sea, settling first along the west and north coast of the Bay of Bengal, and gradually pushed inwards up the Ganges valley. They occupied a wedge-shaped area, with its base along the seacoast and Aṅga as its apex touching Magadha and Videha. It appears clear that they were not nations which had occupied the Ganges valley and been driven eastward by the Aryan migration. The disorganized condition of peoples who are broken and driven backward by an invading host has been well expressed by Longfellow in Hiawatha's lament over the Red Indians of North America ("Hiawatha," xxi):

"I beheld our nations scattered,
All forgetful of my counsels,
Weakened, warring with each other;
Saw the remnants of our people
Sweeping westward, wild and woful,
Like the cloud-rack of a tempest,
Like the withered leaves of autumn."

Those five nations exhibited no state of disorder, but, on the contrary, held a firm compact position, projecting in Aṅga a strong front far up the Ganges valley. Their position can only be explained as the result of a counter invasion from the east. Their vanguard and the Aryan vanguard met in Magadha and Videha, and each was arrested there. It was that region, where the two opposing streams of different ethnic origin met and mingled, that always constituted a nucleus of instability. Aryan influence, political, religious, and social, spread gradually over those five nations, but did so by virtue of its superiority and not by further aggressive migration. The Aryan vanguard in Magadha and Videha would surely of itself have become orthodox when in the course
of time it became a settled polity, as did the regions to the west, for the liberty possessed by pioneers lasts as long as they have pioneer-work to do. There must have been some other cause at work which made that region ferment with philosophical and religious ideas for centuries, and that, it seems to me, was the interaction that went on inevitably and continuously between the different ethnic elements that were compelled to mingle there.

That interaction was not a new thing at the time of the great battle. It had existed long before, for An̄ga was a kingdom that ranked with Kosala in Daśaratha’s and Lomapāda’s time. Those two kings and Janaka are placed some twenty royal generations earlier than the battle, and four kings are said to have reigned in An̄ga before Lomapāda (besides the eponymous An̄ga). The ethnic group is said to have existed even before that, and though it was naturally mleccha, yet it was never (as far as I am aware) described as barbarous. Dusyanta’s grandmother is said to have been a Kaliṅga princess, and in the eight generations of the Lunar Dynasty before her time two kings are said to have married An̄ga princesses and one a Kaliṅga princess. There was no incentive to fabricate such alliances, and they show that An̄ga and Kaliṅga were reckoned respectable monarchies at a very early date.

F. E. Pargiter.

1 Hari-Vaṁśa, 1692-7 (Calc. ed.).
2 MBh. i, 3780-2.
3 MBh. i, 3772, 3775, 3777.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

KITAB BAĞDĀD von AHMAD IBN ABI TĀHIR TĀIFŪR
(Sechster Band). Edited and translated by Dr. H.
KELLER. Part 2: German translation. Leipzig:
O. Harrassowitz, 1908.

Dr. Keller has long been known to be engaged on an
edition of what remains of the “Kitāb Baghadād” of
Ibn abi Tāhir Taifūr from the unique MS. B.M. Add.
23318, for an instalment of the text and translation
appeared as long ago as 1898. The entire German
translation has now been issued as “II. Teil,” the text
being presumably intended to follow as “I. Teil,” but
the presence of the MS. at the Museum supplies its place.

The introductory matter (pp. xxvi) shows that Dr. Keller
has subjected his text to a close and searching analysis, and
his references to other works where the same matter occurs,
especially his tabular comparison of the Kitab al-aghani,
is of great value. But Dr. Keller has a special theory to
support. The pp. xiii–xxvi are devoted to showing that
the “Kitab Baghadad” was largely drawn on by Tabari,
whilst its author’s name is intentionally cited but once;
that Tabari’s selections therefrom were throughout made
with the twofold object of concealing the indebtedness,
and of suppressing anything unfavourable to the Abbasid
ruler; and that the result is to present a picture of the
period imperfect, one-sided, and deceptive. Tabari is, in
fact, a “Tendenz” writer (p. xxiii). Dr. Keller concedes
certainly that the Annals will always possess value, but on
their author’s methods he is outspoken. Tabari betrays
himself as a “Plagiator” (p. xiv), a term which, as
differing from the “Abschreiber” used on p. xv, certainly
discloses a “Tendenz” in Dr. Keller; he worked mechanically, and omitted so important an event as the death of Wāqidi (p. xviii); when the Kitāb Baghdād failed him he was reduced to bare chronicles for his information (p. xxi); and from his source he drew merely flattering matter (“Lobhudeleien und Zahmes”) to the exclusion of all that was unfavourable, masculine and energetic (p. xxvi). But does the evidence on these various heads constitute proof, or even a _ prima facie _ case?

Ṭabarī’s leading counsel speaks, of course, from Leyden, but to one count of the indictment an acquittal may be claimed from behind the bar. On p. xxi translations are given of two passages of the text, which rest on the same authority, and occur at eight folios interval, both recording the appointment of Tāhir b. al-Husain to be governor of Khurāsān, as follows, fol. 14ª:

قال أبو حسان: وكان سبب وليته فيما اجتمع الناس عليه أن عبد الرحمان المعطاوي الجموئي قتل بعبير أموالى خراسان فالتخوفوا ان يكون ذلك لأصل عمل عليه

and again on fol. 22ª, under the next heading:

وذكر أبو حسان . . . وإنما كان سبب وليته أنه قتل عبد الرحمان المعطاوي الجموئي بعبير أموالى خراسان فالتخوفوا ان يكون لذلك أصل.

The event is recorded in the text of Ṭabarī as follows (iii, 1043, l. 6):

قال أبو حسان: وكان سبب وليته فيما اجتمع الناس عليه أن عبد السرهمان المعطاوي جمع جموعه * بينسابور ليقاتل بهم الجموئي بعبير أموالى خراسان فالتخوفوا ان يكون ذلك لأصل عمل عليه.

1 Ex I.A. recepi. Cod. . . . . نساسبور. Taif. corrupte, etc.
Dr. Keller holds the two passages to differ in meaning; that Ibn Taifur added the second to elucidate the first; and that Tabari, noticing only the first and its unsatisfactory form, pieced it out with a bald extract from a chronicle. But all this is mere phantasy. The two passages are practically identical: it is a mere case of repetition; of the two, the first is indeed the better, and the text of Tabari approximates to it. Nor can Dr. Keller's translations be accepted. In the first passage he treats قتل as passive, and as referring to 'Abd al-Rahmân, and أن يكون ذلك لأسل عمل عليه, which he takes to mean the leader of that sect: the words of the first passage, أن يكون ذلك لأسل عمل عليه, he renders "people were afraid that that had happened because he had been made its governor," and the أن يكون لذلك أصل of the second, "people were afraid that something terrible might thereby happen." But whatever be the meaning of أصل, that meaning must be the same in both passages. To Tabari, indeed, with some aid from Leyden via Ibn al-Athir, belongs the credit of having converted the corrupt text of Ibn Taifur into sense, using, it may be, some independent source. For Dr. Keller seems to forget that his author was not the sole nor necessarily the best authority for Ma'mûn's reign; it is by a chance merely that his work may be the best which has reached us. True, he was born early in that reign, but for the events preceding

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The meaning of the words أصل عمل عليه in the passage in Tabari has been declared from Leyden to be: "it was feared that this expedition of 'Abd al-Rahmân had proceeded on a plan on which he had acted," viz., of rebellion, as undertaken without the governor's leave. Professor Margoliouth points out that in Ibn Khaldûn, iii, 251, l. 6 a.f., the passage runs: فخشى أن يكون ذلك من العامون, viz., that it was feared he had acted on secret instructions.
his manhood a writer must rely, as for those preceding his birth, on authority. And, be it observed, Ibn Taifur is earlier than Tabari by only twenty years. Other historians there were—al-Haitham b. 'Adi, for instance (Wust., Gesch. No. 44), whose work may have extended into Ma'mûn's reign, for his death occurred in 207 A.H., and is indeed recorded in the translation, on p. 159, where ' 'Adi' is, by mistake, 'Abdi.' And Dr. Keller goes too far in presuming that matter present in this text which appears in later works was, therefore, derived from his author. For two cases can be adduced of its stories being told by a later writer in a fuller and, presumably, a more original form than his. The story of Abu Dulaf and Rashid, pp. 115—16, MS. fol. 98b, will be found set out supra, p. 455 (Extract C), from the Tadhkira of Ibn Hamdûn, and it is apparent that it was not derived from Ibn Taifur's version. Again, the story how Ma'mûn's offer to purchase his own property from a slave, in preference to his stealing it, was closed with at once by that slave at an agreed sum of two dinars (p. 44, MS. fol. 38b), appears also in the Tadhkira, Or. 3179, fol. 112v, and in a fuller form, with a closing remark by the slave that the subject had been exhausted.¹ And a third instance can be adduced where

قال: عَلَّمَا نَمَىَ كَفَايَةَ الْيَهِّيهِىٰ. I append the story immediately preceding it in the Tadhkira, as also illustrating the Caliph's extraordinary good nature. Both were probably taken by Ibn Hamdûn from the same source:

قال عبد الله بن سُطهُ طاهر: كنتُ عند المامِسون فنادي بالخادم: يا غلام، بإلی صوته فدخل غلام تركسي فقال: لا ينبغي للعالم أن يأكل أو يشرب أو يتوقّا أو يصلي؟ كمما خرجنا من عندك تصمّي: يا غلام؟ إلى كم "يا غلام"؟ فنسي رأسه طويلة نما شككت أنه
Ibn Taifur was himself an actor. For a life of him is contained in the recently published "Irshād al-Arib" of Yāqūt,! and at vol. i, p. 156, appears the story how Ibn Taifūr's conduct drove al-Mubarrad into showing him the door, a story which Yāqūt derived from al-Marzubānī (d. 384, Wust., No. 146), who had it from al-Ṣūli (d. 335, ib. No. 115). But the same story is given by Ibn Hamdūn, Or 3180, fol. 241b, and he died some years before Yāqūt was born. Whilst giving the story in a form obviously abridged from that of Yāqūt, he gives it on the authority of Ibn Taifūr himself, and, but for this evidence, he would probably be assumed by Dr. Keller to have derived it directly from one of Ibn Taifūr's works.

As regards Ṭabarī's supposed principles of selection from the Kitāb Baghḍād, it is difficult to see why he should have been more concerned than Ibn Taifūr to uphold the reputation of the reigning house. And Dr. Keller's claim that his author was the first to attempt a 'Kulturgeschichte' (p. xxiii), as distinct from mere annals, would be more properly advanced for Ibn Qutaiba or Mubarrad, both contemporary writers. All that Ibn Taifūr did was to adopt the Persian habit of an episodical form; under his headings he, like other historians, gives one detached story after another; and he seems, like them, to have had little notion of an ordered historical narrative.

Ma'mūn's dictum is attributed to Yahya the Barmecide by Ibn Khallikān, in his Life, de Sl. Eng., iv, p. 111.

1 The volume abounds with interesting matter, and although but a part of the "Irshād" is known to be extant, that part will afford matter for four volumes. The work is being edited by Professor D. S. Margoliouth for the Gibb Memorial Series.
To come to the translation (pp. 1-159). In a story of the difficulties which beset Ma'mûn's head spy—for such were employed, too, by the better Caliphs—that official had to send his master a letter of expostulation. Summoned to an audience, Ma'mûn says to him:  

\textit{تعتكر في نسي وسادتى}, "your letter is in the fold of my cushion." This Dr. Keller has wholly misunderstood (p. 32), and being taken apparently for a copulative. And there are other mistakes in the translation of this story. The right understanding of Arabic is indeed no light task, and in the case of concise and idiomatic turns of speech is often almost unattainable. Yet it is well to proceed on the assumption that the phrase or anecdote should convey some point and to try and bring that point out in the translation. But Dr. Keller's rendering is sometimes a case of \textit{ignotum per ignotius}. He may well be excused for not having grasped the purport of Tâhir's remark to Sa'îd when he brought him the dissatisfied official's petition (p. 51), a passage set out below as emended and interpreted by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, but of some of Tâhir's subsequent remarks the purport is scarcely apprehended. In stating the difficulties which beset him as governor, Tâhir says that, being a native of the province, and sprung from its middle class—for such must be here the sense of توسطنا بسن القوم rather than

\footnote{1}{قال (وتنكر بعد انشرح ولطب نفس معنى): أوشتها [أوعسها]}: 

\footnote{1}{زبتا وأحس بها كذا من نفسك. لا يكتفي عن السوء [السوء]}: 

\footnote{1}{بها [مفتى] B.M. Add. 23318, fol. 44b. مقصيّا\textit{}}

meaning, "He (Tâhir) said, changing suddenly after his cheerfulness and friendliness with me: 'Saturate it (the letter) with oil, and stuf your . . . with it,' using the plain Arabic word and no euphemism."  

كذا من نفسك is, literally, 'such and such a part of your person.' The word, in fact, used was, probably, محتى, but there are many synonyms.
'vermittler spielen'—he found himself exposed on the one side to the exaggerated expectations of friends—'wali' not 'wali,' nor particularly referring to the petitioner—and on the other to the covert satisfaction of enemies at his disparagement by reason of his friends' disappointment. And Tahir's statement about the petitioner (p. 52) should be: "I want him (not 'he wants') to be satisfied, and to claim a post for which he is competent: were he to start forthwith for his actual post, and then put forward a claim, what he wants would be granted as soon as expressed. What is the meaning of this presumption and self-will now?" (the last words not forming part of the previous sentence). Tahir's protest, again, when vinegar was thrown at his one remaining eye (p. 55), that that eye was ٣ْ٤*، means 'in great peril of destruction,' and has no reference to Tahir's own hands. The saying is explained Lane, 1974. Tahir's dictum on p. 56 must surely be that your choice of officials should be guided by whether their wealth or worldly fortunes (نعمة) rise and fall with your own. The translation has "dass er nicht froh ist, wenn es dir gut geht, sich aber wohl fühlt, wenn es dir wohl geht." Again, on p. 58, the sentence "Ihr Ende macht die Taten und die Ansdauer das Handeln, und das Ziel belohnt den Lauf des Rennpferdes," etc., is far from conveying the meaning of the words—

العمال بخواتيمها والسنية باستدامتها وليا الغاية ما جرى

الجواد بحمرة السابق وذم الساقط

which I take to be: Actions are judged by their results and acts of kindness by their being kept up, for it is the goal that a noble courser makes for amidst plaudits for the horse ahead and jeers at the one outdistanced. Tahir's answer (p. 59) to the man who complained that his house had been burnt down, "Das Verfehlen deines Zweckes
kommt von deiner Absicht,” which means "Whoever it was aimed at you, has missed you," i.e. though you have lost your abode your life is safe.

On p. 70 Tāhir’s son, ‘Abd Allah, is irritated by a local governor’s refusal to receive him, and i.e. spoke depreciatingly of him (the governor). This is rendered ‘Verzog das Gesicht’ (his own face). And it is evident that Dr. Keller’s reading of a passage on fol. 62°, p. 71, needs revision. The poet al-‘Attābi says of certain Persian books at Merv which he had copied, ‘سقطت الى ما هناك مس يزهرد.’ Dr. Keller has failed to recognize the name. The phrase implies the idea of age, like the French “C’est vieux comme Hérode,” or better here, “comme le roi Dagobert.” The passage is interesting as giving the poet’s appreciation of Arabic and Persian literature, to the effect that whilst for the former could be claimed the power of expression in correct and convincing language (inserting و between the words الملة اللغة), yet that ‘ideas’ (المعاني) must be sought for in the Persian.

The saying, too, of Ishaq al-Mansili, on p. 86, is a dark one—“Ich hoffe, dass tu es aufrechtig meinst, und dass auch jenes (Wort), dass, wenn ich gestorben bin, du niemand findest, dem du wie mir den Tod wünschest, eine Lüge von dir sei.” Ishaq was ill and answered a message from Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi as to visiting him in a way that Ibrāhīm complained of whilst protesting his wish that Ishaq might regain his health. To this Ishaq replied:

i.e., I hope you are sincere, and moreover that, should I die, you may not find some one ready, as I am, when appealed to, to incur falsehood out of courtesy towards you.
On p. 88, Ibrāhīm when in hiding insists on changing his quarters, and says to the man who is dissuading him ْأَنْ تَرَكْتِي وَلَا شَقَقْتِ بَطَنِي, i.e. let me go, or else, etc., which is rendered "Du verläßest mich nicht, sonst," etc., which seems to imply that Ibrāhīm wished him not to leave him.

In an anecdote of Maʿmūn's voracious vizier, ʿAlī b. abi Khālid (p. 105), ʿAlīmad is disclosing gradually to a needy friend that he had procured him a large gift from Maʿmūn, and he begins by saying that he had failed to get anything. Told that this came of his weak advocacy, he replies: ْمَا أَمْلِتْ (آنُمْلَتْ) (i.e. منْكُ عَلَيْ حَالِي) "I have by no means deserted you." This is rendered: "Ich habe von dir keine Schilderung eines Zustandes (keine Klarlegung der Verhältnisse) bekommen," which leaves Dr. Keller's reading of the verb quite uncertain.

In the above-mentioned story of Abu Dulaf (p. 116) the concluding words of the version in the Tadhkira show that by َكَتَبَ الْيَلِيُّ فِي اِحْدَيْ is intended, not a letter of recommendation, but a draft in a person's favour, and the rendering of the previous words in the passage "sotust du [i.e. the Caliph] unter seine Tauben einen grossen Schuss" is unintelligible. The words seem to mean that "he (i.e. Abu Dulaf) has a spirit beyond his years which will carry him far." And in the bold vindication by the poet ʿAllawāh of his patrons, the Omeyyads (p. 128, and twice repeated in the Aghāni, iv, 97, and x, 131–2), the double meaning of 'Maula' might with advantage have been emphasized, for what the poet was, of course, contrasting was the position of the Abbasid dependant Zīryāb at the Omeyyad Court in Spain with his own lot at the Abbasid Court.

In conclusion, by way of tentative suggestion, and on the principle of forcing from a story an adequate point, may not the third form of َأَكُلُ in the story of the poet Mukhāriq
and Ma’mún, on pp. 145–6, require, not the usual sense of ‘to eat with,’ but rather ‘to vie with in eating’? The poet had, by command, joined Ma’mún at table, and together they had disposed of a fowl and two rolls. The Caliph’s displeasure became forthwith evident to his guest, and on his explaining the situation to his friends, one of these enquired whether he had not in the house a single roll he might have eaten beforehand. In a month’s time Ma’mún repeated his command, but the poet replied “Never again,” at which the Caliph said laughingly: “Did you imagine I grudged the food? No,”

These last words seem to negative the idea that Ma’mún’s object was to point out the impropriety of princes eating with subjects, and the friend’s enquiry points rather to the poet’s offence having lain, not in his obedience to Ma’mún’s command, but to that obedience having been so hearty and entire.¹

There is, therefore, not a little occasion for improvement in Dr. Keller’s translation, and the appearance of his text will be awaited with interest, coupled with some anxiety.

H. F. A.

¹ It has been suggested to me that لا يحمله has no proper agent, and that by amending the passage واختار ان يحمل هذا من غيري فلا يحمله عليه غيري the verbأكل can bear its ordinary sense.

Professor Margoliouth, in his preface, expresses his well-founded hope that the Gibb Trustees, by opening their series for Yaqût’s Dictionary of Learned Men, have earned the gratitude of those who are interested in Arabic literary history. Even more thanks are due to Professor Margoliouth himself for the excellent edition of the first volume that now lies before me. Yaqût is no stranger to us. His two works published by Wüstenfeld, his great geographical dictionary, and his book on homonymous geographical names proved him to be a man of great learning, who compiled with tact and talent, often adding useful critical remarks and supplying what he had seen or heard himself. As he consulted many books that have perished since his time, he is, for not a few geographical or historical problems, our only resource, and his extracts from works that still exist enable us often to restore corrupt passages in the latter. The present work shows the same qualities. Several of the books mentioned by Yaqût in his introduction as the main sources of his biographical notes are lost to us. In several cases, where he quotes works that have come down to us, his text "provides more emendations for future editors of these texts than it obtains from them."

Professor Margoliouth had only one copy (MS. Bodl. Or. 753) on which to base the edition of this first volume. The copy is modern and not free from even serious faults. The editor had no other means of correcting these than the examination of works from which Yaqût copied,
or works which borrowed from his. Of the latter the most useful was the dictionary of Saifadi, of which the Bodleian Library contains eleven volumes. The text having thus been constituted by the editor, the proofs were read at his request by more than one learned Oriental expert. The result is, as I said before, a really good edition.

In reading parts of the work I made some marginal notes which I submit to Professor Margoliouth—

P. f. 7. The words "لا لما، ظنه لتلك" seem to be corrupt. I have tried in vain to find the true reading; l. 10, in modern MSS. the mistakes in the gender of numerals are countless; the correction of "جلدة" in "جلدَة" therefore, is not necessary.

P. r. 2. I see no reason whatever why the reading of the MS., "المثال" should be replaced by "المثال".

P. iv, 6 a f. Qutb, r. فعتبرته, for "في仆ته" means "he knew it thoroughly."

P. i, 3. جزارت must be corrupt.

P. ii, ult. حجر, the reading of the MS., is also good.

P. r, note t. The same case, p. r, 6, 10; l. 3, فرائز, perhaps to be read فرائز.

P. r, 8. Read "ابدأ جماية" and perhaps "بدأ".

P. r, 5 a f. "يعلم بَن" seems to have fallen out between and يعلم.

P. r, 1. "وللرجل" seems to be a variant of للفرشي.

P. r, 7, and note t. The reading of the MS., "لبدي" is doubtless to be retained, "he lived in the desert"; l. 8, r. with Tusi's List شواهد, viz. of the Gharib; l. 9, rather "جمع بين جار جاز".

P. r, 2, and note t. The words of the MS. (r. جار جاز) seem to mean: "and they used to call al-Harbiya all that is on the other side of the old bridge."

P. r, 11. "عداً", "if they are destitute of."

P. r, 1, 5. The reading of the MS., "سَرِيُّ" may be preferable. Cf. the index to Tabari, sub أحمد بن مَارِثة.
P. 12, 13. Read "لا تفعل, "don't (say so)." See the glossary to Tabarî; sub تفعل.
P. 133, 11. منكرا, r. مسكرا.
P. 187, ult. الاقالةيم seems to have fallen out after صور. It is also missing in Safadi's work, see Z.D.M.G. xxv, p. 55, ult. seqq.
It is curious that Yaqtî has nothing to say in this interesting article about الكتَّاب المتنازع بين أبي زيد البلخي وابن أبي سعادي الإضطراري في صنعة البلدان (Mo'jam, ii, p. 137, 13).
P. 186, penult. والزن is a printer's error for والزن.
P. 186, 12. ستين must be read سنين, coll. 1. 15.
P. 199, 7. قطع يد السارق means قطع يد السارق.
P. 200, 5. وليم. r. وكيم.
P. 200, 11. There is no reason for substituting خالصة to خالصة. خالصة
P. 200, 10. أكرههم قسرا, perhaps لاقارتيم.
P. 213, 3. Read هارون بن غريب الجمال, see 'Arîb, index.
P. 216, 4. Read "in a bundle."
P. 301, 6 a.f. Read آني.

Peculiarly interesting in this volume are the biographies of Abu Zaid Balkhi, of Ibrâhîm as-Šâli, and Ibrâhîm ibn Hilâl as-Šâbi, the grandfather of that Hilâl as-Šâbi whose history of the vezirs has been edited by Mr. Amedroz. Interesting also are the not very flattering character given to Ibn abi Tahir Taifûr (p. 234), a fragment of whose work has just appeared in a German translation by Dr. Keller; the correspondence of Abu'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arrî with the Upperdaî in Egypt; the official writing of the Calif ar-Râdhi to Nasîr ibn Ahmed as-Samâni about Shalmaghâni (pp. 398-399).

The editor does not say which MSS. are at his disposal for the edition of the following volumes, nor whether the whole of the work is still extant. I wish him all success in the continuation of his deserving work.

M. J. De Goeje.

In this interesting little book Professor Garbe has collected seven short sketches of Indian life and thought, most of which had already appeared in German periodicals, practically inaccessible to English readers. All of them are of value, but the most original are undoubtedly the first two, which treat of the part played by the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas respectively in the development of Indian philosophy, and of the leading features and historic relations of the six great orthodox philosophical systems of India. These essays supplement and explain the views expressed by the author in his Sāṃkhya Philosophie and in his translation of the Bhagavadgītā, and will form an essential factor in any discussion of the history of Indian philosophy.

It is possible that Professor Garbe's views as to the work of the Brahmans is somewhat affected by his decidedly unfavourable view of their part in the history of India, a view doubtless strongly supported by the record of their share in the extension of the practice of Sati and of Thuggee as described in the fourth and fifth essays in the volume. But despite all this it is somewhat perplexing to find that the Brahmans, whom we have been accustomed to regard as the bearers par excellence of Hindu culture, should be denied the credit alike of the Monism of the Upanisads, the morality of Buddhism and Jainism, and the theism of the Bhāgavatas, all of which faiths we are bidden to ascribe to the Kṣatriyas. This conclusion seems to Professor Garbe to follow necessarily from the evidence of the Upanisads, where, as is well known, princes are represented as disputing with and refuting and teaching Brahmans. It is argued, not without force, that the state of affairs represented must have been real or else priestly conceit would never have allowed it to be handed down.
Against Dahlmann's objection that already in the Rgveda and the Atharva Veda are to be found passages which are the forerunners of the doctrines of the Upanisads, Professor Garbe replies by asserting that the Rg and the Atharva are not mere priestly products; they belong to a time earlier than the sharp distinction of hereditary castes which we find in the later texts; even in the latter the three upper castes are permitted to study the Vedas.

The first remark that may be offered is that there is something paradoxical on the face of it to assert that to a warrior class is due the finest product of Hindu thought, the monism of the Upanisads. On Professor Garbe's theory we have these works arising at a time when a sharp distinction has been drawn between priest and warrior, a distinction only effected after great struggles between priest and noble, in which the latter was defeated. But the Vedic evidence for any such struggle is entirely to seek; we have only the fantastic legends of the Epic, which I confess seem to me without any value whatever. Nor can we admit the view which denies the existence of hereditary caste in the time of the Rgveda or the Atharva Veda. Both are essentially priestly collections, and whatever appears in them had found its way into the ritual of the priests, whatever its origin may have been.

Surely a much more plausible account of the whole matter can be given on the theory that the main philosophical activity of the period was that of the Brahmins, as is represented to have been the case in all the works preserved to us. The people who are represented to us as disputing and studying are normally Brahmins; the kings are few and far between, and much of their fame seems to have been due to their generosity in the way of prizes; the Kausitaki Upanisad (iv, 1), indeed, preserves a hint that Janaka's generosity caused Ajātaśatru much annoyance. Further, we must remember that in primitive societies such as those of the Brāhmaṇa period, the separation of the
castes as regards activities was not rigid. No doubt the Ksatriya’s first care was war and government, but in his spare moments a king might well amuse himself with the disputes of ritualists and philosophers; we need not deny that a king might be himself an originator of philosophic doctrine, but we cannot forget that flattery is both easy and diplomatic if cows are in question. But this alters in no way the fact that as a class the Ksatriyas are not the bearers of an intellectual tradition; that task falls to the Brahmin’s lot. And if a king is a philosopher it is not because he shares a different tradition from the priest, but because he is in some measure a partaker of the priestly tradition, as the three upper castes always share the Vedas.

We must, in fact, beware of minimising the differences of view within the priesthood itself. Professor Garbe’s view of the Sāṃkhya illustrates neatly the curious effect of insistence on the spiritual emptiness of the priests. For it represents in his view a revolt, again by the Ksatriyas, against the prevailing Ātman doctrine which we have seen to be derived in his opinion from Ksatriyas. Now, it is true that the older Upaniṣads do not know the Sāṃkhya, but the younger ones from the Kaṭha onwards do, and without laying any stress on the details of Deussen’s development\(^1\) of the Sāṃkhya from the Vedanta view, it is certainly not hard to see how within the Brahmin circles the doctrine with all its strange illogicalities could arise, even if we accept the view that the system is essentially the work of one mind. On this point, however, both Professors Jacobi and Oldenberg have expressed their disagreement with Professor Garbe, and, in fact, the proposition is hardly tenable.

Professor Garbe, indeed, tries to show that this view is rendered necessary by the fact that Buddhism is derived from the Sāṃkhya, and that it adopts the negation of soul

\(^1\) Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 490 seq.
as a deduction from the final view of the nature of the psychic processes held in the Sāṅkhya. This is certainly true, but it proves nothing for the definite creation of the system as a complete whole by one man. The question is, of course, one of degree, but the simplest and most probable view is that the system is the result of the activity of a school, though the doctrine itself must have first existed in a less fully defined form. To Professor Garbe the doctrine originated with one individual as a complete system; to us the main principles, viz., the relation of matter and spirit and the denial of god, were probably originated in Vedāntic circles by a natural process of development and criticism, and were only gradually reduced to the complete and dry system we now have. This is not, of course, to deny the early date of the fixation or to revive the theory of the Epic Sāṅkhya which Jacobi and Garbe have completely disposed of. On the other hand, such fixation need not be ante-Buddhist, as the Buddhist doctrine of the non-existence of the soul is merely a deduction from the principles, not the details, of the Sāṅkhya.

Indeed, if we are to judge the Ksatriyas by their systems, Buddhism and Jainism, we will hardly be able to expect much intellectual fruit from them. The claims of Jainism to serious consideration will hardly be argued seriously by any one, while it is clear that the Buddhist simplification of the Sāṅkhya was merely confusion on the metaphysical side; the moral side is another matter on which opinions may legitimately differ.

More difficult is the question of the origin of the Bhāgavata sect. Professor Garbe has no hesitation in treating it as of Ksatriya origin. The founder of the religion was, he says, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, who was later raised to divine rank or rather identified with the divinity, and, by his name and the legends attached to his name, a member of the warrior caste. Much of the cogency of this
argument disappears if we recognise in Krṣṇa a deity \textit{ex initio}, and there seems little other evidence which supports the theory. It is, however, also the view of Dr. Grierson,\footnote{J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 606.} who cites with approval the work of Professor Garbe on the Bhagavadgītā. But I confess I cannot find any real support of the theory in that work, and in connection I would refer to Professor Hopkins' interesting review in this Journal.\footnote{J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 384 seq. I am glad to be able to agree with Dr. Kennedy on one point, as regarding Krṣṇa as always divine (\textit{supra}, p. 520). Dr. Kennedy's views and mine are too different to render further reply to his note (pp. 516-21) useful. But I must protest against the attribution to me of the view that the ox was Krṣṇa's totem (p. 520). I do not understand how a god can have a totem, and reference to my remarks on p. 174 will show that I have not even regarded Krṣṇa in ox-shape (assuming he was so conceived) as a totem, but rather as an incarnation of a vegetation spirit. It should be remembered that Dionysus was worshipped as a bull—I confess I find it difficult to make that bull into clouds—and Dr. Kennedy's own theory connects Dionysus and Krṣṇa. For the rest I fear I cannot accept the view that Apollo, or Herakles, or Osiris are sun-gods proper; as regards Puṣan I am doubtful.} We have no right to refuse to suppose that the Brahmmins could and did originate more than one philosophic view; that of the Vedānta of Śankara occurs to us as the most orthodox, but the well-known fact that the Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa does not really best accord with that interpretation, shows conclusively that a more realistic interpretation of the world had early found acceptance in Brahminic circles. To assume that at first this interpretation came from without these circles is rather paradoxical, and certainly has no external support.

The length of this review precludes discussion of the many other interesting points raised by Professor Garbe, and it must suffice to call attention to the evidence adduced (pp. 136–9) that the Milindapañha originally ended with the second book, the rest being a later addition, and to Professor Garbe's acceptance of Hillebrandt's theory of the significance of the verse (Atharva Veda, xviii, 3, i), which
is usually and in my opinion rightly considered to refer to
the ancient and disused custom of burning the widow.
If the Brahmins later supported the custom, yet it may
fairly be put to their credit that there was a period when
they must have mitigated it, as appears to have been
the case at the time of the Rgveda and the Atharva.
Unhappily Indian history is, in too many matters, a
history of regress rather than progress.

A. Berriedale Keith.

A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from
Nippur. By Wm. I. Hinke, Ph.D., D.D., Assistant
Professor in the Old Testament Department in Auburn
Theological Seminary. With 16 half-tone illustrations
and 35 drawings. Philadelphia: published by the
University of Pennsylvania, 1907.

This book forms the fourth volume of Series D
(Researches and Treatises) of "The Babylonian Expedition
of the University of Pennsylvania." The "Expedition," so
ably conducted by the well-known Assyriologist, Professor
Hilprecht, has already furnished us with a goodly
number of excellent volumes of "Texts" (Series A) and
"Treatises" (Series D). I need only mention Hilprecht's
"Old Babylonian Inscriptions," Hilprecht-Clay's Murashū
Contracts, and Ranke's Hammurabi Documents and "Early
Babylonian Personal Names." Upon the last-named book
follows now Dr. Hinke's treatise. It deals with an
interesting class of Babylonian inscriptions, the so-called
kudurrus inscriptions. The kudurrus were stones set
up for marking the property boundaries. Some of the
kudurrus found are sale-contracts and some gift-documents.
Most of them, however, contain royal grants to faithful
officials or to temples. The study of these inscriptions
was mainly furthered by Oppert, Delitzsch, Hilprecht, and
Belser. Dr. Hinke now continues these studies in this book, and he does it in a very thorough manner. He does not only deal with the new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I, which was found by the Expedition in Nippur in 1896 and is now in the possession of Mrs. Hilprecht (p. xx). He devotes to the new boundary stone the second half of the book (which "was originally presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D."). and in the first half he discusses all the kudurrus thus far published. In the first half ("Babylonian Boundary Stones," pp. 1-115) the author deals with all the details of the kudurru inscriptions, as discovery, origin, contents, symbols, etc. Especially interesting is the chapter about the "Symbols of the boundary stones" (pp. 71-115). It has no less than twelve paragraphs. The symbols question is a very difficult one, and the attempts at solution made by Hommel, Zimmern, and others, have, as Dr. Hinke shows, not quite been successful. Dr. Hinke did not succeed either in giving a full explanation of the symbols in all their aspects. But some of the problems seem to have been finally solved by Dr. Hinke (see pp. 114-115). A very interesting chapter is that dealing with the "Curses of the kudurrus inscriptions" (pp. 58-70). It would have been worth while to compare these curses with other passages in the Babylonian literature where calamities are mentioned (cf., e.g., Keilinschr. Bibl., vol. vi, pp. 276, 278, 280, 296), and with the curses in the O.T. (cf., e.g., the phrase bitu ippušu libēl šanumma—see p. 69—with Deut. xxviii, 30, כותב הנני ולא שער בה).

Another interesting point is the employment of irresponsible persons (as fools, idiots, deaf, or blind) to destroy or take away the kudurrus in the belief that in this way he (the instigator) would escape the effect of the curses (see pp. 49-50). But the responsibility is put on the
right shoulders (cf. p. 152). It may be mentioned that we find the same idea (of sending an irresponsible person to do the misdeed) in the Talmud. The irresponsible persons usually mentioned there are the deaf, the fool, and the minor (דועז או תומך). The first two correspond to the sakka and sakla on the kudurrus. Instead of the kudurrus have là šēmā or là mādā. There, too, the responsibility rests upon the sender; cf., e.g., Talmud Babli Meila 21b, Baba Mezia 10b, and especially Baba Kamma 59b. There is much material in the first half of the book, and there is evidence of much painstaking labour. The results attained may, though, not be quite in proportion to the labour spent.

The second part, in which Dr. Hinke gives a full introduction to, transliteration and translation of, and commentary on the new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar (pp. 116–187), and also the boundary stone of Marduk-aḫe-erba (pp. 188–199), is in itself a valuable contribution to Assyriological research. The philological commentary might have perhaps been a little more exhaustive, especially seeing that what the author himself regards as "a general introduction" takes up half the book. It may also be that some explanations are not quite safe. Thus, for instance, I would prefer to compare tabalu, not with Heb. לנה (see p. 178), but with Heb. לבוי, 'canal' (Jer. xvii, 8), and לוב, 'watercourse, stream' (Isa. xxx, 25; xlv, 4). It gives a much better sense than 'dry land.' Again, nak mê, translated by Dr. Hinke 'water-pourer' (p. 62, see also Glossary), is, as a comparison with the proverb in Beiträge zur Assyriologie, vol. ii, p. 277 f., shows, equivalent to 'son,' 'offspring'; cf. also Susa, 3, vii, 9–13 (p. 62), where nak mê is parallel to piru, also London, 102, ii, 15–19 (ibid.). Mê is here equivalent to zēru (cf. the name Marduk-šāpik-zērim; see p. 208).
A concordance of proper names (pp. 200–230), a list of symbols (pp. 231–245), and a glossary (pp. 246–319) enhance the value of this industrious, well-arranged, and well-printed book. To every future student of this branch of Assyriology Dr. Hinke's treatise will be indispensable. One can only wish the "Babylonian Expedition" well and hope that more volumes will soon follow.

Samuel Daiches.


Mr. V. Smith is to be heartily congratulated on this new edition of his history; congratulated not only on the popularity of the work, as shown by its sale, but still more on the improvements he has introduced in the second edition. It is an ambitious and an arduous task to write the history of Ancient India when the materials are so imperfect, the lacunae so great, and so much is in dispute. By the history of Ancient India we virtually mean the history of Northern India; and even for this our materials are very incomplete and very capriciously distributed. The epigraphic evidence, which is much the most important, has been digested for two periods only—the age of Asoka and of the Guptas; with regard to the Śakas and the Kushāns, matters are still in dispute. The evidence of coins fails us altogether east of Allahabad, and the testimony of the Greeks and Chinese is limited to certain brief periods, while the Purānic legends and the chance references of native writers help us little. After the fourth century A.D. matters improve somewhat, and before the close of the mediæval era we begin to have some local histories; but, generally speaking, we have darkness illuminated by gleams of light,
and although the outlines are perceptible, the details are unknown. Thus any political history of Ancient and Medieval India at the present time must be regarded as largely tentative; but the discoveries of the last 50 or 60 years have been so numerous that it was worth while making the attempt. Mr. Smith's preliminary studies on Alexander's campaigns, Asoka, the Indo-Seyths and Kushāns, the Gandhāra sculptures, and the coinage and geography of the Guptas have made scholars acquainted with his views, and these have not always met with acceptance. But Mr. Smith's merits as a collector and arranger of facts are undeniable; he has ransacked every recent publication bearing on his subject down to the end of 1907; his diligence is admirable, and his history maintains a uniform average of general excellence and seldom degenerates into a bald chronicle of names. He succeeds as a rule in giving the ordinary reader a succinct impression of what is surmised or known; and he has supplied the student with a storehouse of references to the recent literature. Few scholars have the good fortune to see a large edition of so serious a work exhausted in three years; fifty years have not sufficed to dispose of Lassen's monumental tomes; and although the rapid sale of Mr. Smith's book is due in part to its adoption by the Indian Universities, it argues a considerable public interested in the results of research, if not qualified to follow the preliminary discussions.

The improvements in the new edition of Mr. Smith's work are twofold. It has evidently been subjected to a very careful revision; verbal changes are fairly numerous, dates are altered here and there, and most of (although not all) the slips have been corrected. But the main feature of the present work is the addition of more than 70 pages of new matter, an addition really of one-sixth to the volume of the book. Most of the additions relating to the history of Ancient India proper, the period before 650 A.D., relate to matters of secondary importance, and
spring out of recent literature. A paragraph at the end of the long note on Aornos tells us that Dr. Stein’s exploration of Mahābāna completely disproves Colonel Abbott’s theory. We have an interesting resumé of the recent papers in the *Indian Antiquary*, etc., on Chāṇakya’s revenue system; the much vexed question of Hiuen-tsiang’s Mo-la-p’o is rediscussed; and evidence is adduced to show that Skandagupta had some liking for the Buddhists Mr. Smith has added something in support of his views on Kushān chronology, and he has arrived at the conclusion that the so-called ‘Chinese’ hostages of Kanishka were petty princes of Kashgharia, a conclusion which is doubtless correct. So far we are only dealing with the details of old matter. As regards the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians, his views have undergone some modification. He still appears to hold that the main body of the Śakas entered India by way of Gilgit or Chitral, an opinion which is shared by many other scholars, and for which much may be said, although it is probably erroneous; but he recognises for the first time in some adequate fashion the influence of the Parthians in Western India, a point of capital importance, as it seems to us, which supplies the key to many things.

So far as the ancient history is concerned, we regard this acknowledgment of Parthian influence to be the chief contribution of the present volume. Before passing on, however, to greater matters, we may point out that in his account of S. Thomas and Gondophares, which is partially new and based on the latest discussions of the subject, Mr. Smith still quotes the Clementine Recognitions as the chief authority for the mission of S. Thomas. S. Thomas’ apostolate among the Parthians and his visit to Gondophares are highly probable; but the insertion of the name of S. Thomas in the Clementines is demonstrably a dramatic interpolation (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 958, note). The chief feature of the present edition, the feature which
distinguishes it from its predecessor, is the treatment of mediaeval India, including under that term the Chalukyas and Rāshrakūtas of the Deccan and the Pallavas and later kingdoms of the Tamil country. The treatment accorded to this period in the original work was meagre, lifeless, and inadequate; it evidently had no interest for the author. It has been rewritten for the greater part, and enlarged to double, so that it now forms nearly one-fourth of the whole history. For the chapter on the Chalukyas and Rāshrakūtas of the Deccan Mr. Smith, of course, had excellent materials to start with, and here comparatively little has been altered. The history of the kingdoms of the South has been largely rewritten and considerably enlarged, the most noteworthy additions being the introductory sketch of the trade and civilisation of the South in Roman times, and the account given of the Pallavas. All this is well done. But the chief feature of the new edition is the mediaeval history of Northern India. Sind and Assam are brought for the first time under review; we should expect more to be made of Nepāl and its age-long connection with Tirhūt, with the help of M. S. Lévi’s fascinating volumes, but that, after all, is only local history; the history of the Pālas and Senas of Magadha and Bengal is much improved, and brought into accordance with the most recent lights. But it is in dealing with Kanauj, the Rājpūts, and the Gurjaras that Mr. Smith is at his best. He now admits (for the first time, we believe) that the Hūṇa invasion really shattered the foundations of the Gupta Empire and changed the face of North-Western India: the recent speculations on the origin of the Rājpūts and their connection with the Gurjaras and other barbarian invaders have fired his imagination; and he rightly insists that the Rājpūts form an occupational caste composed of many elements, Aryan, aboriginal, or Central Asian, which were fused together and took shape in the anarchic centuries
that followed the invasion of the Hûnas. In all this there is, of course, nothing original, but we are glad to have him for a convert, and he tells the story well. The history of Kanauj is closely connected with that of the Râjpûts, and is related more fully than has ever been done before; indeed, it was impossible to do so until very recently. Of course, there are many points on which we venture to dissent. Take the first which occurs to us. We have certain reasons for thinking that both Ptolemy’s Kanagora and Kanogiza refer to Kanauj, and we know no reason to the contrary (p. 347). Again, the obvious reason for the final abandonment of both Kâmpilya (Kampil) and Kanauj was their desertion by the Ganges (p. 348). But to omit all petty matters, let us come to the main point. Mr. Smith sometimes fails, we think, to see the wood for the trees; and he has overlooked the fact that the tradition of empire attached itself to Kanauj from the days of Harsha to the close of the mediaeval period. What Rome was to the barbarians, and Byzantium to the mediaeval world of Europe, that was Kanauj in a lesser degree to the upspringing tribes of the Râjpûts. The empire of Harsha was the last great empire which they knew of; the Doâb was the sacred land of the Hindus, and Harsha’s capital, Kanauj, was the greatest and most magnificent of its cities; learning and the arts continued to flourish there in the eighth and ninth centuries, when they were almost extinct in the surrounding provinces. Thus Kanauj became the cynosure of the Râjpûts, the pattern of the purest Hindu civilisation, the inheritor of a great tradition and renown. None of the great Râjpût tribes had their origin in this holy land, while all aspired to imitate its ways. Alone among the inland kingdoms of Hindustân the fame of Kanauj extended beyond the frontiers of India; it reached the ears of the Chinese and the Arabs. Emigrants from Kanauj were sought for to fashion the Hinduism of Bengal and to occupy lands in Gujarât. The King of Kaśmir
counted it his proudest boast to have defeated the army of Kanauj; and the alien monarchs who occupied the seat of Harsha assumed imperial titles, and seem to have occasionally exercised a vague suzerainty over territories which sometimes extended as far as the Himalayas, and at other times to Gujarāt. The celebration of the aswamedha by Rāja Jaichand, the last of the Kings of Kanauj, was an expression of this imperial claim, a claim out of all proportion to the reality, and contested in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages by Ajmīr, Mahobā, Delhi, and other famous homes of Rājpūt valour and Sanskrit learning.

We have dwelt at length on this point, partly because it is intrinsically important and is usually overlooked, and partly because it refutes an error which is in danger of becoming general. Philologists divide the Aryan vernaculars of Northern India into two great groups—an inner group allied to the classical Sanskrit, and an outer group of non-classical Aryan. The inner group, which is the speech of the Doāb, radiates outwards into the Eastern Punjāb and Rājpūtāna, and, as Dr. Grierson says, "it has burst through the retaining wall of exterior languages, and reached the sea in Gujerāt." East of Allahabad we have a vernacular which holds a middle place between the inner and the outer circle. This distribution corresponds exactly with the mediæval influence of Kanauj and the history of the Rājpūts. But a theory has recently sprung up which we should call wild, if it were not advocated by some great authorities and adopted in the new Gazetteer of India. This theory assumes that there was a second invasion of Aryans speaking a vernacular allied to the later classical Sanskrit, who, without leaving any trace of their migration on the road, installed themselves in the heart of the country, and pushed the earlier Aryans north, south, east, and west. That such marked linguistic differences should survive after the lapse of
more than three thousand years, and the “drums and tramplings” of so many conquests, is scarcely credible, and certainly unparalleled; nor does it explain the anomalous linguistic survivals which lie outside the pretended ring-fence. The Gazetteer, indeed, says that “the record of physical characters bears out the conclusions suggested by philology.” If the Gazetteer means that the fair-skinned Aryans got the more mixed the farther they travelled east, no one doubts it. But this is no support to the theory. On the contrary, the ring-fence theory ought to show the survival of the fair-skinned Aryans in Bengal in contradistinction to the darker Aryans of mixed blood in the Doāb. Q.E.A., a veritable absurdity, as Euclid saith. Mr. Crooke sums up the ethnographical evidence very clearly: “While to the east and south we can recognise an Indo-Aryan race of overlords and a lower stratum of black menials, in the Punjāb, from the Rājpūt and Brahman at the top down to the scavenger at the bottom, the race type is uniform.” The physical facts not only do not support the ring-fence theory; they are a direct refutation of it. The linguistic facts are undoubted, and the mediaeval influence of Kanauj and the Doāb on the Rājpūts is their obvious historical explanation. When the Rājpūts took the manners and civilisation of the ‘Middle Country’ for their standard, they largely adopted its speech, a speech which had been moulded by centuries of literary culture. The Brajbhāshā was to them what the literary language of the South of England was to the dialects of Britain. Pity it is that Mr. Smith lost so excellent an opportunity of giving the coup de grâce to a speculation so impossible and misleading as this ‘ring fence’ theory.

J. KENNEDY.
THE RELIGION OF THE VEDA. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

Professor Bloomfield is to be heartily congratulated on the appearance in book form of the lectures delivered in 1906–7 as the seventh series of American lectures on the History of Religions. His sketch of the development of Vedic religion from the Rgveda to the Upaniṣads is unusually clear and satisfactory, and is distinguished by a most laudable absence of paradox. Conspicuous examples of his wise conservatism may be found in his treatment of Aryan and Indo-Germanic myths in the third lecture, "The Prehistoric Gods," in his adherence to the identity of Varuna and Ouranos (p. 136), against the theory of Varuna as the moon held by both Professor Oldenberg and Professor Hillebrandt; and in his refusal to accept as proved the very fascinating theory of Professor Hillebrandt of the real nature of the Indra-Vṛtra myth (pp. 179 seq.), while being prepared to regard it favourably if Iranian evidence can be found to support it.¹ I welcome also his emphatic refusal to accept the doctrine of Professors Deussen, Garbe, and Winternitz of the origin of the Ātman doctrine among the Ksatriyas (pp. 220 seq.), and I may claim his support for the doctrine² not merely of the antiquity of Bhakti, but of its derivation from the same circles of thought as those in which the colder monism of the Upaniṣads rests. He points out (pp. 280, 281) that in the dialogue with Maitreyī, Yājñavalkya "does not really intend to expound to his beloved Maitreyī the extremes of super-sensual rationalism. In effect, he expresses the ideal of union with the supreme being, the ultimate endeavour of all religions that have

¹ Hillebrandt’s view of Indra really refutes his own earlier theory of the date of the Mahāyārata (Rom. Forsch., v, pp. 299 seq.), which, as I shall hope to show on another occasion, is in any case untenable.
evolved a supreme being worth uniting with. At a later period there comes out of the permanently untenable, cool intellectualism of the Upanishads the religion of the Bhāktas or ‘pious devotees’. It comes to this finally, that knowledge of the Supreme is but a preparation for what we call the love of God.’

There are but few points on which I would wish to take exception to Professor Bloomfield’s exposition. On p. 10 there is the dictum ‘Mohammedanism fused with Hinduism in the hybrid religion of the Sikhs,’ but I confess a perusal of the Granth in its English version leaves me at a loss to find any substantial Mohammedan non-Indian element in Sikhism, taking the Bhāgavata faith in its later forms as Indian properly so called, though no doubt there are Christian elements in it. On p. 272 the word padvīṣaṇaṅkūṇ is rendered ‘pegs of his (the horse’s) tether,’ in apparent forgetfulness of Pischel’s conclusive argument that ‘hobbles’ are referred to. Again, at pp. 12 and 20, Professor Bloomfield allies himself with the view of an earlier date for the Rgveda than is held, for example, by Professor Macdonell or Professor Hopkins. The question is undoubtedly one of considerable difficulty, but it is hardly advanced far by the evidence on which Professor Bloomfield relies. This consists of the appearance of “cut and dried Iranian names” in Western Asia as early as B.C. 1600. The difficulty is that it is by no means certain that the names cited, Artashuvvara and Artatama, from Tel-el-Amarna are really ‘Iranian,’ and not ‘Aryan.’ The only evidence for these being ‘Iranian’ is that Arta suits the Western Iranian rather than the Vedic yṛta or the Avestan Asa, but we are dealing only with a transcript, and that Arta could not represent the Aryan form seems very doubtful, while admittedly the

1 *Vedische Studien*, i, p. 234.
3 See Bloomfield, *A.J.P.*, xxv, pp. 8–12.
retention of *s* for *h* before vowels is contrary to all Iranian dialects. Nor do I feel satisfied that we can safely assume from Arta the existence of the concept *ṛta* in a moral sense. The whole question, too, of the relation of Avestan and the language of the Rgveda presents serious difficulties which are not lessened by assuming an Aryan split long before B.c. 1600.

It remains to note that Professor Bloomfield is to be added to the list of those who do not find totemism proved for the Veda, and to recommend his work to the perusal of all scholars who are anxious to have an account of Vedic religion at once clear, interesting, and accurate.

A. Berriedale Keith.


I was recently struck by the following declaration, written by one of the contributors to that excellent magazine The Brahmacarin. Says Pandit S. C. Mukerjee, M.A.: "For the benefit of earnest enquirers I mention Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious (3 vols.) as a work which will help them more to understand the Parambramh [i.e. parama brahma] of the Bhagavat Gita than all the Sanskrit commentaries taken together. This work draws its conclusions from the facts of the various branches of physical science by inductive method, and is not the speculation or dream of a philosopher, or the chimerial [sic] idea of a modern Sannyasi . . ." 1 I have no objection—as the clever Mahádeo of Sir Alfred Lyall has—to the Pandits or Japanese reading Hartmann, even in three volumes, and nourishing themselves, *ad instar Gandharvarum*, with

1 Brahmacarin, September, 1907, vol. viii, p. 97.

the vapours of the German philosophic alembics; and that there may be great profit for any scholar from an exhaustive and intelligent knowledge of modern philosophoumena, the reader of "A Buddhist Psychology" by Mrs. Rhys Davids, or of Stcherbatskoi's essays on Dignāga's system of logic, is well aware. As a rule the Occidental scholars do not care for the true philosophical principles to be found in or elaborated from the Gitā or the Mahāyānīst Buddhism, but only for the real and historical meaning of them; and although there is always some danger of discovering modern moods of thinking in the old Indian treatises, their disinterestedness, together with some critical bon sens, some philological training, preserves them from too monstrous anachronisms or anatopisms.

From this point of view, the very interesting work of Teitaro Suzuki must be severely criticised: his Mahāyānīsm is, beyond what is useful or admissible, tinged with Vedāntism and with German philosophy. I hope that he knows too well my high esteem for his learning to feel offended by my remarks. Of course, every reader will find many interesting and new documents in the "Outlines," admire the literary skill, and feel sympathy for the religious zeal of the author.¹

¹ I confess I am rather sensitive when absurd comparisons are made between Christianity and Buddhism, between the "pain de la pensée occidentale," as says A. Barth, and the "narcotique" of the Bhikṣus. Against my friend Albert J. Edmunds, I would affirm that the "Lamb" of the Apocalypse is a better symbol than the "elephant" of the Lalitavistara: this last animal is not as kind and blameless as A. J. E. believes, Teitaro Suzuki, like his master in philosophy, Dr. Paul Carus, is very hard upon the "Christian critics" of Buddhism (p. 18). Everybody, I think, will admit that Colonel Waddell has rightly characterised Mahāyānism by the following phrase, "a mysticism of sophistic nihilism." Christian prejudices have no part in this opinion. But T. Suzuki feels indignant: "Could a religious system be called sophistry when it makes a close enquiry into the science of dialectics, in order to show how futile it is to seek salvation through the intellect alone?" Even if such were the case, the dialectical enquiry of the Buddhist is not only sophistic but
Before debating with the learned Japanese the real significance of some Mahāyānist tenets, I should like to call his attention to a few little details, which by themselves have no importance, but are troublesome to Sanskritists.

A very well-known term in Mahāyāna books and in the Occidental works on them is the word *parināmanā*, *punyaparīṇāmanā*, the 'application' or 'turning' of the personal merit to the spiritual or material welfare of one's self or one's neighbour; especially the application of merit to the acquisition of the Bodhi, *id est*, of the power and knowledge of a Buddha, in order to save one's fellow-beings. Our author has very good and just appreciation of the *parināmanā*, but, as he uses Chinese translations and knows only the bad editions of the Buddhist Text Society of India, he has to invent a Sanskrit word for 回向, and finds *parivarta* (*parivartana* would have nonsensical throughout. For instance, Nagārjuna says that the walker (the man who is walking) is not walking, because two "walks" would be necessary—a first owing to which he is named "walker," a second owing to which the walker walks. Sophistry is not the exact name for such jokes: stupidism would do. T. Suzuki says again: "Could a doctrine be called nihilistic when it defines the absolute as neither void nor not-void?" I think that the Buddhists absolutely deny the existence of an absolute, or, rather, say that "truth is silence." But, even if we accept Suzuki’s opinion, Colonel Waddell’s definition would prove excellent: is it not "mystic nihilism" to find a *via media* between "being" and "non-being"? Monier-Williams was a good scholar, "but, unfortunately, as soon as he attempts to enter the domain of religious controversy, his intellect becomes piteously obscured by his preconceived ideas. . . . Bodhisattvas . . . are contented, according to his view, with their "perpetual residence in the heavens, and quite willing to put off all desires for Buddhahood and Parinirvāna." This remark is so absurd that it will at once be rejected . . . as . . . unworthy of refutation." Suzuki then quotes very sensible lines of Monier-Williams on the "cestial regions" and the "dreamy bliss in Heaven," which play an important rôle in Amitābha’s worship. But Suzuki has supercilious marks of amazement, (!) (!), and the reader will feel sure that the Sukhāvatīvyūha, the Kāraṇḍavyūha, the Lotus of the Good Law, and many other sūtras are *terra incognita* to our Outliner of Mahāyāna; he seems to believe that the *devaloka* is the only heaven of the Mahāyāna.
been better). He has forgotten that in his translation of the *Mahāyāna Śraddhāotpāda*¹ occurs the right word, *parināmanā*. It is also an error to write *samvrttisatya* for *samvrtisatya*. Clerical and unclerical misprints are numberless.²

As concerns the Buddhism and the metaphysics of the Great Vehicle, I must confess that the question is obscure and difficult. There are many kinds of Great Vehicle, and one cannot affirm that Suzuki’s Mahāyānism is not really—with an uncompromising Occidental tinge—the Buddhism of some branch or sect. But the author omits to mention this diversity of schools and creeds, and gives us as true Mahāyānism a pantheistic system much more Vedāntic and Hegelian than Buddhistic. Christianity also is manifold, and every believer or unbeliever has some rights (humanly speaking) to make a choice between Arianism, Romanism, or Lutheranism: but it would be rather venturesome for a historian to forget St. Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Calvin, and to adopt as the historical centre of Christianity, let us say, the Charybdis of Father Tyrrell. In the same way, neither Nāgārjuna nor Asaṅga, neither the Sukhāvativyūha nor the Lankāvatāra will have civic rights in Suzuki’s Buddhism, nor is his definition fully applicable even to the Tāntrik ideology.

That this misconception is supported by some texts, I willingly admit. There is Vedāntism in Buddhism. The Gauḍapādakārikā (Alātaśānti), if not a treatise from a Buddhist hand, is made up of Mādhyamika tenets. The

¹ Asvaghosa’s "Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna" (Chicago, Open Court, 1900), p. 146.
² For instance: p. 171, *svarvam dharman niḥsvabhāvam, pratyaya-samutpāda, vyatirekā and vyatireka*; p. 172, *tat tac śāntaṃ*—"Says Piṅgalaka . . ." This Piṅgalaka is the so-called Nilacaksus, alias Nilanetra or Piṅgalanetra ('akṣa) or Āryadeva of Nanjio. His true name is Bhāvaviveka or Bhāviveka (?) according to Watters: p. 173, *aniyata*, rather *anitya*, which cannot be a synonym for *pratītya*. 
author of the Śuklavidarśanabhūmi (Bendall MSS., to be published in this Journal) shows that a celebrated Buddha’s saying, cittamātram bho jinaputra yad uta traidhātukam (“this threefold world is only thought”), is equivalent to the Upanishadic sarvāṃ khalv idāṃ Brahma (“verily, all that is Brahman,” Chānd. 3, 14); that the verse of the “Father-and-Son’s collection” (Pitāputriyasamhitā)—

gurūnām paramāṃ rūpaṃ na ērṣipathāṃ archati yat tu ērṣipathaprāptam tan māyaiva sutuchakam

(“the supreme or real nature of the qualities or things does not come in the realm of sight or cognition; and what is visible or cogitable, that is illusion and absolutely void”)—comes to the same as the well-known passage of the Brhadāranyaka 3. 8. 8. But if Buddhistic “voidness,” owing to the congenital illness of our mental faculties (intoxicated from the beginning of ages with the wrong ideas of being, of non-being, of becoming), turns to be the ens realissimum, Nāgārjuna and all the orthodox affirm that the people who adhere to “voidness” or to “non-voidness” are lost for ever. Mahāyānism finally merges into Vedāntism, but it is not Vedāntism from the cradle, and it retains some characteristics owing to which it can be distinguished even when merged.

Mr. Teitaro Suzuki has “tout brouillé,” because he has admitted, without reflection, that the Dharmakāya—id est, the “Body of Law,” the true and unique body of the Buddhas and of all the saints who arrive at Nirvāṇa—of course a “non-body”—is the ultimate principle of the universe, the ontological substratum of movable phenomena: this is not true Mahāyānism. But T. Suzuki is not satisfied with this Vedāntisation of the Mahāyāna, and the three volumes of Hartmann are called to the rescue. The Dharmakāya is “the spontaneous Will that pervades everywhere and works all the time, which always manifests itself for the best interests of sentient creatures.”
(Then Śākyamuni, Christ, Mahomet, and several prophets are respectfully enumerated.) Where did Mr. Suzuki discover this "spontaneous will"? Fortunately he gives us references.

The expression "will of Dharmakāya" does not, of course, occur anywhere, but will, or rather vow, resolution (prāṇidhāna), is of frequent occurrence and of paramount importance in Mahāyāna. Every "future Buddha" (bodhisattva) resolves himself to become a Buddha for universal deliverance. T. Suzuki quotes texts where this prāṇidhāna is fully developed, and he adds after the word 'will,' between brackets, the talismanic words "of the Dharmakāya." In the Avataramsakasūtra, "in which we read the whole significance of Buddhism," a Bodhisattva explains that he must suffer the pains of hell in order to deliver the sinners. "Painful as those sufferings are, I will not retreat, I will not be frightened, I will not be negligent, I will not forsake my fellow-beings. Why? Because it is the will [of the Dharmakāya] that all sentient beings should be universally emancipated." It is certain that the Chinese text has been misunderstood, as the same locus classicus occurs in the Vajradhvasūtra (Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 280): āham duḥḥkopādānam upādāmi, . . . na nivarte na palāyāmi nottrasyāmi na santrasyāmi na pratyudāvarte na viśidāmi tat kasya hetoh? avaśyaṁ nirvāhatavyo mayā sarvasattvānāṁ bhāro; naiṣa mama kāmakārah, sarvasattvottāryass-prāṇidhānam.1 mama . . . = "I will not retreat . . . I will not be despondent.2 Why? Because the burden of all the creatures is to be carried by me. It is not, for me, a matter of option: [since] I have taken the resolution of leading all the creatures to the other shore." I fear that the Chinese has omitted the words avaśyaṁ . . .

1 Sic Bendall; rather 'uttāraṇa pra'.
2 na viśidāmi; has the Chinese translator read pramāda?
kāmakāraḥ; and Suzuki himself is confessedly responsible for the bracketted "of the Dharmakāya." ¹

T. Suzuki's views on bodhicitta are rather inexact. "Bodhi, though essentially an epistemological term, assumes a psychological sense when it is used in conjunction with citta, i.e. heart or soul. Bodhicitta or bodhivṛdaya, which means the same thing, is more generally used than bodhi singly in the Mahāyāna texts, especially when its religious import is emphasised above its intellectual one. Bodhicitta, viz. intelligence heart, is a reflex in the human heart of its religious archetype, the Dharmakāya." Let us observe that the phrase bodhivṛdaya is framed upon the Chinese 心 (sin = thought, heart), and is hitherto unknown to Sanskrit lexicography. I do not exactly realize the meaning of 'epistemological' and 'psychological,' but there is not much mystery in bodhi and bodhicitta. Bodhi is the 'enlightenment' by which one becomes a Buddha; it has no relation with any 'cognisable' being, the suppression of the 'veil of cognisable' (jñeyāvaraya). Therefore it is said that a Buddha knows in not knowing. Bodhicitta is the "thought of becoming oneself a Buddha," a thought or a resolve concerning Bodhi. The avuttarasamyaksaṃbodhicitta is not an 'amplification' of the bodhicitta, is not "intelligence heart that is supreme and most perfect," but the "thought of becoming a perfect Buddha." ²

When possessed of bodhicitta a man can be said to be an "embryo of Buddha," a Buddhagarbha. This phrase occurs in Śiksāsamuccaya, p. 103, where the elements of the spiritual progress towards enlightenment are compared with the successive states of embryonic development: "A germ or embryo of Buddha has for

¹ But the brackets are wanting at p. 298, 1, where is celebrated "the universal love of the Dharmakāya."

² The Prajñāpāramitā, the mother of the Bodhisattvas, and also the cakī of the Tantrik Buddhas, is not bodhicitta.
kalala the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta), for arbuda pity, for peći benevolence; it is ghana by immovable resolution ... .”

Synonymous with Buddhagarbha is the much more important expression Tathāgatagarbha; but it can be translated sometimes ‘womb of Buddha,’ and many pantheistic speculations are connected with it. Teitaro Suzuki has dealt with this abstruse topic in many pages of his book, and sometimes usefully.

According to him “the womb of Tathāgata is the transcendental soul or pure intelligence [ = tathātā, bhūtakoṭī; dharmakāya] influenced by the principle of birth-and-death, and subjecting itself to organic determinations. ... The Womb works under the constraint of particularisation: the essence of Tathāgata-hood, however, is here preserved intact, and, whenever it is possible, our finite minds are able to feel its presence and power.” So far as concerns the psychological point of view; as concerns the cosmos, the ultimate reality is named Womb of Tathāgata “when it is thought of in analogy with the mother earth, where all the germs of life are stored, and where all precious stones and metals are concealed under the cover of filth.”

These last words refer probably to the simile of the Lankāvatāra.¹ Bhagavat says that the Tathāgatagarbha,

¹ Lankāvatāra, pp. 80-81 (Buddhist Text Society). Let us observe, en passant, that T. Suzuki is unfortunate enough to make worse the already disastrous reading of this edition. I hear that Mr. Sakaki is preparing an edition of this important text. According to Mahāyāna, we are Buddhas because (1) we can become Buddhas; (2) in absolute truth, we do not exist, and the Buddhas too are only names, therefore the Buddhas and all the beings are identical according to the logical argument $a = c$, $b = c$, $a = b$. In the same way saṁsāra is void, nirvāṇa is void, ergo saṁsāra = nirvāṇa. So far the Mādhyamikas. The Vijnānavādins go a little further. There is only ‘thought,’ without object, subject, and act of thinking. The Buddhas have dispelled all the veils that envelop the ‘absolute thought’: we have not. Monist or pantheistic speculations may grow on this principle, and such has been the case.
i.e. the embryo of a Tathāgata, lies inside the body of every being, just as a precious jewel covered by filth: sarvasattvadāhantārgato mahāryhamūlyaratnam mahinavastuparivēṣṭam i̲va. This embryo is not to be looked upon as illustrating the future Buddhahood of every being, since it bears the thirty-two marks (dvātrimśāllakṣaṇadharā), since it is always the same, propitious, eternal, pure from the beginning owing to its essential purity and brightness (nītya, dhruva, sīva, śāsvata, prakṛtiprabhāśivarāvasuddhyāvidiviśuddha). I doubt whether Teitaro Suzuki could quote a more effective text to uphold his theory that there is a thing in itself, whatever be its name. But, fortunately, the Lāṅkāvatāra informs us that Mahāmati was astonished by the strange sayings of his master, and thus manifested his anxiety: “If it be so, how can the doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha differ from the doctrine of Ātman supported by the heretics? The heretics, O Lord, explain the doctrine of Ātman in this sense, that Ātman is eternal, non-active, exempt from qualities, omnipresent and indestructible?” The Lord, being a good Buddhist, agrees with his far-seeing disciple. “The Buddhas,” says he, “teach the doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha in order to dispel the fear inspired by the negation of the reality, in order to conquer the heretics who believe in Ātman.” Therefore, according to the Lāṅkāvatāra, the teaching of Tathāgatagarbha as the ‘immanent reality’ is provisional, a means designed to ‘introduce’ the unbelievers and the low-minded into the absolute truth: that there is nothing to be known, no knower, no knowledge.

In fact, T. Suzuki’s book seems to be inspired by the views of the ‘school of the mantras’ (Shin-gon-shu), which agrees with the theosophical principles of the Tāntrism, and, according to the Japanese, is to be studied in the Mahāvairocanābhīsambodhisūtra (Nanjio, 530, translated 724 A.D.), the Vajraśekhara (Nanjio, 1039,
1427, 1430), the Susiddhikāramahātantra (Nanjio, 533). Here the cardinal axiom is that everyone is a Buddha in disguise, and can easily ‘realize’ Buddhahood by theurgical processes. Several quotations of our author are Tāntrik, for instance: “If we do not dive deep into the mighty ocean of passion and sin, how could we get hold of the precious gem of Buddha-essence?”

I should like to examine many other points of interest; but what precedes is enough to show the deficiencies of method of T. Suzuki.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.


To pass an unfavourable verdict upon a book that was evidently undertaken and composed as a labour of love, is an unpleasant and unwelcome task, but it must on this occasion be faced. Dr. Macdonald has devoted a great deal of obviously honest endeavour in an attempt to prove that the Oceanic languages belong to the Semitic family. To say that he has entirely failed to make out his case would not, perhaps, in itself necessarily imply an altogether adverse criticism of his work; for the examination of the relations between different families of language with a view to the discovery of their possibly cognate origin is a legitimate (if not very promising) sphere for the labours of the comparative philologist; and there is probably no better way of investigating such a question than to set up a provisional hypothesis and endeavour to the best of one’s ability to test and, if possible, establish it. In the present instance it seems that the attempt was bound
to fail, as the fundamental thesis to be proved appears to be in fact incapable of proof: it would seem that there is no ascertainable connection between the two families of language in question. That, however, is not the real ground of objection against Dr. Macdonald's work: the main point is that the process whereby he attempts to prove his case is incapable of proving anything. Dr. Macdonald appears to have not the slightest idea of what constitutes proof in the domain of comparative philology, and his book is entirely devoid of scientific method. Even if his main thesis were true, the reasoning whereby he tries to establish it would remain equally worthless and nugatory.

This, I am aware, is harsh language, and not to be used without good and sufficient reason. I propose presently to justify it, but in the first place I intend to devote a few words to the preliminary part of Dr. Macdonald's work, wherein he propounds the problem to be solved, namely, "What is the origin of the Oceanic languages?" Under this name he includes the Malayan (or Indonesian), the Polynesian, and the Melanesian groups: these three, as he quite rightly observes, are branches of one family, which he calls Oceanic, and which has usually been termed Malayo-Polynesian. Professor Schmidt has recently renamed it Austronesian. The name does not really matter very much, the essential fact being that these three groups are members of one family, which (as Dr. Macdonald says) is as perfectly defined a family of languages as is the Semitic or the Indo-European. Further, I think one must agree with his view that this connection implies an original common Oceanic mother-tongue, and that "to establish the Asiatic relationship of the Oceanic is to establish that that mother-tongue was originally carried by its speakers from the Asiatic Continent into the Island world." Nor do I propose to quarrel with his proposition that "the question as to whether the Asiatic relationship
of the Oceanic can be established is a purely linguistic question, which can only be answered from a due investigation of the available linguistic data." This principle is sound enough in itself, but unfortunately, instead of adhering to it, Dr. Macdonald has attempted to correlate his linguistic conclusions (in themselves erroneous because based on very imperfect investigation) with racial data that will not square with them.

When, however, Dr. Macdonald tries to set up an a priori presumption in favour of his theory that the original Oceanic mother-tongue was brought to the Eastern islands from the Arabian Peninsula, I beg to differ from him entirely. His statements, briefly put, are the following. First, that "the Negro element in the Oceanic race is older than the Mongol": to which the answer is that from whatever part of Asia the speakers of the Oceanic mother-tongue may have come, they must have reached Indonesia before they arrived in Melanesia; but in Melanesia alone, of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic area, is the "Negro" (or rather, Papuan) type found. In Indonesia it is conspicuous by its entire absence, the Negrito races, of which sparse remnants are found there, being of a quite distinct racial type from the Papuan, and speaking languages which in some cases are altogether alien and in others are directly borrowed from their more civilised Indonesian neighbours. Therefore the "Negro" type of race can in no wise be correlated with the Oceanic form of speech, if the latter (as is now generally agreed by all competent authorities) was brought to the islands from the Asiatic mainland. In fact, it is now as good as proved that the Papuan type of race must be correlated with the peculiar languages styled "Papuan" by their discoverer, Mr. S. H. Ray. That disposes of Dr. Macdonald's facile hypothesis that this racial type was brought into the island world by Semitic colonists with a large negro element in their blood, a view
unteachable on anthropological grounds also, for the Papuan and the African Negro are quite distinct racial types.

The fact is that Dr. Macdonald’s first proposition is really beside the point. Whether the Mongoloid element in Indonesia (which need not necessarily, and probably should not, be correlated with the Oceanic form of speech) is, or is not, prior to or older than the Negroid element in Melanesia, is a question that has no bearing on the alleged relationship between the Oceanic and Semitic families of speech. Dr. Macdonald, while recognizing that the speakers of the Oceanic languages are descended from several distinct races, attempts to discount their fundamental physical differences by postulating for them a mental, social, and religious unity which does not, in fact, exist among them, and would not, if it did, affect the linguistic problem he has set out to solve. The truth is that the diversity of race in the Oceanic linguistic area is in glaring contrast with its unity of speech, and the latter can only be explained on the assumption that throughout a great part of that area the languages now spoken are not the original languages of the races that now use them, but have been imposed from without by foreign colonists or conquerors. Though it would be highly interesting to learn what race of men these immigrant speakers of the old Oceanic mother-tongue belonged to, it is from the purely linguistic point of view a matter of indifference whether they were black, white, yellow, or brown. Dr. Macdonald would have done well to avoid complicating his linguistic question by the introduction of matter which, on his own principles, must be pronounced irrelevant to the issue he proposes to decide.

His next argument is that the Indonesian alphabets are not Indian in origin, but directly derived from the Phœnician. Apart from the fact that it has been proved up to the hilt that these alphabets are derived from a Southern Indian form, one does not see how this
contention helps his case: for these alphabets are confined to the western islands of Indonesia, which show abundant other traces of Indian influence, and they are entirely absent from the Melanesian and Polynesian regions. When he goes on to assert that "from whatever point the Oceanic race migrated into the Island world, they did so in sea-going vessels," one is tempted to wonder whether he has ever looked at a large-scale map of the Eastern Archipelago. He makes much of King Solomon's Pheenician fleet and so forth, but overlooks the simple fact that from the Indo-Chinese Peninsula to Australia and Melanesia the sea is covered with a multitude of islands situated so close together that these waters are practically landlocked. One could, at certain seasons of the year, drift with ease and safety from one end of this vast archipelago to the other in a "sea-going vessel" hollowed out of a single tree-trunk by the simplest and most primitive means; and it may be regarded as certain that the coast-dwellers of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula possessed the means of making such 'dug-out' canoes long before any Semitic fleet adventured on the long voyage to the Far East. In fact, it is obvious that if we must assume an Asiatic origin for the inhabitants of the Eastern islands, all a priori considerations point to Indo-China, the nearest part of the Asiatic mainland, as their centre of dispersion. The real issue, however, is not the origin or bodily peculiarities of the Oceanic races, but rather the point of departure from which the Oceanic languages were introduced into the island world of the South Seas. Some twenty years ago Professor Kern, by a skilful comparison of purely linguistic data, showed that the Oceanic languages must have been brought into their present locations either from one of the great islands of Indonesia or, more probably, from the east coast of Indo-China, where several cognate languages (e.g., Cham, Jarai, Radheh, etc.) are spoken to this day. More recently
Professor Schmidt has linked the Oceanic languages up with a number of language groups extending right through Indo-China into Central India. Of these researches Dr. Macdonald appears, however, to be entirely unaware; for he makes not the slightest allusion to them, though their conclusions are in direct conflict with his own.

The weak point in Dr. Macdonald's equipment, apart from his want of appreciation of the nature of evidence in matters of linguistic research, is that he has no sufficient acquaintance with the work of his predecessors in the domain of Oceanic comparative philology. If he had studied the writings of Neubronner van der Tuuk and Kern, to say nothing of other workers in this field, his book would never have been written. He writes purely from the standpoint of a member of the New Hebrides mission, to whom Efate is, as it were, the hub of his linguistic universe; than this, he avows that, in his opinion, no better standpoint could be chosen from which to make a study of the whole Oceanic family. I cannot but think that this pardonable preference for the sphere of his own missionary labours has disqualified him in his philological researches.

The fact is that Melanesia is a singularly bad starting-point for such researches. In the first place, because the Melanesian languages in all their leading characteristics are derivative and secondary, blurred and garbled copies of an original which is far better represented by the Indonesian ones. Therefore anyone who would thread his way through their intricacies should be well grounded in Indonesian philology, which is the only clue to this maze; and that is just where Dr. Macdonald is deficient. Secondly, although a few individual members of the family have been carefully investigated, the Melanesian languages have not as yet been scientifically studied in their entirety: their phonology, for instance, is such a complicated jumble that several competent authorities
have had to admit themselves baffled in their efforts to
discover the laws that underlie it. Dr. Codrington, one
of the most eminent of Melanesian scholars, has pointed
out that in these island languages the same word will
appear in various forms and no one can determine which
form is original, no order of change can be asserted, and
it is generally impossible to find a law of change. He
accounts for this, very plausibly, by supposing that the
various languages have been brought irregularly into their
present seats, not in successive and considerable migrations
from one quarter or another, but by chance and petty
movements of people whose language, though belonging to
one family, was already much broken up and diversified.
Mr. S. H. Ray, the most recent authority on the subject,
entirely endorses this view.

Whatever may be the reason of this peculiarity, it is
obvious that it makes the Melanesian languages a very
unsuitable point of departure for comparative studies: until
their anomalies have been explained and set in order
by a careful and exhaustive investigation, linking them up
with the already relatively well-ascertained principles of
Indonesian comparative philology, they will only be
a snare to the etymologist, as they have been to
Dr. Macdonald. Because Melanesian phonology is
extremely variable and (in outward seeming) subject to
no rules, he apparently imagines that any sound may be
assumed, as between any two languages, to change into
or correspond with any other sound, just as it may happen
to suit his etymological requirements. He never attempts
to establish anything analogous to Grimm's law in Indo-
European linguistics or Van der Tuuk's laws in Indonesian:
his Phonology chapter is a wilderness of unregulated and
purely arbitrary changes of sound, unsupported by any-
thing that could fairly be called evidence.

Many of these assumed changes and correspondences are
demonstrably wrong. For instance, in order to prove
that \( t \) changes into \( n \), Dr. Macdonald gives, \textit{inter alia}, Mahri \( it\textit{it} \) = Malagasy \textit{enina}, 'six,' and Syriac \( m\text{-}istuta \) = Malagasy \textit{m\text{-}inuna}, 'drink.' Now here it can be proved to absolute certainty by a comparison of the various Indonesian languages \textit{inter se}, that the Malagasy forms are secondary, the final \(-na\) representing an original Indonesian \(-m\) and the words having formerly been \( \epsilon\nu\epsilon\mu\nu\) and \textit{minum} respectively. We should have, therefore, to suppose (if Dr. Macdonald's view were tenable) that though the first \( t \) in these words became \( n \), the second one somehow changed into an \( m \), which in its turn has (like all final nasals, by a regular law of Malagasy phonetics) to appear as \(-na\). When Dr. Macdonald wrongly contends that it is \( n \) that has here become \( m \), he merely displays his ignorance of the elements of Indonesian comparative phonology. It is a further detail that the Semitic word for 'six' originally had an initial \( s\)- (as in the Arabic \( \textit{\textstyle s}\textit{\textstyle m} \)), which Dr. Macdonald arbitrarily assumes the Indonesian equivalents to have dropped, though, in fact, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they ever possessed it. Obviously it is no use attempting to bridge over irreconcilable primary forms like \( \textit{\textstyle s}\textit{\textstyle m} \) and \( \epsilon\nu\epsilon\mu\nu\) by means of decayed and secondary ones such as \( it\textit{it} \) and \textit{enina}. Similarly, in the other pair of words, \textit{m\text{-}istuta} and \textit{m\text{-}inuna}, the initial \( m\)- is unessential and the former word is given in Dr. Macdonald's vocabulary in various forms such as \( \textit{s}\textit{\textstyle t}\textit{\textstyle a}', \textit{\textstyle i}\textit{\textstyle s}\textit{\textstyle t}\textit{\textstyle o}', \textit{saka}', \) etc., which have nothing whatever in common with \textit{inum}, the stem of \textit{minuna}.

Again, Dr. Macdonald mixes up purely phonetic changes with morphological ones. Thus he asserts that \( m \) is often pronounced \( \textit{\textstyle f} \), and gives as an instance the Malagasy \textit{mati, fati}, 'dead, corpse.' These two words are not, however, mere phonetic variants of one another: \textit{mati} is the result of a formative process analogous to inflection, whereby the initial \( \textit{\textstyle f}- \) (originally \( \textit{\textstyle p}- \)) is nasalised to \( \textit{\textstyle m}- \) in order
to express certain verbal functions. One has only to compare the equivalents in the other Indonesian languages to satisfy oneself on that point.

A few more specimens of Dr. Macdonald's wild etymologies must be given, in order to show the sort of phonological evidence on which he bases his thesis of the Semitic origin of the Oceanic languages. He makes out that the Arabic ڇڇ, Malay pisang and Malagasy unti (sic, really untsi), 'banana,' are all one. He identifies the Malay bini, përempuan, përawan, and some half a dozen words in various other languages, meaning 'woman,' 'wife,' 'female,' and the like, and asserts their connection with the Arabic ڇڇ. Përem-puan and përawan he styles reduplicated forms, though in what conceivable manner they can be considered reduplications of bini or ڇڇ is not clear. But Dr. Macdonald has very loose ideas about reduplication: to him dëlapan, 'eight,' and salapan, 'nine,' are both reduplicated forms of the same word, and he pours scorn on Bopp and Max Müller, who (supported therein by the general consensus of Indonesian scholars) held that the initial syllables of these words embody the numerals 'two' and 'one' respectively. He identifies the Malay bintang, 'star,' with the Mahri kakkob; Malay lima, 'five,' with Arabic خمسة; Malay tujoh, 'seven,' with the general Indonesian pitu and Arabic سبع; Malay dëlapan, 'eight,' with Indonesian walu and Arabic نمطان; Malay sëmbilan, 'nine,' with salapan, and Indonesian siwa with Arabic تسعة; Malay puloh (sapuloh), 'ten,' with Arabic عشر. One could fill a number of this Journal with similar stuff culled from Dr. Macdonald's dissertations and vocabulary: I will give a few specimens from the last-named source. Efate kanào, 'child' = Arabic walada; Efate maturu, 'to sleep' = Arabic
wasina; Efate mita, 'to look at' = Arabic āna; Efate
rose, 'oar' = Malay dayong = Arabic mikdāf; Efate
manu, 'bird' = Malay burong = Arabic farīnū; Efate
mavīri, 'to live' = Malagasy veluna = Arabic āša;
Efate tau, 'season' = Arabic zaman; Efate rau,
'leaves' = Arabic hadab; Efate furu, 'stone' = Hebrew
eben; Efate un, 'fish-scale' = Hebrew ḥalas, 'to pull
out'; and (best of all, perhaps) Efate vota, 'chief,'
'lord' = the name of the Phoenician deity Baal! These
are fair specimens of Dr. Macdonald's etymologies; and
I think it will be admitted on all hands that they do
not bear the stamp of axiomatic certainty or self-evident
truth. It is not sufficient to pick out two words in two
distinct languages and assert their identity, merely because
they happen to agree more or less closely in meaning. It
is the business of the comparative philologist to show
analytically, letter by letter and sound by sound, that
the one word corresponds exactly with the other. One
is almost ashamed to state what has been a common-
place for the last century or so; but Dr. Macdonald has
made no attempt to comply with this recognised rule of
linguistic proof. His etymologies are a mere string
of unsupported and improbable guesses; to put them
down in a book is no addition to the sum of human
knowledge, but at most an exhibition of misdirected,
though imaginative, ingenuity, such as the etymologists
of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were wont
to indulge in.

It must not, however, be imagined that Dr. Macdonald
confines himself to the mere comparison of words. He
essays to go further and to establish analogies between
the structures of the Semitic and Oceanic families of
speech respectively. Now, as everyone knows, the
Semitic languages are inflectional and their system is
highly characteristic and peculiar, consisting as it does
of the modification, by internal vowel-change and the
addition of syllables, of the roots, usually triliteral, which constitute the fixed element in the language. The Oceanic languages, on the other hand, are agglutinative, using prefixes, infixes, and suffixes to augment stem-words which, broadly speaking, remain otherwise unchanged. In a considerable number of cases (possibly in all) these stem-words appear to have been built up from monosyllabic roots, which, as a rule, no longer exist as independent words. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between the structures of these two families of speech. But it so happens that the Oceanic stem-words are usually of two syllables, and as the phonetic system of the Oceanic languages does not tolerate the heaping up of consecutive consonants (except to a very limited extent), it follows that in a large proportion of cases the general type of such a stem-word is $XaYaZ$, a formula wherein $X$, $Y$, and $Z$ represent any consonant, and $a$ any vowel. One sees at a glance what a close resemblance there is between such an Oceanic stem-word and a Semitic triliteral root with the first two consonants vocalised and the final vowel elided. That, however, is by no means all. Not only are the Semitic languages very rich in synonyms, but Semitic inflection, particularly in the verb, is extraordinarily varied, and offers a large number of forms to choose from. Dr. Macdonald is therefore never at a loss. When $fa'\ell$ will not fill the bill, he falls back on one of its variants, $fa'\ellat$, $ma'f\ellal$, $ma'f\ellulat$, or whatever form out of a score or more seems to answer best. When it suits him he adds terminal vowels, nunciation, prefixes, and suffixes quant. suff. (without any regard for their grammatical functions), and in this way he usually contrives to find a Semitic form bearing some more or less plausible resemblance to some Oceanic stem-word or derivative of somewhat similar meaning. His leading instance is a series of words meaning 'to bend,' 'fold,' 'involved,' and the like, and his method consists
in simply putting together a group of Oceanic forms such as lipat, li'fa, lofa, lapis, etc., without distinguishing between those that (like lipat and li'fa) are simply the same word in different languages, and others that are distinct words having merely more or less resemblance to one another. These words he then identifies with such Arabic forms as laff, livfat, lofa, etc., which apparently mean much the same thing. He runs in the same way through nearly a hundred Semitic triliteral roots and their derivatives, real and imaginary. When the Oceanic equivalents happen to have an open final syllable, they are conveniently referred, according to their vowels, to one of the forms fa'l, fa'il, fa'il, etc., in their respective variants fa'lu, fa'li, fa'la, fa'lu, etc., and one of the Semitic radicals is assumed to be doubled (as in lofa) or elided. When the ending is consonantal, as in lipat (and no Semitic root can be found whose three radicals fit in conveniently), one or other of the numerous derivative forms in -at is called in to explain matters; and it does not seem to make much difference whether the Oceanic word ends in -t, -p, -n, -s, or even -k, -r, -m, or -n; they all, seemingly, derive from -at, which also sometimes loses its final -t and forms vocalic endings!

Dr. Macdonald next proceeds to identify the Semitic inflexions with the Oceanic affixes. Here, too, his identifications are absolutely arbitrary and capricious. Because there is a Semitic prefix ma- and an Oceanic one of similar form (but different force), it does not follow that they are of the same origin. One might just as well identify the Malay prefix pèr- with the Latin per- or the Achehnese gè- with the German ge-. Dr. Macdonald's capacity for treating of the Oceanic affixes may be gauged by the fact that he sets up a series of Malay suffixes -kan, -kan, -kan, etc., which is much the same as if, in English, one were to deduce such suffixes as -ation, -ition, -otion, and -ution, the
first letters being in both series the terminations of the stem and no part of the suffix at all.

I do not propose to follow Dr. Macdonald through his identification of the Semitic and Oceanic pronouns and particles: suffice it to say that his procedure here differs in no way from that which he uses elsewhere, and leads to equally inconclusive and improbable results. In short, all this part of his work is altogether a most unfortunate performance, of no service from the point of view of scientific research, but eminently likely to mislead any unwary student into whose hands it may fall.

It is a relief to turn from these vagaries to the Melanesian material embodied in Dr. Macdonald's book. His vocabulary, so far as it represents the language of Efate, cannot, it is true, be adequately appreciated by anyone who has not lived in that island; but so far as a mere outsider can judge, it has been carefully and intelligently put together, represents much labour, and is a valuable contribution to Melanesian lexicography. At any rate, it is pretty full, and it certainly contains a good deal of very interesting information. Apart from the Semitic etymologies which disfigure it, though they are no essential element in it, and except in certain cases where the original meaning of Efatese words appears to have been deduced from these imaginary Semitic etymologies, the Efatese vocabulary seems to be a creditable piece of work. The suggested Indonesian equivalents are, however, very often unconnected and misleading. It is impossible to identify Efate kast, 'sweet,' with Malay manis, Efate taku, 'brothers-in-law,' with Malay tiri, Efate toko, 'to rest,' with Malay dudok (the true equivalent here would appear to be Malay tunggu, cf. soko, 'true,' Malay sunggoh), or Efate kamkam, 'scissors,' with Malay chubit; and there are scores of similar cases.

In conclusion, I can only express my regret that
Dr. Macdonald should have allowed himself to be led astray by his Semitic will o' the wisp. If he had worked out the relation of Efatese to the other Oceanic languages he might have produced a less ambitious but far more valuable book. But this assumes a radical change of method and point of view: which is, perhaps, too much to expect of anyone.

C. O. Blagden.

**Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara, by J. S. Speyer.**

It is well known that the Kathāsaritsāgara, "the great store-house of tales and stories of all kinds," which we owe to the Kaśmirī poet Somadeva, is one of the few Sanskrit works the date of which can be approximately fixed. The late Professor Bühler showed that it was composed between 1063 and 1082. But Somadeva expressly affirms that his poem is a reproduction in a condensed form of an older work called the Brihatkathā, written in the Paiśācī dialect. The Brihatkathā itself has not been found, and for some time scholars seemed to have believed that Somadeva was guilty of excessive modesty in disclaiming originality for his work. But the discovery by Burnell and Bühler of manuscripts of the Brihatkathāmañjari of another Kaśmirī poet, Kshemendra, who was almost coeval with Somadeva, and the subsequent publication of the work in printed form, have placed beyond doubt the fact that the two poems are based upon a common substratum, which can be no other than the work ascribed by Somadeva to Gunaḍhyā. There cannot be the least doubt about the existence in Kaśmir in the
eleventh century of that vast encyclopaedia of tales in the Paisāci dialect, which is acknowledged as the common source of both the Brihatkathāmaṇjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara. The question would appear to be a little complicated by the discovery by Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Śastrī of a third redaction of the Brihatkathā. This work is being edited by a French scholar named M. Lacôte, but as yet little is known about it. The little that is known tends to show that it does not cover precisely the same ground as the two other poems.

Professor Speyer in the first section of his studies deals with the Brihatkathāmaṇjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara, considered as reproductions in Sanskrit of the Paisāci original. He shows that the former poem, though it has been so carelessly edited that passages are found out of their proper connection, contains, when rearranged, practically the same matter as the Kathāsaritsāgara. But even after this textual redistribution has been made, we are face to face with the fact that Kshemendra's arrangement of the divisions of his poem breaks the thread of the main narrative. The main narrative, or "frame-tale" as Professor Speyer calls it, on which all the other stories are strung, is the history of the life and exploits of Naravāhanadatta, who, born as the son of a human king, attained the lofty position of emperor of the Vidyādharas, or spirits of the air. As an introduction to the story of Naravāhanadatta, the life of his father Udayana, king of Vatsa, is related. It is shown by Professor Speyer, by means of a careful analysis of both poems, that the main narrative is more carefully evolved in the work of Somādeva than in that of Kshemendra. The latter, too, takes greater liberties with the original in the way of condensation, as his poem contains only 7,561 distichs, whereas the work of Somādeva contains, according to Professor Speyer, 21,388 distichs. The conclusion reached is that, on the whole, Somādeva has more nearly reproduced
the original than Kshemendra, though in some passages Kshemendra may have the advantage in this respect.

It seems chimerical to hope that, by comparing the two poems, we can recover the actual words of the Paiśāci substratum, even allowing for the difference of dialect, but a few instances are adduced by Professor Speyer, in which coincidences between the two writers, in words or in the turn of phrases, may lead us to think that we have before us the language of the original. He even goes so far as to apply the rules of the grammarians to certain words common to both poems, in order to convert them into the Paiśāci dialect, but, as he himself observes, the "result is meagre."

Professor Speyer passes a high eulogium upon the literary merits of Somadeva. He observes that "he displays in a high degree l'art de faire un livre. His narrative captivates both by its simple and clear, though very elegant style, and by his skill in drawing with a few strokes pictures of types and characters drawn from real everyday life." On the other hand, he finds in the poem of Kshemendra aridity, a love of rhetorical ornament, and a generally inflated style. But he draws attention to the great help which may be derived from Kshemendra's work in the textual criticism and interpretation of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

I have already adverted to the fact that the date of this poem may be considered as established. But no such certainty can be reached with regard to the date of the Brihatkathā, on which it is founded. The enquiry is a fascinating one, and Professor Speyer devotes to it the third chapter of the first section of his book. Assuming that the Kathāsaritsāgara represents pretty faithfully the Brihatkathā, he points out that the famous Buddhist theologian Nāgārjuna is mentioned in the lambaka Ratnaprabhā as possessing supernatural powers. This theologian is generally supposed to have lived about
150 A.D. It seems to Professor Speyer that the wonderful story told about him in this lambaka cannot have assumed its present shape until a century at least had elapsed since his death. "Accordingly our terminus ex quo for the date of the Brīhatkathā advances to the latter half of the third century A.D. at the utmost, and it begins to be likely that its composition cannot be dated before 300 A.D." The use of betel, which in the lambaka Śasāṅkavati brings Mrigāṅkadatta into trouble, appears not to be mentioned by writers before the sixth century of our era, unless Suśruta can be placed before that date. The Brīhatkathā is praised in the Harṣacarita in a passage in which Bāna seems to be referring to authors of a date but little anterior to his own. On these and other grounds Professor Speyer decides that the Brīhatkathā cannot have been composed before the fifth century, but was certainly in existence about 600 A.D.

This date, thus roughly settled, is applied by Professor Speyer to fix the date of the Mudrārāksasa. A śloka in taraṅga 60, being 119 in Brockhaus's edition, 118 in that of Durgāprasād, appears to be an imitation of a tristubh in the Mudrārāksasa, which is also found in the Tantrākhyāyika, the oldest form of the Pañcatantra known to us. This stanza is stated in the Pañcatantra to be a quotation, and it will be evident to anyone who reads over the scene of the Mudrārāksasa in which the stanza occurs "that both the contents and the wording of it are in perfect agreement with the peculiar situation of the context and have their original home there. Hence it follows that Viśākhadatta and his admirable drama are to be placed many centuries earlier than is generally done." It is highly satisfactory to have the antiquity of this interesting play rendered so highly probable. With regard to the author of the Brīhatkathā, Professor Speyer does not venture to dogmatize. He declines to decide whether Guṇāḍhya, who, according to Somadeva, wrote
the Brhatkathā in the Paisāci dialect with his own blood, was a historical or a mythical person. "The only conclusion permitted to us, and this at least is more than nothing, is this, that a celebrated work, the author or authors of which are half mythical persons, must be ancient."

The second section of Professor Speyer's book, occupying 114 out of a total of 174 pages, is concerned with the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara. The first chapter of this section deals with the two editions. The editio princeps of the work was published by Brockhaus in three parts: the first, containing lambakas i–v, came out in Devanāgari characters in 1839; the second, containing lambakas vi–viii, in Roman characters in 1862; and the third, containing lambakas ix–xviii, also in Roman characters, in 1866. But the authority of Brockhaus's text has now been superseded by the edition of Durgāprasād printed at the Nirnayasāgara Press (first impression 1889, second impression 1903). Professor Speyer shows at great length, by a careful examination of many passages in the Kathāsaritsāgara, how superior the text of Durgāprasād is to that of Brockhaus. Brockhaus is convicted of many errors in grammar and also in metre (at least one per cent. of the verses in his edition being defective or redundant), and his trustworthiness as a "transmitter of the tradition of manuscripts" is altogether shaken. There can be no doubt that the edition of Durgāprasād gives a good sense in many passages where Brockhaus gives an unintelligible or inferior reading. But Professor Speyer is careful to point out that, though Brockhaus must be deemed to have failed egregiously as an editor of Somadeva's poem, he lived in a time when Sanskritists had not at their disposal the appliances which they now enjoy. "Sanskrit studies encompassed a very limited area, and could be neither broad nor deep." The great Metropolitan dictionary was not completed in 1866, when
the last part of Brockhaus's text was published; in fact, the fourth volume of that thesaurus of the Sanskrit tongue is dated 1865–8. Unfortunately, that dictionary is very much indebted to the text of Brockhaus, and though Böhtlingk detected and corrected many of his errors, Professor Speyer has been able to draw up a formidable list of corrections, which will have to be made in the Petropolitan dictionary, both in its larger and more abridged form. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that this part of Professor Speyer's treatise is of the utmost importance from the point of view of Sanskrit scholarship. After all, it cannot be admitted that either the edition of Brockhaus or that of Durgāprasād is critical in the European sense of the term. Neither is furnished with an *apparatus criticus*, and we are left in the dark in most cases as to whether a reading is to be found in one or more manuscripts or is the result of conjecture. In this connexion it is satisfactory to observe that many of Dr. Kern's conjectures which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (v.s., Vol. III, Pt. 1) have subsequently been found in manuscripts, and, as a matter of fact, many of Durgāprasād's improved readings can be supported by manuscripts in the India Office and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta.

No doubt Professor Speyer has succeeded in showing that, when the readings of Durgāprasād and Brockhaus conflict, those of the former editor are, as a rule, to be preferred, as yielding a fuller and better sense, and being in many instances grammatically more correct. I should be inclined to accept the Professor's authority as final in all cases of grammatical construction. It would, I suppose, be absurd to suggest that Somadeva may, like Homer, have nodded occasionally. But in cases where the decision must turn upon a point of taste, or of Somadeva's favourite forms of expression and way
of regarding the universe, I think we may be allowed occasionally to prefer Brockhaus's reading, if not against manuscript authority. For instance, in taraṅga 120, śl. 67, for the upādānam of Brockhaus we find in Durgāprasad's text upamānām. This latter reading is actually found in one of the India Office manuscripts, though another supports Brockhaus's text. According to Brockhaus's text, Somadeva praises the famous king Vikramāditya in the following words: "Surely his glory furnished the Creator with the material out of which he built up the White Island, the Sea of Milk, Mount Kailāsa, and the Himālayas." Here Professor Speyer remarks: "Conceding ever so much to the habits of exaggeration and anachronism, which are proper to Eastern poetry, it is hard to set to the credit of an Indian poet that he should be supposed to make his readers accept such an enormity as the Sea of Milk and the Himālaya created after the pattern of King Vikramāditya's glory. Durgāprasad's text conveys something more reasonable. According to it, the Creator or Dispenser (Vidhi) surely used the Śvetadvīpa, the Sea of Milk, etc., as his model when he brought Vikramāditya's glory into being." In order to understand either version it is necessary to assume that, according to the canons of Sanskrit Poetic, glory is always white. Assuming this, I confess that I prefer the "lusty hyperbole" of Brockhaus's text. Indeed, Durgāprasad's reading seems to me to give a somewhat frigid sense. In support of my view I would refer to taraṅga 108, 82, where Professor Speyer approves the translation "That Śiva still retains his crescent and Viṣṇu his kaustrubha jewel, they have to thank for it, I am sure, that they did not fall into the clutches of a kuṭṭanī." This seems to me to carry exaggeration and disrespect for deities as far as the reading of Brockhaus, to which Professor Speyer objects. Moreover, I think that no one, who has
read the truly Aristophanic story of the gambler Thîṅṭhâ-karāla, will find any difficulty in the hyperbolical or profane character of either passage. This worthy makes the Mothers play with him, compels them by threats of personal violence to pay what they have lost, tries to catch the great god Siva in the same trap, compels one of the Apsarases, whom he has captured, to take him to heaven, beats Indra's goat-faced mime, and eventually outwits Indra himself, much to his amusement and that of Brihaspati.

In chapter iii of the second section of his book Professor Speyer puts forward some conjectures of his own. Nearly all of them seem to me very probable, and of some of them it may be said that, if Somadeva did not write what the Professor supposes him to have written, he ought to have done so.

In taraṅga 17, 156, Yangandharāyana advises his master to return to Kauśāmbi, as there is nothing to fear from the King of Magadha. "For he has been completely gained over by the negotiation termed 'giving of a daughter.'" This is the obvious meaning of the passage. Here Brockhaus reads samādhitaḥ to express "he has been gained over." Durgāprasad reads sa bādhitaḥ, but Professor Speyer proposes sa sādhitah, which, considering the similarity in Sanskrit manuscripts of s and m, must be the phrase required. The substitution of na cāti sa nisevyas te for na cāti te nisevyante in taraṅga 27, 148, seems to me equally happy. The proposal to read varam for param in taraṅga 32, 135, will, I think, be universally approved. It would be easy to multiply instances.

In taraṅga 29, 91, Professor Speyer disapproves of the reading śvaśrūṣprasādāt, rejecting very properly the translation "thanks to my mother-in-law." He proposes śvaśrūṣapasādāt, "because of that accursed mother-in-law." No doubt apasada is confounded, in a sense nearly
resembling this, with the words ṛākṣasa, brāhmaṇa, ṛājan, etc. Böhtlingk and Roth translate it by "ein Ausgeschossener." But the gentle Kirtisenā would no more have indulged in this emphatic denunciation than she would in the ironical utterance "thanks to my mother-in-law." I venture to propose śvaśṛvatrasadāt, "owing to the displeasure of my mother-in-law."

In conclusion, I beg to congratulate the Professor on the fact that his linguistic acquirements have enabled him to write this long treatise in English, which will make it intelligible to the educated classes of our Indian fellow-subjects. The value of the treatise is much enhanced by the conspectus metrorum and the index of notable Sanskrit words, which will be most useful to students of a text which, in addition to its merits as a classical poem, is, there is every reason to believe, a trustworthy reproduction of "that immense mass of fairy tales which was collected many centuries before the eleventh century A.D.," and is also "a faithful picture of Indian society at the time when that collection was made."

C. H. T.


The four volumes of Calendars of State Papers—East Indies and Persia of the late Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury form a perfect treasure-house of information on the early history of the English in the East; and it has long been matter of regret to students that after Mr. Sainsbury's death the work came to a conclusion. The last volume, published by the Public Record Office in 1892, calendared the various documents to the end of 1634. In the volume
under notice Miss Sainsbury carries on, to a certain extent, the work begun by her father. I say "to a certain extent," for, except for a document here and there, the calendaring is confined entirely to the Court Minutes of the East India Company. As contrasted with Mr. W. N. Sainsbury's calendars, the most notable omission in his daughter's book is that of the letters received by the Company from its various factories. The letters from the factories in India are being edited by Mr. Wm. Foster of the India Office (see Journal for 1907, p. 442); but there seems to be no intention on the part of Government (the more 's the pity) of publishing abstracts of the letters from Persia on the one hand and Malaysia on the other. The present volume, however, does contain summaries of two letters from the East, one from the president at Bantam and the other from the president at Surat, both addressed to Edward Sherborne, secretary to the Company. These are inserted, apparently, because they happen to be in the Public Record Office, and are in the nature of semi-private communications. They seem, however, rather out of keeping with the rest of the documents, and might, I should have thought, have been reserved for publication in one of Mr. Foster's future volumes. Owing to the lamentable fact that the volume of Court Minutes for two whole years—July, 1637, to July, 1639—is lost, information regarding that period has had to be supplied from other sources; but this attempt to make good the deficiency only shows more vividly how irreparable is the loss of the minutes. To prove this, it is sufficient to mention that while the abstracted documents relating to the year July, 1636, to July, 1637, occupy over a hundred pages, those dealing with the next two years cover less than nineteen pages! The matters chronicled in these minutes are, naturally, of varying importance and interest, and much of the details might be considered very small beer. But there is a great deal that is valuable as
well as interesting, and in his admirable Introduction Mr. Foster has dealt with the chief topics in a most lucid manner. The dominant note throughout the minutes is a very minor one, the Company being in low water owing to Dutch competition, loss of vessels, unlicensed trade on the part of their servants, etc., aggravated by the double-dealing of Charles I (such as in the matter of the Courteen expedition under Captain Weddell, of which we read a good deal here), and the continual annoyances of one of their own members, a certain Thomas Smithwick, whose behaviour ultimately became so outrageous that he had to be turned out of the committee-room neck and crop by the beadle. Two projects that came to nothing are referred to in this volume—one, the settlement of a colony in Madagascar, with young Prince Rupert as leader; the other, the colonization of Mauritius proposed by the Earl of Southampton. Though, as I have said, there is a despondent tone running throughout those minutes, at the end of the volume this is changed to one of jubilation, owing to a better condition of things and brighter prospects. We read in the concluding pages of the return in the Mary of William Methwold, the Company’s late president at Surat, accompanied by the young German traveller Mandelslo ("Herr Mantelowre" he is here called), who was entertained by the Company at dinner, but made to pay for his passage! That the Company could play the game of double-dealing as well as Charles is seen by the record on p. 327, where we find the Court, to show its gratitude to the King of Bantam for favours received, resolving "to dispatch fifty muskets and 200 iron shot in the Advice, and (to avoid any quarrel with the Dutch) to request the president to supply the said king privately, under pretence of sale, with as much powder as can be spared from that now sent, with promise of more by the Jonah." On p. 261 is an abstract of a Latin document relating to the poisoning of a foreign gem
merchant by the English surgeon of the East Indiaman on
the homeward voyage. No light is thrown on this tragedy
by Mr. Foster. On the previous page we read that at a
court of committee, on 28th April, 1637, "Mr. Younge,
lately returned from France, relates that a ship called the
St. Lois, of 250 tons burden, with sixty-seven men aboard,
has lately come to Dieppe from the Indies, where she has
been fifteen or sixteen months, and during that time has
taken and robbed three junks from Cambaya, and brought
home gold, silver, and goods worth £30,000." From the
Batavia Dagh-Register for 1636 we learn that on the
arrival at Batavia, on 25th July, of Antonio Caen, who
left Holland as commander of a fleet at the end of 1635,
he reported "that having arrived with his fleet of 9 ships
under the equinoctial line, he had encountered a certain
small French ship, about 100 lasts burden, carrying 24
guns and 100 brave men, wherewith she had sailed from
Dieppe, in order, according to her commission, to sail to
the Red Sea, the coast of India, etc., and attack and
plunder the Moorish ships, as well as the Spaniards and
Portuguese." Apparently this pirate had succeeded well
in her nefarious mission. On p. 159 we have a mysterious
reference, which Mr. Foster elucidates in a footnote, to
a Colonel Alexander Annand, who made persistent attempts
to get to Persia with some fifty or sixty soldiers to serve
the Shah in his wars. Whether he succeeded or not is
unknown. The writer of the Batavia Dagh-Register for
1637 says (under 6th May)—"By advices from Suratte
his excellency [Governor-General van Diemen, who was
then at Amboina] had not learnt that mention was made
regarding the Scots colonel Alexander Aurant [sic], who
(according to the writing of our masters the principals)
had designed to equip for Persia, so did not suppose that
we in ours through Coromandel to Suratte (written to
Sr. Barent Pietersen) had made mention thereof." In
connection with the Courteen expedition, I may point out
that in this same volume, on p. 77, is given the Dutch translation of a letter in Latin, dated 20th February (o.s.), 1635(6), from Charles I to "our well-beloved general, governors, captains, and subjects of the United Netherlands provinces and countries of East India." If the original document is extant, why is there no mention of it in Miss Sainsbury's book? On p. 283 is a passage that puzzles me. It is stated that at a quarterly general court held on 28th June, 1637, "Mr. Governor informs them that Mr. Cramporne, of Plymouth, has written to notify the arrival of a Danish ship at that port from the Indies, which has been out nine or ten years." Now, the only Danish ship that returned from India that year, as far as I can find, was the St. Anna, which left Tranquebar on 16th January, and reached Copenhagen on 4th November. But, so far from having "been out nine or ten years," the St. Anna had gone out to India for the first time in 1635 (or 1636) in company with the St. Jakob, both ships arriving at Masulipatam on 2nd or 3rd September, 1636. By the former vessel there returned to Denmark the founder and head of the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, the Dutchman Roelant Crape, who had left Denmark for the East eighteen years before, and had now been ennobled by the king in reward for his services. Mr. Foster's footnotes are, I need scarcely say, of much value, explaining what would often be otherwise unintelligible to the general reader. In connection with the note on p. xv of the Introduction, and the doubtful entry in the Index, "Bonneale, ", I may say that the two men referred to in this volume, who in the Index are entered as "Bonneale, Daniel," and "Bonnell, Samuel," were the brothers (cf. p. 62) Daniel and Samuel Bonneel or Bonnell, sons of Daniel Bonneel of Norwich, where they were both born, the former in 1601, the latter in 1608. Samuel, though the younger, was evidently the more able. He was admitted as a member of the Dutch church in London on 26th February,
1626, when he was described as "at Sir William Courten's," a position which we find him occupying in this volume. On p. 62 we read of his "being now in the way of preferment by marriage," a statement which I cannot explain. As a fact, he married (when, I do not know) Rebecca Sayer, of Norwich, by whom he had a son James, born in Genoa 14th November, 1653, and brought to England in 1654. Samuel was an ardent royalist; and on the restoration of Charles II he was appointed Accountant-General of Ireland in 1662. He died in 1664, and his son James succeeded to the post in 1684, holding it until his death in 1699. A sister of Samuel's, Hester, married Strype, the historian, and another sister, Abigail, married Captain Robert Knox, who died a captive in Ceylon, whence his eldest son and namesake, after nearly twenty years' captivity, escaped to write one of the most fascinating and accurate accounts of the island ever penned. Owing to the loss of the minutes from July, 1637, to 1639, we do not get, in this period, reports of the arrivals of ships from the East. In his Introduction Mr. Foster has largely made good this deficiency, but he has omitted to record when the Hopewell returned. Before parting with this interesting book I must not omit to call attention to the amusing episodes connected with the Persian ambassador in London, "Ally Bally," whose house was stoned by hooligans, on whom his servants retaliated, and whose return passage seems to have been settled only after a long series of very undignified hagglings and wranglings. As a mirror of life in London in those days, apart from its special purpose, this volume is of much value.

Donald Ferguson.

Under the above, somewhat fanciful, title Dr. Brandstetter has just issued a little book (the fourth number of his second series of Malayo-Polynesian Researches) which forms, in a manner, a continuation of his "Prodromus zu einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch der malaio-polynesischen Sprachen." As this last was reviewed in Part III of this Journal for 1907, on which occasion Dr. Brandstetter's methods were discussed in some detail, it will not be necessary to recur to the points there noticed. In the present work he deals with the principal Indonesian equivalents of fifty-seven common names of natural objects, beginning with the words for 'sun,' 'moon,' and 'star,' and going through the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. The words are well chosen for the purpose in view, which I take to include inter alia the illustration of the essential unity of the Indonesian group of languages, the discussion of the phonetic laws of change therein prevailing, and an exhibition of the geographical distribution of a number of important words which run through many of its different idioms. To this last question a special section is devoted, in which it is shown that a considerable proportion of the words selected extend from the Philippines to Madagascar.

In the present work the author has not selected any particular set of languages (as in his "Prodromus"), but chooses his examples wherever they are most typical from the very large number of Indonesian languages with which he has a scholarly acquaintance. Some of these idioms are decidedly 'out of the way,' being the obscure languages of remote and almost unknown tribes inhabiting insignificant islands in the great Eastern Archipelago;
but they are none the less important on that account, for it often happens that precisely these out-of-the-way languages have preserved archaic forms that have been lost in most of the better known members of the family.

There is an interesting section on the words for 'spirit,' 'life,' and the like. Here, by way of exception, the author makes a comparison with the analogous phenomena to be found in the Indo-European family of languages. Just as in the latter, so in the Malayo-Polynesian family, these words are usually derived from words meaning 'wind' or 'breath,' but occasionally the Indonesian words are connected with the idea of 'water,' where the transition in meaning is less obvious. Dr. Brandstetter thinks that this analogy, amongst others, should be considered an argument against the easy assumption that the Indonesians are inferior to the Indo-Europeans in point of mental capacity. This is hardly the place to discuss such a very complex question; and bearing in mind how many different races have at various periods of the world's history stood at the head of the civilisation of their time, one may well hesitate to forecast what the future may have in store for the so-called lower races of mankind. But although it may well be the case that in the remote past when the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans and the Indonesians, independently of one another, hit upon the simple transition of ideas that connects 'spirit' with 'breath,' they were all on much the same intellectual plane, yet it is certain that the Indo-Europeans have since then shown a much greater capacity for progress than the Indonesians. The latter have not, up to the present, displayed much intellectual vigour, and highly interesting and in many ways charming though they may be, they are not, in actual practical or speculative activity, the equals either of the Indo-Europeans, or of the Chinese, Dravidians, and Arabs, with whom they come into direct competitive contact.
Another section of the work deals briefly with certain euphemistic and periphrastic words and expressions peculiar to religious, poetical, and other special forms of diction, which form such a curious and important feature in many of the Indonesian languages. All these matters are treated by Dr. Brandstetter with his usual scholarly accuracy, acumen, and wealth of appropriate illustrative material. There is throughout a strict adherence to sound scientific method; as a rule, no etymology is suggested that cannot be supported on the phonological side by several parallel instances. If anything unusual, any variation from the regular laws of phonetic correspondence, appears to occur, the fact is duly pointed out. In such a work it is difficult to find matter for criticism. If I venture to make a few observations on minor details, I put them forward rather as queries than as corrections.

The Ilokano arimaong, 'a species of cat,' should, it seems to me, go under the heading 'tiger' (arimong, etc.), not 'cat' (meyong); both, it is true, are mere onomatopeics, but the Ilokano word is clearly identical in form with the 'tiger' series. The 'tiger' words, though no doubt primarily applicable to the 'royal tiger,' are used in some of these languages to denote the lesser wild felines, such as the leopard, wild cats of various species, etc., as well. The Dayak harimaung, unless it is a loanword from some other Indonesian language, must (I imagine) be used principally of these smaller felines, for the tiger does not exist in Borneo (nor, I believe, in the island where Ilokano is spoken, but this last point I have at present no means of verifying). Dr. Brandstetter illustrates the Old Javanese hantiga, 'egg,' by a comparison with the Mentawai tigá; but the sense of the latter is not very apt, and the further comparison with the Toba pira and the Sumbanese tilu is not very convincing, because the secondary meaning of
these words evidently has reference to the form, not
the function, of the organ in question (cf. the Malay use
of buah and biji in this connection). Another possible
explanation seems to me more probable. The ordinary
Old Javanese word for 'egg' is hantélú, and the stem
of this is almost identical in form with the word for
'three' (the common Indonesian télu). Now in Javanese
ceremonial language (Krama), as also in Malay and some
other Indonesian languages, tiga means 'three,' so that
hantiga would be a very obvious artificial modification
of hantélú, and such artificial modifications of words
are frequent in the Indonesian languages and particularly
so in Javanese. It is rather surprising that among
Dr. Brandstetter's words for 'cocoanut' there is no mention
of the common Malay kélapa, of which the word kélambah
(which is mentioned) has been regarded, rightly or
wrongly, as an artificial modification. Similarly, to the
words for 'tree-trunk' the common Malay pokok
(conceivably in like manner related to pongkal, which
Dr. Brandstetter gives) might well have been added.
So also might the very widespread Indonesian word awe,
'rattan,' a jungle product of great practical importance,
which has not, however, been included in the author's
selection.

May not the Old Javanese lwah, 'river,' be identical
with the Malay lwarah, 'ravine'? The words appear to
be phonetically coincident. Might not the Toba aek,
Madurese aeng on the one side and the Old Javanese uwai
on the other be 'variations' of the Old Javanese air,
'water'? Here the phonetic correspondence is not exact,
of course. Might not anai-anai, 'white ant,' be derived
from anai, 'sand'? To anyone who knows the results of
the creature's operations by sad practical experience, the
connection in meaning will not seem far-fetched, and the
forms appear to be phonetically identical. May not the
Menangkabau bija, which Dr. Brandstetter gives as an
artificial modification of *biji,* 'seed,' have taken this form by conscious imitation of the Sanskrit *vi\-ja,* which occurs in Malay titles under the form *bijə.* The explanation of the Javanese *lintang* (for *wintang*) and the Sundanese *chaah* (Old Javanese *vāh*), as having had their initial sounds modified on the analogy of *lan\-git* and *chi* respectively, seems to me (though possible) hardly convincing. Might not the *l* be a formative prefix, and what about the other anomaly in the words for 'star,' the Malagasy *kintana,* which is not mentioned? As for the Sundanese word, Sundanese has an eccentric fondness for *ch* where other languages have labials (e.g. *sancha,* 'python,' for the ordinary and normal *savva*). The forms for 'star,' with two vowels in the termination, seem to represent a primitive *witu\-n,* which looks like a derivative in *\-n* from a stem *\-wu.* Does not this assumed stem *wu* bear the same formal relation to the forms of the other series (type *wintang*) that Javanese Ngoko words bear to the corresponding Krama ones, and Malay *alu,* 'pestle,' to *antun,* Javanese, etc., *asu,* 'dog,' to Malay *anjing,* and the like? These are matters that appear to me to require further investigation.

Dr. Brandstätter has written an excellent little volume, the small size of which bears no sort of relation to the large amount of research that it must have involved, and one looks forward to seeing something more from him in the near future. It was hardly necessary for him to insist on the fact that his book is the fruit of his own personal research; no one at all acquainted with the sphere of his labours can long remain ignorant of that fact, and even those who are entirely versed in the subjects with which he deals can hardly fail to be struck by the note of individuality, happily blended with a strict observance of sound general principles, which is characteristic of all his work.
THE CHRISTIAN PURANNA OF FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J. Edited by JOSEPH L. SALDANHA, B.A. Mangalore, 1907.

This is a worthy memorial of a remarkable man, regarding whose life strangely little is known. In a very interesting "biographical note" Mr. Saldanha has collected from various sources all the information that he could gather regarding Thomas Stephens, and has corrected some erroneous statements made by previous writers, among them even Mr. A. F. Pollard, whose brief notice in the supplement to the Dictionary of National Biography is, however, mainly accurate. It is certainly no credit to Englishmen that to so few of them is even the name of Thomas Stephens known. As an example of this, I may mention that the British Museum Library possesses not a single copy of any of the original editions of Stephens's works, and the solitary book of his that it owns, a modern reprint of his grammar of the Konkani language, is entered only under the Portuguese equivalent of his name, "Thomaz Estevão," his real name being absolutely ignored! And yet Thomas Stephens was, as Mr. Albert Gray puts it in his translation of Pyrard (Hakluyt Society's edition), "of all Englishmen primus in Indis," and during the forty years that he lived and laboured there was on several occasions of service to his fellow-countrymen (such as Fitch and his companions in 1583) and to other Europeans (such as Pyrard in 1608). Stephens's very birthplace is a matter of dispute, though Mr. Saldanha gives it as Bulston, in Wiltshire, which seems the most probable. He was born about 1549, and according to Hakluyt, was educated at New College, Oxford, but of this there is no proof, and it is probable that Hakluyt has confused Thomas with his brother Richard. I pass over other details of his early life, and only mention that, having joined the Jesuit order at Rome in 1578, Stephens sailed for India in one of the five Portuguese ships that
left Lisbon on 4th April, 1579, and reached Goa on 24th October of the same year. Of this voyage he wrote (on 10th November, 1579) a long and most interesting account in a letter to his father (a leading merchant in London), which Hakluyt fortunately got hold of and printed in his *Principal Navigations*, etc. (By the way, Mr. Saldanha and other writers do not seem to have noticed what a narrow escape this document had of being lost, for in a letter to Hakluyt, dated "Alepo, the 28. of May, 1583," John Newbery wrote: "The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from Mr. Thomas Steuens in Goa . . . I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed." ) This letter, which Mr. Saldanha reprints in full (the spelling, unfortunately, modernized) is said by some writers to have exercised a great influence in calling the attention of the English to the importance of trade in India, though there seems to be no proof of this. At any rate, Hakluyt seems to have considered the details it contained regarding the variation of the needle, etc., of such value that in his dedicatory epistle to Sir Robert Cecil he specially calls attention to them. Except for a few lines at the end, this letter contains no observations on India, but the writer doubtless gave these in his next communication to his father. Unhappily, however, all his other letters have disappeared, except one in Latin, addressed to his brother Richard, then a doctor of theology in Paris, and dated from Goa on the 24th of October, 1583. Only a copy of this, however, and a mutilated one at that, exists in the National Library of Brussels. Of this letter Mr. Saldanha gives an English translation; and its perusal makes us regret all the more keenly that we have not had preserved to us, in epistolatory or book form, the great mass of information concerning the people and things in India that this acute observer must have stored up during the forty years of
his residence there. The bulk of the letter gives an account (the first part of which is missing) of the massacre in 1583 of five Jesuit fathers at Cuncolim, containing details not mentioned in *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, by Father Francis Goldie, who does not seem to have known of the existence of this document. In the last paragraph Stephens, in response to a request by his brother, makes a few observations on the climate of India, and gives a brief description of the coco palm. Among other things, he says: "It yields oil, wine (*vinum*), milk (*lac*), syrup (*mel*), sugar, and vinegar." Mr. Saldanha, however, translates *vinum* by 'liquor,' and, more oddly still, *lac* by 'toddy.' Less than a month after the above letter was written, there arrived at Goa from Ormuz Ralph Fitch and his three English companions, who had been arrested as spies, and were now straightway clapped into prison, where they would have remained, perhaps for years, had it not been for the good offices of Father Stephens, through whose influence they were released on bail, three of them soon afterwards making their escape. Of the doings of Father Stephens during the remainder of his life we know very little, only that, as Mr. Saldanha says: "Having, for a time, been Minister of the Professed House at Goa and Rector of Salsette College for five years, and temporary Socius to the Visitor, Fr. Stephens, or Padre Estevam, as he was henceforth to be known, spent the remaining forty years of his sacred ministry chiefly among the Brahmin Catholics of Salsette." Of his death we have no record; but it is presumed to have taken place in Goa, in 1619, since the governor Fernão de Albuquerque, writing to the King of Spain on 14th February, 1620, casually refers to a statement said to have been made by "an English priest of holy life, while on his death-bed in the Professed House of the Society in this city." That he was buried in Goa it is reasonable to suppose, but the place of his sepulture is unknown.
Thomas Stephens appears to have acquired a thorough mastery of Marāthī and Kōṅkaṇī, and probably also of Sanskrit. Mr. Pollard, in his notice of Stephens in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, says that the learned father "was the first to make a scientific study of Canarese, the vernacular Malabar tongue [sic!]," that he also learnt Hindūstānī, and that in both these languages he published manuals of piety and grammar. But there is no evidence of Stephens's having had any knowledge of Hindūstānī, or of his having written any books in that language. And, with regard to the first part of the statement quoted above, it is a blunder (into which various writers have fallen, including Mr. Albert Gray, in his Pyrard, ii, 270, note), founded on a misapprehension of the meaning of the words of Ribadaneira—"Primus Canarinum idioma in regulas ordinemque digessit." There is no reference here to Canarese, but to the dialect of the Canarins," a very different matter, for, as is duly recorded in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. "Canarin," this word was applied by the Portuguese to the Kōṅkaṇī inhabitants of Goa and their language. As a fact, Father Stephens translated into 'Bramana-Canarim' a catechism of Christian doctrine, which was published at Rachol in 1622; and wrote a grammar of the Kōṅkaṇī language, which, after lying in manuscript for many years, was added to by Father Diogo Ribeiro, S.J., and was published at Rachol in 1640. (In his *Tentative List of Books*, etc., Dr. A. C. Burnell enters this work with a Latin title under the name of "Busten, T. S. de, S.J.", and with a Portuguese title under "Estevaõ, P. Thomas, S.J.", in ignorance, apparently, of the fact that "T. S. de Busten" was identical with "P. Thomas Estevaõ," and that the author's real name was Thomas Stephens.) A reprint of this grammar, with a lengthy introductory essay on the Kōṅkaṇī language, by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, was published at Goa in 1857, only two copies of the original edition being now in existence. (This reprint is registered
in Burnell's List under "Grammatica," with no reference to either of the preceding entries, though under "Estevao" the reprint is recorded.) Of this work Mr. Saldanha says: "This first grammar of an Indian tongue by a European must be regarded as a highly creditable attempt, and is undoubtedly a most interesting performance."

With neither of the above works, however, are we at present concerned, but with a third and literally monumental production of Father Stephens's, namely, his so-called "Christian Purâna." This is an epic, divided into two parts, the first dealing with Old Testament history and the second with the life of Christ. It is written in four-line verse, the Pailem Purâna (First Purâna) consisting of 36 cantos containing, in all, 4,181 strophes, and the Dussarem Purâna (Second Purâna) of 59 cantos, arranged in four subdivisions, and containing 6,781 strophes; or a grand total of 10,962 strophes. The first edition of this enormous poem appears to have been published in 1616 at Rachol, a second edition in 1649 (where, is not known), and a third in 1654 at Goa. And yet (and this is the most extraordinary fact in connection with this work), "barring a few manuscript copies, prized as heirlooms in the ancient families in South Canara, and, perhaps, a few more in Goa and thereabouts, no printed copy of The Christian Purâna is known to be extant in India or in Europe." Surely such a wholesale disappearance of three editions of a printed book is unique in the history of literature? The explanations tendered by Mr. Saldanha in his lengthy and most interesting Introduction are not very satisfactory, and he is strangely at fault in conjecturing "that possibly the so-called printed editions were no more than lithographed ones—lithography was certainly cheaper and more common than printing in those days—and, for this reason, necessarily few and rare." I would simply remark that lithography was not invented before the
end of the eighteenth century! Fortunately, however, manuscript copies of the work have been preserved here and there on the west coast of India; and a suggestion having been made a few years ago by Mr. J. A. Saldanha, sub-judge of Alibagh, that the epic should be reprinted, the idea was taken up by some enthusiasts, manuscripts were obtained and collated, the text was copied, the editing was undertaken by Mr. J. L. Saldanha of St. Aloysius's College, Mangalore, other scholars gave their willing help, the expense of printing was guaranteed by Mr. Simon Alvares of Mangalore, and as a result we have this handsome, well-printed quarto volume of some 700 pages, 600 of which are occupied by the text of the epic and a glossary, the other 100 pages containing the Contents, Biographical Notes, Introduction, etc. In the Introduction, besides giving an outline of the poem, Mr. Saldanha deals at length with the language in which the poem is written and the system of transliteration adopted by the writer. To discuss these here would occupy too much space, and I must therefore refer those interested in the subject to the book itself, which is certainly a most interesting one, creditable to all concerned in its production.

Donald Ferguson.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.
(April, May, June, 1908.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYALASIATIC SOCIETY.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING (May 12th, 1908).

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 12th, 1908, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Miss Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita).
Mr. Robert Arnold Beecher.
Mr. K. K. Chakko.
Professor August Fischer.
Mr. S. C. Ghatak.
Mr. M. V. Subramanias Iyer.
Mr. K. G. Gopala Pillai.
Sultan Sayyid Saadat Husain.
Mr. Charles Henry Jopp.
Rai Brij Behari Lall.
Mr. William Warren.

Sir Raymond West proposed the Council's List of Nominations for seats on the Council for 1908–9, which was carried unanimously.

The Annual Report of the Council for the year 1907–8 was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1907–8.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of the following eleven members:—

H.E. Ali Asghar Khan, Amines Sultan,
Professor T. Aufrecht,
Mr. D. G. Barclay,
Mr. H. Beauchamp,
M. Henrik Borgström,
Mr. E. L. Brandreth,

Mr. Girindranath Dutt,
The Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart.,
Major-General Sir Frederic J. Goldsmid,
Professor J. Gray,
Rev. Walter H. Stapleton,

J.R.A.S. 1908. 60
and by retirement of the following nine:—

Mr. Claude Delaval Cobham, Mr. W. H. Nicholls,
C.M.G., Mr. C. H. Oertel,
Mr. Walter Lupton, Mrs. Plimmer,
Mr. A. J. May, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E.,
Mr. Rustam J. J. Modi, Major F. Webb Ware.

Under Rule 20 one gentleman ceases to be a Member of the Society:—
Maulavi Abu Musa Ahmad al-Haq.

Under Rule 21 the following twenty-six cease to be Members of the Society:—

Mr. Amir-uddin Ashraf, Mr. H. M. A. Husein Khan,
Mr. Boris Brandhendler, Babu Ramani Mohan Mallik,
Babu Kali Kumar Das, Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon,
Mr. Lala Banarsi Das, Professor Muliyal Krishnam,
Mr. M. N. Dutt, Hon. P. Rama Nathan,
Mr. Théodore Ferrieu, Mr. M. R. Ry. Apat Krishna
Miss W. Gray, Paduval,
Mr. John de Grey-Downing, Mr. Harry Price,
Mr. Hardevram Nanabhai Mr. Nirmal Chandra Sen,
Haridas, Professor Kishan Singh,
Moung Tha Hnyn, Mr. Abdullah al-Mamun
Mr. Sri Kanti Ayyer, Sohrawarthy,
Mr. Mirza Jalal-uddin, Mr. Z. R. Zahid Sohrawarthy,
Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Sri Raja Mrityunjaya Nissenka
Mr. C. Sri Kanta, Bahadur Garu.

The following sixty-six new Members have been elected during the year:—

Mr. Shah Muniruddin Ahmad, Mr. C. Raymond Beazley,
Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mr. R. Grant Brown, I.C.S.,
Mr. Muhammad Anwar Ali, Mr. Chisholm Dunbar Brunton,
Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali, Mr. Tirjugi Narayan Chadha,
Sa’iyid Ibn Ali, Mr. Alexander Smith Cochran,
Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (ret.), Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E.,
Mrs. Nalini Banerji, Miss Shaila Bala Das,
The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., Mrs. Blanche Eleanor Dutton, Professor Julius Eggeling (Honorary), Sir C. A. Elliott, K.C.S.I., Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., Captain M. L. Ferrar, Mr. Charles I. Fraser, Mr. Lovat George Fraser, Mr. Bipin Bihari Ghosal, Khan Bahadur Saiyid Aulád Hasan, Mrs. Herringham, Mr. R. C. Hobart, I.C.S.; Mr. Gustav Theodore von Holst, Maulvi Sakhawat Husain, Mr. Qazi Tajammul Husain, Mr. Qazi Talammuz Husain, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, Mr. Maung Ba Kyaw, Sir John James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Mr. George Barclay Leechman, Mr. M. A. C. Mahomed, Mr. Charles W. McMinn, I.C.S. (ret.), Rev. H. Anderson Meaden, Captain S. Morton, 24th Panjabis, Hon. Mr. Justice Asutosh Mukhopadhyay, D.L., Mr. R. Narasimhabhar, Mr. Maung Tun On, Mr. Maung May Aung, Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.D., Colonel John Pennycuick, R.E. (ret.), Rev. Herbert Pentin, F.S.A. (Scot.), Mr. T. B. Pohath-Kehelpannala, Mr. Mahabir Prasad, Mr. Narsingh Prasad, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. Mallinath Ray, Mr. George Robb, Egyptian C.S., Sri Surendra P. Sanyal, Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastri, The Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong Tulku of Sikkim, Sirdar Kahan Singh, Sirdar Sundar Singh, Ramgarhia, Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha, Mr. Vishwanath Sahay Sinha, Mr. E. B. Soane, Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Indian Educational Service, Mr. J. P. Thompson, I.C.S., Sriman Muttusvami Sivanandi Vaidyesvara, Mudaliyar, Professor Krishna Pada Vidyaratna, Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, I.C.S., Mr. H. D. Watson, I.C.S., Rev. Edward Carruthers Woodley.

Thus there is a very satisfactory increase of members; the number elected (66) is not only high, but has not been approached before since the foundation of the Society, except in 1883, when the number elected was 72.
A pleasing feature is that the Resident Members, of whom for many years past there has been a regular falling off in numbers, have this year increased by 14. The Non-Resident Members show a net increase of 13, and although there is always a steady increase in this class of members this is the highest for some years.

Not only is this satisfactory, but so also is the subscription to the Journal. This year there are 12 more annual subscribers than last year. There are now 139, as against 104 in 1902, i.e. an advance of 35 in the five years, the increase in the preceding five years being only 8. These figures are interesting, as they show the steadily growing interest evinced in the Journal, 200 copies more of which are now printed than were required four years ago.

During the year the Council have undertaken, for the Oriental Translation Fund, the publication of the "Memoirs of Jahangir," translated by Mr. A. Rogers and edited by Mr. Beveridge. This work is in the press, and will, it is hoped, be published before the close of the present year.

The last consignment of the "Languages of the Northern Himalayas, being studies in the Grammar of 26 Himalayan Dialects," by the Rev. Grahame Bailey, has just reached the Society, and will presently form Vol. 12 of the Society's Monographs. These Notes, Vocabularies, and Grammars were written for the new edition of the Punjab Government District Gazetteers now in course of publication. It is intended that the account of each dialect should be published separately in the Gazetteer of the District in which it is spoken. In this condition they would be, for all practical purposes, inaccessible to students, and the Punjab Government has, with great liberality, reprinted a number of complete sets of the whole series, and placed them at the disposal of this Society for publication in a collected form. In addition to the obligation to the learned author and the Punjab Government, the thanks of the Society are due to Dr. Grierson, whose endeavours to bring
this valuable work from its comparative obscurity in separate volumes of an official publication have been so successful.

The Indian Texts Series has seen the publication of the third volume of Mr. Irvine's translation of "Manucci's Storia do Mogor," and sanction has been received from the Government of India for the inclusion of the following works in the Series:

"The Provenance of Indian Coins," to be edited by Professor Rapson.

"Index to the Pali Tripiṭaka," by Professor Rhys Davids.

"A Translation of the Sikshasamuccaya," commenced by the late Professor Bendall, and completed by Dr. Rouse of the Perse School, Cambridge.

These, with the "Index to the Names and Subjects of the Vedic Texts," by Professor Macdonell and Mr. Keith, will form the ten volumes sanctioned by the Indian Government.

The Public School Gold Medal for 1907 was won by Westminster School, and was presented on May 29th by Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, to Mr. A. P. Waterfield, for his essay on Warren Hastings.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended.

The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors, Mr. Keith, Mr. Sturdy, Mr. Baynes, and Mr. Windus.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1908–9, are as follows:

Under Rule 28, Lord Reay retires from the office of President. The Council recommend his re-election.

Under the same rule, Sir Robert Douglas and Sir Charles Lyall retire from the office of Vice-President. The Council recommend their re-election.
### ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

#### RECEIPTS:

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<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balance as at December 31, 1907: 514 17 5

£1897 8 3

We have examined with the books and vouchers of the Society the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
E. T. STURDY, HERBERT M. BAYNES, for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.
### Special Funds

#### Oriental Translation Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>including printing, illustrations, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>Vol. VIII, Binding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>278 8 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75 2 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 18 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balance carried to Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76 1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>265 9 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£341 10 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### India Exploration Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions</td>
<td>42 8 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>55 3 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Medal Publications and Monograph Funds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool Arch. Inst., share of cost, Vol. XI</td>
<td>IX and X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>15 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>17 19 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>18 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53 7 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£186 4 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock, £660.

### Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oriental Translation Fund</th>
<th>Lloyds Bank Deposit Account</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
<td><strong>1907</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265 9 2</td>
<td>306 12 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Medal Publications and Monograph Funds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1907</strong></th>
<th><strong>1907</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>112 3 4</td>
<td>126 3 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balance as at 31st December, 1907: £432 15 10

We have examined the above Statement and Summary with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investment and bank balances.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

(A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
E. T. STURDY,
HERBERT M. BAYNES,
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.
## Medal Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>Payments</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance as at January 1, 1907</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Funds</strong>—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock, £325.</td>
<td><strong>£28 19 9</strong></td>
<td><strong>£28 19 9</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Public School Medal Funds

| Balance as at January 1, 1907 | ... | ... | ... |
| Dividends | ... | ... | ... |
| Donation, A. N. W. | ... | ... | ... |
| School Contributions | ... | ... | ... |
| Interest | ... | ... | ... |
| **Funds**—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock, £645 11s. 2d. | **£41 8 9** | **£41 8 9** |

Cost of Medal | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 0 0
Binding 8 Prizes | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 16 0
Other expenses | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 6 7
Balance as at December 31, 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20 6 2

We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the investments above described, and we hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct.

A. N. WOLLASTON,
*January 1, 1908.*
Under Rule 29, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from the respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 43, the following ordinary members of Council retire:

Professor Blumhardt,
Mr. Ellis,
Mr. Frazer (does not desire re-election),
Dr. Hoey,
Professor Margoliouth.

The Council recommend the election of

Professor Browne,
Mr. Dames,
Mr. Ellis,
Professor Margoliouth,
Mr. Thomas.

The Council regret to announce the loss by death of three Honorary Members—Professor Kielhorn, Professor Barbier de Meynard, and Baron von Rosen.

The Council recommend the election in their place respectively of Professor Hermann Oldenberg, Professor Gaston Maspéro, and Professor Carl Salemann.

Professor Macdonell: Lord Reay, ladies and gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Annual Report which has just been read, and copies of which are now available. I have been a member of the Society since the year 1882, and am therefore able to judge of its progress from a personal experience of more than twenty-five years. The membership has increased from 438 to 632, that is, about 44 per cent. The quality of the Journal has also steadily increased, as well as the number and variety of its articles. In 1883 it contained 18; in 1907 it published
34. The editing was less carefully supervised twenty-five years ago, and the publication was not so punctual. Two valuable features have been added to the contents of the Journal, namely, short miscellaneous articles and notices of books. The latter are particularly valuable, as they give members in out-of-the-way places useful information about new books, and the reviews are entrusted to scholars with special knowledge of the various subjects dealt with. In former days the articles appearing in the Journal were not always of the highest merit; but now there is nothing that should be excluded. The Journal of the Society is now the best Oriental periodical published so far as Indian scholarship in all its aspects is concerned. The number of members has increased since 1906 by 23; that of subscribing libraries by 13; the total number of the latter is now 85. This progress is most satisfactory, because it must be remembered that every single library added to the list means a greater number of readers and a considerable extension of influence.

The progress made is thus eminently satisfactory; but the Journal is the chief link of Oriental scholarship between East and West, and, as such, should attain to a much larger circulation. There are hardly more than 300 members furnished by this country, and considering our relations with India that number is very small.

Having just returned from a six months' tour in India and Ceylon, in the course of which I covered over 10,500 miles, I should like to say something now about the membership of the Society in the East.

I have carefully examined the list of members for 1907, and find there are 139 Indian members besides 10 Indian libraries that take the Journal; that is to say, there are altogether 150 Indian subscribers. This number represents about 25 per cent. of the total membership—a large proportion for an expensive journal not published in India. Of English members there are only just over
50 in India, or only 8 per cent. of the total membership. Not more than 30 of these are members of the Civil Service, including Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Burma; that is, only about 3 per cent. of the civilians on active service in the East.

The stimulating effect of the *Journal* on Asiatic studies would be much greater if the circulation could be increased among Anglo-Indians and Indians. As to Anglo-Indians, there are now at least 120 civilians, missionaries, and members of the educational service in India who are old pupils of mine, and many of them, I know, are interested in the antiquities, the religions, the customs, the history, and the heart of India, yet very few of them are members of the Society. Most of them know vaguely about the Royal Asiatic Society, but only a few have seen the *Journal* or had it brought to their knowledge. Yet it is just the kind of publication which would interest collectors who are in out-of-the-way places beyond the reach of libraries, and may be writing for the "Gazetteer" or collecting information for official and other publications. I think the membership of the Society might be largely increased in the Civil Service, especially if measures were taken to bring it and the *Journal* to the notice of such men.

Then, with regard to Indians: I found everywhere that they were eager to be in touch with Western Orientalists; they feel the want of guidance, as few of them have been trained in the methods of Western research. I was able to give advice in this respect to a number of Indians in Calcutta, Madras, and several remote places. For instance, in the State of Cochin on the Malabar Coast the Raja is an excellent Sanskrit scholar, learned in Indian philosophy, and takes a great interest in the advancement of Sanskrit studies. He has in his State, he told me, 3,500 Brahmins who can each repeat a whole Veda. At his suggestion I made various proposals to him for
the promotion of Sanskrit learning on progressive lines in his State. Here I also met a former correspondent who was eager to engage in research. I accordingly suggested a piece of work on which he is now engaged, and which I think he intends soon to offer as a paper to the *Journal*. At Trivandrum I met a young man who is an enthusiast on the subject of the antiquities and early history of Travancore, but felt unable to do much without guidance. I urged him to try and secure a travelling scholarship in order to undergo a course of training in archaeology under Mr. Marshall. At Madura I became acquainted with a pleader who was particularly interested in the preservation of local monuments. I encouraged him (as well as others whom I met later) to persevere in endeavouring to create a strong public opinion to prevent the present method of defacing old sculptures by covering them with whitewash or paint, and to arrest the destruction of old shrines, many of which contained sculptures of inscriptions of great historic value. Many old shrines are being pulled down and replaced by new ones, and much that is of value is thus lost. A temple to Vishnu at Madura I found was being rebuilt by a rich chetty; here I saw a fragment of a pillar lying on the ground; it contained a very old inscription; the other part of it had disappeared, and the rest of the inscription is probably lost for ever.

At Gaya I stayed with Mr. Bell, the Collector; his Chief Clerk, an Indian, has made a complete study of the archaeology of the region, with plans and copies of inscriptions. He has worked under great difficulties, having been obliged to borrow all the necessary books from individuals or libraries. At Muttra (Mathurā) there was an engineer, a Brahmin, who had hunted out antiquities built into the walls of native compounds, and these he procured for the museum, which no one but an Indian could do. He also took me to see a valuable
Indian library, unknown to Europeans, which contained 2,000 Sanskrit MSS. I suggested that these should be catalogued with the help of the Government of the United Provinces, with the proviso that if they are offered for sale it should be to the Government.

To such men as these the Journal would be very stimulating; it would supply them with notes of the latest discoveries and matters of interest to them. There are such men in all parts of India, and I feel sure that many would be glad to join the Society if they knew the conditions. There are many Maharajas and Rajas—about 800, I believe—and many of them are very liberal in encouraging Sanskrit research; I think quite a number would be willing to become members of the Society.

With regard to sending notes to the Journal, I would make one suggestion. Last year the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey, Mr. Marshall, contributed an article on the results attained during 1906–1907. I hope he will continue to do so each year, for the articles would be of great value, and keep Orientalists in the West in touch with what is being done in the East. Correspondents in other parts of India might be asked to send reports which would focus up-to-date information about the world of research in India. By taking action in the directions I have suggested I consider the membership of the Society might be raised to one thousand. Then it is not unlikely that an event may take place before the next three years are over, namely, the holding of the Oriental Congress in India, which should have considerable influence in raising the membership of the Royal Asiatic Society. I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

Dr. Gaster: My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to be called upon to second the adoption of the Report. Professor Macdonell has already done justice to the work of the Society and to the Journal, and he has
drawn attention to the great importance which it has in making scholars and officials in India better acquainted with the literary work done in the West, and of showing how, through the instrumentality of the Journal, more work of a similar kind and more subscribers to the Society could be got in India.

I will now turn to the other side of the work of the Society, for happily the Royal Asiatic Society is not only Indian, but embraces the whole of the Oriental world. One has only to look through the pages of the Journal to find contributions of Semitic Philology, Hebrew, Arabic, Assyrian, etc. We have articles on Persian and other Eastern literatures which have made our Journal to be the exponent of a very high level of English scholarship. But the importance and the real aim of the Society lies in a different direction—not so much to bring the West to the East, as, on the contrary, to bring the East to the West. To make us better acquainted with the thoughts, feelings, hopes, the philosophical speculations, and the poetical compositions of the untold millions in the East. To give us an insight into the forces which are there at work and to make us sympathetic appreciators of all that is best and loftiest in the Oriental mind.

I know full well that our Society eschews political questions, but we are living in stirring times. A great change is coming over the East, therefore our Journal performs the invaluable service of making the men at the helm of affairs in England better acquainted with the spirit that is moving and enabling them to read the signs of the times with greater accuracy than before. No one will gainsay that it is of utmost value that we should have a better insight into the hearts and aims of the people of the East, for no one can touch them or elevate their lives unless we are able to get at their hearts. And the Royal Asiatic Society renders excellent services in revealing the true aspect of things about the
East and about the forces which dominate action among the Orientals.

I congratulate, then, the Society on the success of the past year in two practical directions—(1) in the increase of the number of subscribers, (2) in the increase in the scholarly contributions to the Journal. But all this could not be done unless the Editor is closely identified with the aims and work of the Society and of the Journal, and gives unstintingly time and thought to the work. I am sure you will all agree with me in conveying our appreciation and congratulations to Miss Hughes for the able way in which she carries out the work of the Society. There must be some centre from which the impulse is to come. It is only by the continuous, untiring, scholarly, and regular work done by Miss Hughes, and through her unfailing tact and kindness, that so much has been accomplished. I desire, therefore, in seconding the adoption of the Report to couple the name of Miss Hughes, and to express the satisfaction to the Society on its continued progress and prosperity.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen, the adoption of the Report of our Society has been moved and seconded in such interesting speeches that I might almost refrain from speaking. But you have been kind enough to renew your desire that I should still occupy this chair, and I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity of expressing my obligations to you and of congratulating the Society on its successful year, as shown by the Report. For many years past we have been able to note a gradual improvement, but this year we may feel more than ever satisfied. The number of elected members is, with the exception of the year 1883, the highest of any one year since the Society was founded in 1823. Hitherto we have had to regret the regular decrease in the number of resident members, and last year I drew special attention to this fact. We have, however, recovered lost ground, and our
resident members now number more than they have done since 1903. We are obliged to Professor Macdonell for his suggestion to-day of a new field of recruitment, for we must not rest content with what has been retrieved, or even with what we have gained. For the work of the Society to be as effective as we would wish, a wider interest must be taken by members and more support given by them in drawing the attention of others to the Society and its work. The increase in the circulation of the Journal is also a matter of congratulation, and is to be attributed to the continued excellence of the quarterly numbers, which can bear comparison in scholarship and variety with any Oriental journal, whether published on the Continent or in the East. I desire to associate myself with what Dr. Gaster has said about our indebtedness to Miss Hughes for the admirable way in which she has carried out the duties of the editorship and also those of Secretary to the Society.

The Journal is not the only publication of the Society; the Translation Fund brought out last year its seventeenth volume. The "Memoirs of Jahāngīr" is now passing through the press, and since the report was drawn up the Council have accepted one work more for the series, the translation of the "Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka," by Mr. Keith. The Monograph Series is also to be enriched shortly by Mr. Bailey's valuable addition to our knowledge of the Himalayan dialects. The number of volumes for the Indian Text Series is now complete, Government having sanctioned the full number of works chosen by the Society. I should like to congratulate Mr. Irvine on the successful completion of his great work. The work on all these volumes is laborious, involving great research and the expenditure of much time and labour. They are now on their way to completion, and each year we may expect to see one volume at least issued.
I have much pleasure in announcing that this year the Public Schools Gold Medal has been won by Harrow, the recipient being Hugh Kingsmill Lunn. We have asked an old Harrow boy and ex-Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, to present the medal, and he has kindly consented to do so.

We have been able to chronicle an increase in our membership this year, but we have as always to note with regret the loss by death of those who have been our supporters and friends in the past. In the Journal will be found an appreciation of the life of Mr. Brandreth, of Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and of others who have passed away during the last year. And I should like to make a reference to a distinguished member of our Society of twenty-six years' standing, I mean the late Duke of Devonshire. As Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, as President of the Board of Education, he took a great interest in everything connected with the development of learning in this country. We are all aware of his merits as a statesman and of the unique position he occupied in public affairs, also of his independence of character, his soundness of judgment, which rendered him a power in the political world. His is a loss which we all sincerely deplore.

During the year the Society has lost three of its distinguished honorary members. Perhaps Professor Kielhorn was best known to most of us here, especially to those who knew him personally in India, where he did valuable service and received well-deserved honours. A German by birth, he came to Oxford as a young man and worked under Professor Monier Williams at his Sanskrit Dictionary. From Oxford he went to India, where for sixteen years he was Professor of Oriental languages at Poona. For the last twenty-five years he has held the post of Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Göttingen. His speciality was grammar, particularly in
connection with those most difficult works the "Mahābhāshya" of Patañjali and the "Paribhāshendu śekhara" of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, both of which were edited by him, the latter also with a translation. But he also contributed very largely to our knowledge of everything connected with the department of Indian Epigraphy. I propose that a very sincere vote of sympathy be sent by this meeting to his widow.

The second loss we have to deplore is that of Baron Victor von Rosen, who died in January last at the age of 59. He was of German descent, and began to busy himself with Arabic studies in 1871. He was widely read in Arabic literature, and among his works are large numbers of descriptions of important collections of Arabic MSS. in Russia and other countries. He took part in the great edition of "Tabari's History," published at Leiden, and edited vol. iii of Series III. The great Catalogue of Oriental MSS. at St. Petersburg was his work.

Professor Barbier de Meynard was the only one of the three distinguished scholars who had reached an advanced age; he was over 80 at the time of his death, his early published works going back to the year 1861. He was chiefly a geographer and historian, and among his publications are extracts from Arabic histories. He edited and translated al-Maṣ'audi's "Meadows of Gold," an important historical work dealing with the Crusades; he also published in the Journal Asiatique several Arabic texts of a literary character. Professor Barbier de Meynard held the appointments of Professor of Arabic Literature at the Collège de France, Professor of Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and was a Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

The Council place before you for election in their places respectively the names of Professor Hermann Oldenberg, Professor Salemann, and Professor Maspéro. The Council
always bestow the greatest care on the names proposed for honorary membership of the Society, because they know how much the appointments are appreciated abroad. I am personally aware how highly they are valued by Oriental scholars of distinction; even more than those they receive in their own country.

It is now more than thirty years ago since Professor Hermann Oldenberg won a secure place for himself in the front rank of Indian scholars by his edition of the "Vinaya Piṭaka," and by his work on Buddha, in which for the first time was given the true meaning of the concept Nirvana. Since that date he has broken fresh ground, and won distinction in many fields of knowledge; in particular, he has devoted himself to a study of the "Rigveda," and has handled with equal success the question of the history and constitution of its text in his "Prolegoma," its translation in his rendering of the hymns to Agni in the "Sacred Books of the East," and its interpretation in his "Religion des Veda," and numerous contributions to the Journals of learned Societies. He has a peculiar claim to honour at the hands of our Society, in that so much of his best work has been done in English, and that his writings are marked not merely by that solid erudition which we find in all great German scholars, but also by an originality of conception and marked power of literary expression more common perhaps here than in Germany.

Professor Maspéro's name, too, is well known to you all. Professor of Egyptian Philology and Archaeology at the Collège de France and the Sorbonne, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and Director of the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities at Cairo, he is also the author of numerous works on Egyptian Antiquities and especially of the dawn of civilisation in Egypt and Chaldea.

Professor Salemann, on whom the choice of the Council
has fallen to replace Baron Victor von Rosen, is the Director of the Asiatic Museum and of the Foreign Section of the Scientific Institute of the Academy of St. Petersburg. The works he has published since 1871 are too numerous to mention here, but they deal with matters Persian, Zend, and Pehlevi. He also (with von Rosen) catalogued the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic MSS. in the University Library of St. Petersburg. I put to you the names of these three distinguished scholars for election as honorary members of the Society. (The names were unanimously approved.)

I have only to add a few words about a matter of great interest, namely, the Committee on Oriental Languages appointed last year by the late Prime Minister. Next year I hope to be able to allude to it in greater detail, for I trust that the report will be available before then. To-day all I have to say is that the evidence gathered by the Committee have been of extraordinary interest. I personally am surprised by it, and I need not say that if, after the publication of the Report, nothing is done to organise Oriental Studies in London, I do not know what will move the authorities.

The Report was carried unanimously.

Special General Meeting.

May 26th, 1908.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The Revised Rules were submitted to the meeting and adopted unanimously.

June 16th, 1908.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:
Mr. Mon Chow Dhaninivat.
Mr. Maung Po Han.
Mr. Maung Ba Kin (2).
Qazi Abdul Laṭif.
Mr. Priya Krishna Majumdar.
Mr. Maung Ba O.
Mr. A. R. Pillai.
Mr. Shrimant Sadushiva Rao Powar.
Mrs. Shrimati Parvatibai Powar.
Mr. J. Sen.

Dr. Gaster gave a paper "On the Newly Discovered Samaritan Book of Joshua."

In the discussion which followed Mr. E. N. Adler spoke.

II.—Principal Contents of Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
   Bd. lxii, Heft 1.

Langdon (S.). Derivation of šabattu, and other notes.
Mahler (E.). Der Sabbat, seine etymologische und chronologisch-historische Bedeutung.
Ungnad (A.). Die Grundform des hebräischen Artikels.


Bartholomae (Chr.). Zu den altpersischen Inschriften von Behistun.
Musil (A.). Zwei arabische Inschriften aus Arabia Petraea.
Zachariae (Th.). Hanscrit.

Gaden (H.). Note sur le dialecte Foul parlé par les Foulbé du Baguirmi.
Açem (B. Oglou Nedjib). La Versification nationale turque.
Chabot (J. B.). Discours de Jacques Bar Salibi à l’intronisation du patriarche Michel le Syrien.
Thureau-Dangin (Fr.). Notes pour servir à la chronologie de la dynastie Kassite.


Laufer (B.). Die Bru-za Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padmasambhava.

V. Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Vol. i, Fasc. 3.

De Goeje (J.). Kitáb al-Imāma Wa'-s Siyāsa.
Griffini (E.). Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell’astronomia degli Arabi.
Puini (C.). Le Origini della vita (Pratitya samutpāda sūtra—Śāli sambhava sūtra).


Ferguson (D.). The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506.


Peck (F.). Note sur le régime légal de la Cochinchine.


Rocca (V.). Lavoratori e schiavi nell’India.
Suali (L.). Contributi alla conoscenza della logica e della metafisica indiane.
Zanolli (A.). Fabellae olympianae.

Singular accezione del vocabolo armeno 'Tirakan.'
Pavolini (P. C.). I manoscritti indiani della Biblioteca
Nazionale Centrale di Firenza.
Patrono (C. M.). Bizantini e Persiani alle fine del vi
cesecolo.
Ciardi-Dupré (G.). Intorno ai numerali indogermanici.


Pinches (T. G.). The Legend of Merodach.
Legge (F.). The Titles of the Thinite Kings.
Jones (Rev. F. A.). The Ancient Year and the Sothic
Cycle.
Ayrton (E. R.). Recent Discoveries in the Bibân el Molûk
at Thebes.

Part 4.

Crum (W. E.). Place-Names in Deubner's Kosmas und
Damian.
Sayce (A. H.). Greek Inscriptions from Upper Egypt.
Thompson (R. C.). An Assyrian Incantation against
Rheumatism.
Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.
Hollingworth (E. W.). The Hyksos and the Twelfth
Dynasty.

X. Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. xxix,
First half.

Friedländer (J.). The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the
Presentation of Ibn Hazm.
Oertel (H.). Contributions from the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
to the History of the Brāhmaṇa Literature.
Haupt (P.). Xenophon's Account of the Fall of Nineveh.

The Etymology of Cabinet.

The Name Istar.
Hopkins (E. W.). The Sniff-kiss in Ancient India.
Clay (A. T.). The Origin and Real Name of Nin-ib.
Langdon (S.). An early Babylonian Tablet of Warnings for the King.
Metheny (J. R.). Road Notes from Cilicia and North Syria.
Prince (J. D.). Hymn to Nergal.
Yohannan (A.) & Jackson (A. V. Williams). Some Persian References to Zoroaster and his Religion.
Gottheil (R.). Mohammed Abdu, late Mufti of Egypt.

XI. JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.
Vol. xxxvii, July–December, 1907.

-------------
Muhammadan Birth Observances in the Punjab.
Knocker (F. W.). The Aborigines of Sunjei Ujong.


Rickmers (W. R.). The Climatology of West Turkestan.
Kizloff (Captain P. K.). Through Eastern Tibet and Kam.
OBITUARY NOTICES.

PROFESSOR KIELHORN, C.I.E.

In the person of Professor Franz Kielhorn, who died suddenly at Göttingen on the 19th March, there has passed away a great scholar, whose loss will be felt in every line of Indian research. Born at Osnabrück in Westphalia on the 31st May, 1840, he was educated as a boy in the Gymnasium at Bernburg, Duchy of Anhalt. He subsequently studied under Benfey at Göttingen, under Stenzler at Breslau, and under Weber at Berlin. And he took his Doctor's degree, at the age of twenty-one, at Leipzig. He then proceeded to England, and worked during four years, 1862–65, with Professor Monier-Williams, in helping that scholar to compile his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. He then accepted an appointment under the Government of India, to the Educational Department in the Bombay Presidency; and he remained in that service from February, 1866, to December, 1881. Leaving India on account of indifferent health, he was then appointed by the Prussian Government to the Professorship of Sanskrit at the University of Göttingen. And he retained that post, working with intact intellect and energy on the duties connected with it and on everything else in which he was engaged, up to the time of his death.

During Professor Kielhorn's service in India, his substantive appointment was always that of Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in the Deccan College, Poona; but he was also in charge of the College as Principal for some eight years; and for about six months he acted as
fact, chiefly devoted to epigraphic work. He edited a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions, from all parts of India, in the *Indian Antiquary*, in the journals of various Societies, and notably in the *Epigraphia Indica*, the official journal of the Government of India: and, in illustration of what his wide knowledge of Indian literature enabled him to do in this line, we may point in particular to his treatments of the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, dated in A.D. 634–35 (EI, 6. 1), of the Talgund inscription of Kākusthavarman (EI, 8. 24), and of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman dated in A.D. 150 (ibid., 36). He also applied himself largely to elucidating the subject of the various Hindu eras and other reckonings, chiefly in articles which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* from 1888 (vol. 17) to 1896 (vol. 25); and there is probably not an important date of any inscription, capable of being tested, which was not, in the course of that work, subjected by him to a searching critical examination. In this department, we may further point to his Lists of the Inscriptions of Northern and Southern India, published as Appendixes to vols. 5 and 7 of the *Epigraphia Indica*: these Lists, with their Supplements and the Synchronistic Tables of the Dynasties in vol. 8, must always form the basis of work for anyone applying himself to deal with the history of India from the fourth century A.D. onwards.

We have lost, in Professor Kielhorn, not simply a great scholar who will not easily be replaced, but one who was esteemed and loved by everyone who had the privilege of coming into personal contact with him. He was the beau-ideal of both a scholar and a teacher: in the former capacity, painstaking, complete, and accurate in everything that he took in hand; in the latter capacity, equally thorough, generous, and kindly in communicating his knowledge to everyone who applied to him for assistance.
He has left a large circle of private friends to mourn the loss of him, in Great Britain as well as in his native land. And his labours and attainments did not fail to meet with public as well as private appreciation. The Academies of Berlin, Munich, and Göttingen, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the American Oriental Society, enrolled him amongst their Corresponding and Honorary Members. The Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen conferred on him the Honorary Degree of L.L.D., and the University of Oxford that of D.Litt. From his own Sovereign he received the title of Geheimer Regierungsrat. And by Her Majesty Queen Victoria he was invested in 1886 with the distinction of a Companion of the Indian Empire.

J. F. Fleet.

J. Francis Hewitt.

Mr. Hewitt, a member of our Society for twenty years, and at one time on the Council, died on the 14th March last at Holton Cottage, Wheatley, in Oxfordshire. He had an attack of influenza, and this being followed by pneumonia, he passed away, after a short illness, and in the 72nd year of his age. Some years before this he had a disastrous accident when cycling which resulted in the loss of a foot. He was the son of a clergyman, the Hon. J. P. Hewitt, and was born in Ireland, but was educated at Westminster and Christ Church. He had lived much in Warwickshire, near Coventry, and I remember his telling me nearly fifty years ago, when there were still doubts about the authorship of the "Scenes of Clerical Life" and of "Adam Bede," that he had recognised the house described in Mr. Gilfill's "Love Story," and had often played cricket with the original of the "Vicar of Shepperton." Mr. Hewitt entered, by
competition, the Indian Civil Service, and when I first knew him was stationed at Krishnagar and was living with the Magistrate, Sir William Herschel. This was the beginning of a lifelong friendship between the two men, both of whom were gifted with great activity of mind and body. In 1863 Hewitt went to Chota Nagpore as Deputy Commissioner, and soon became deeply interested in the wild tribes of that country. That excellent officer, Colonel Dalton, whom Hewitt justly calls the pioneer of aboriginal ethnology in Bengal, had continued in Chota Nagpore the researches which he had made in Assam, and Hewitt became fired by his example. He eventually became Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, and during his long stay in the province he accumulated a store of information about the manners and customs of the Mundas, the Gonds, and other aboriginal tribes. After his retirement he set himself to reduce into writing his observations and speculations on Indian folklore and prehistoric man, and published several volumes on those subjects. "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times" appeared in two volumes in 1894 and 1895; "The History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age" in 1901; and "Primitive Traditional History," in two volumes, in 1907. He also contributed articles on his favourite subject to our Journal and to the Westminster Review.

It is quite beyond my power to judge of the value of his researches. Folklore is a subject which has come up since my day, and to one who is a book-man, or *ahl-kitāb*, as the saying is, folklore is about as mysterious as the Röntgen rays or wireless telegraphy. Certainly, some of Hewitt's etymologies seem strange and doubtful. One hardly likes to hear that the many-wiled Ulysses—*adversis rerum immersabilis undis*—was a wandering sun-god, and his Penelope the weaver of the web of Time, or that the silver-footed Thetis was the mud
goddess of the southern cauldron of life. Even Cinderella and Nala and Damayanti are not spared. Nala becomes a god of rain, though in the tale he is recognised as a man by his casting a shadow, and Damayanti typifies the earth's being gradually brought under cultivation. To read such things gives a shock such as one experienced when he had to give up Diana and accept in her stead a waterless and volcanic waste. But this abandonment was required by truth, and it may be that we shall also have to abandon other pleasant tales. They may have to pass away like the legends of King Arthur and William Tell.

But whatever scholars may think of Hewitt's etymologies and theories, no one can refuse admiration for his enthusiasm and for his hard work. He spared neither time nor expense in expounding his views, and as he had the great advantage of not being merely a closet-student, we find here and there in his books interesting observations which could only be made by one who had lived among aboriginal tribes. In these respects he reminds us of James Tod, who, along with much false history and many erroneous dates, has given us a vivid picture of Rajasthan. As instances of Hewitt's observations I may refer to the statement at p. 50 of the "Ruling Races," that in Chuttisgurh he learned to discriminate about forty kinds of rice, and could distinguish them while growing, and to that at p. 52, where he tells us that neither the Munda nor the Hokal tribe drink milk. Apparently, this is a characteristic of many of the Indian hill-tribes, for I remember being told by Colonel Maculloch, of Manipur, that some of the Nagas regarded milk with abhorrence, as being the excrement of the animal. See also his account of the Akra or village dancing-ground at p. 233 and elsewhere, and his note on musical instruments at p. 205. He speaks of the word Akra in a note to p. 52 as being
a Munda word, but if so it also occurs in Hindustani under the form Akhāra, and is used to mean a wrestling-ground, and also a troop of dancers.

In private life Mr. Hewitt was a man of most amiable character, and he had many friends. Long ago, when he was yet a young man, his kindness to a brother-civilian who died young was commemorated in a memoir of the latter in a little book entitled "Crushed Hopes Crowned in Death." He has left a widow, two sons, and two daughters.

His old friend Sir William Herschel has written me a letter about him, from which I venture to make the following extract:—"No one could talk with Hewitt about his subject without feeling that it was a keenly attractive one in proportion as one studied it, and that he had gone deeper than any other old Indian into the folklore of the tribes with whom he had got into such close contact . . . He was also a dear, good fellow. One of his friends at the funeral dwelt much on the invariable 'charity' of his judgments of other people, and I confirmed it by an episode of his latter days when he had met with that frightful accident. A heavily laden farmer's cart passed over his ankle as he dismounted from his bicycle to avoid it. The driver was deaf, and swerved, without hearing the warning given, and he went on without knowing what he had done till he got home. Neither he nor his employer ever took the smallest step to express sorrow or even knowledge of it, yet Hewitt never expressed the least vexation with them, any more than with the accident."

H. BEVERIDGE.
ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.


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Dutt, Jogesh Chunder. A few notes on some Sanskrit works. 8vo. Calcutta, 1908. 

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Jahn, Dr. Wilhelm. Das Saurapurāṇam, ein Kompendium spätindischer Kulturgeschichte und des Śivaismus. 8vo. Strassburg, 1908.

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From the Publishers.


From the Publishers.


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The Officer in Charge of Ethnographic Survey of Mysore.


Presented by the Author.

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Temple, Sir Richard C. A Plan for a Uniform Scientific Record of the Languages of Savages. 4to. Bombay, 1908. (Reprinted from the Indian Antiquary.) Presented by the Author.


Presented by the Author.


From the Publishers.
TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

The system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International Oriental Congress of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.
I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

च ... a | छो ... o | ट ... t | व ... b
आ ... ā | छँ ... au | ठ ... th | भ ... bh
द ... i | क ... k | ड ... ɟ | म ... m
ः ... i | ख ... kh | ढ ... qa | य ... y
उ ... u | ग ... g | ण ... ē | र ... r
ज ... ū | घ ... gh | त ... t | ल ... l
ञ ... r | क ... ń | थ ... th | व ... v
ञ ... r | च ... ć | द ... d | श ... s
ळ ... l | क ... ch | ध ... dh | ष ... š
ळ ... l | ज ... j | न ... n | ष ... s
ए ... e | झ ... jh | प ... p | ह ... h
ऐ ... ai | ज ... ē | फ ... ph | क ... l

*(Anuscaśa) ... m | $ (Avagraha) ... ʾ
* (Anunāśika) ... ū | Udātta ... ː
; (Visarga) ... ħ | Svarita ... ː
x (Jihvāmūlīya) ... ħ | Anudātta ... ː
X (Upadhmanīya) ... ħ
II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>at beginning of word omit; elsewhere</th>
<th>۶</th>
<th>۷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>۸ or ۹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>۸ or ۹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>ت or th</td>
<td>۸ or ۹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>d, dz, or z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>ط</td>
<td>۷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>ظ</td>
<td>۹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>ع</td>
<td>۸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>غ</td>
<td>g or gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>ف</td>
<td>۸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>ق</td>
<td>۹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs.

| Vowels. | hamza - or ۹ |
|         | silent t .. h |

Letter not pronounced.

Additional Letters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian, Hindi, and Pakštū.</th>
<th>Turkish only.</th>
<th>Hindi and Pakštū.</th>
<th>Pakštū only.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>ك when pronounced as</td>
<td>ب or ۷</td>
<td>۵ or ۶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>۳ or ۴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز or zh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>۲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>گ</td>
<td></td>
<td>۸</td>
<td>ksh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
Great Britain and Ireland.

CHARTER AND RULES.
RULES AS REVISED ON
MAY 26, 1908.
RULES.

I. CONSTITUTION.

1. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is formed for the investigation and encouragement of science, literature, and the arts, in relation to Asia; and no dividend, division, or bonus in money shall be made unto or between its Members.

2. The Society is and will be composed of persons who heretofore have been and hereafter shall be elected or admitted as Members of it under the Charter.

II. ELECTION, ADMISSION, AND RESIGNATION OF MEMBERS.

3. (a) Members shall be divided into three classes:—

   (1) Resident Members; those who usually reside or have a place of business within fifty miles of Charing Cross;—

   (2) Non-resident Members; those who usually reside beyond, and have not a place of business within, the above-stated radius;—

   (3) Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members admitted as hereinafter provided:—

   (b) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members.

4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted.
5. (a) The nomination shall be laid before the next Ordinary Meeting of Council held not less than seven days after the receipt thereof:—

(b) If the nomination be accepted by the Council, it shall be announced at the next Ordinary General Meeting of the Society, and a notice giving the particulars furnished by the nominating Member shall be posted in a conspicuous position in the Library of the Society, and shall remain so posted until the election or withdrawal of the candidate.

6. Any objection to a nomination shall be made in writing, duly signed, addressed to the Secretary; such objection may be made up to the time of election, and shall be laid by the Secretary before the Council at the earliest opportunity.

7. The decision of the Council on the claims of a candidate nominated for election as an Ordinary Member, and on any objection made thereto, and as to the class to which he should be admitted, shall be final.

8. The name of any candidate proposed for election as an Ordinary Member and approved by the Council shall be submitted for election at the next Ordinary General Meeting of the Society following after such approval by the Council and not less than fourteen days after the Meeting of the Society at which the nomination was announced under Rule 5.

9. Foreigners of eminent attainments, rank, or situation, or any persons who have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society, may be admitted by the Council to be Honorary Members: provided that the total number of Honorary Members shall not at any time exceed thirty.

10. Foreign potentates or distinguished officials of Oriental Powers may be admitted by the Council to be Foreign Extra-ordinary Members.

11. An Honorary Member and a Foreign Extraordinary Member shall be entitled to all the privileges of an Ordinary Member, excepting that he shall not be eligible to be made a Member of the Council or to attend any Special General Meeting, and shall have no voice in the election of the Council or Office-bearers of the Society or in any matter affecting the property or financial concerns of the Society: provided that an Honorary Member who shall have been an Ordinary Member at the time of his selection to be an Honorary Member shall be entitled to the privileges of an Ordinary Member in all respects.
12. The nomination required by Rule 4 shall not be requisite in the case of Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members.

13. The selection of Honorary Members shall in every case be made by ballot; if there be more nominees than there are vacancies, the selection shall be determined by absolute majority of votes.

14. (a) Every newly elected Ordinary Member shall be promptly informed of his election, and of the category and class in which he has been placed, and he shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of these Rules, and with an Obligation-form in Form A. hereinafter appended, which, when received back duly signed, shall be filed in a special register to be kept for that purpose;

(b) The admission of such Member shall not be complete unless and until the said Obligation-form, duly signed, shall have been received by the Secretary, and until such Member shall have paid his annual subscription for the current year or compounded for the same as hereinafter provided, unless such payment or composition shall be waived or remitted pursuant to rule.

15. (a) To every newly selected Honorary Member or Foreign Extraordinary Member there shall be promptly sent a letter, signed by the Secretary, with a copy of these Rules, informing him of his selection and asking whether he is pleased to accept it;

(b) The admission of such Member shall be complete when he shall have accepted his selection; and there shall then be sent to him a diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, the Director (if there be such), and the Secretary.

16. (a) Any Member may resign his membership by sending to the Secretary notice in writing to that effect;

(b) The resignation of a Member shall not take effect until he shall have discharged any sums or liabilities due by him to the Society pursuant to Rule 99 or otherwise, unless the same shall be waived or remitted by the Council;

(c) If the resigning Member be a Member paying annual subscription, then, further, unless his notice of resignation shall reach the Secretary before the 1st January of any year, his resignation shall not take effect until he shall have paid the subscription due from him for that year.
III. SUBSCRIPTIONS.

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident Members</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Resident Members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. (a) The Council shall have power to reduce, remit, or postpone the payment of the subscription payable by any Ordinary Member whose circumstances render such a course necessary or desirable;

(b) A register shall be kept of those Members in whose favour any such orders may at any time have been passed; the said register shall be laid before the Council each year at its Ordinary Meeting in October; the Council shall thereupon reconsider each case therein entered, and may cancel or otherwise alter the terms of any previous order; and notice of any new order passed by the Council shall be sent within ten days thereof to the Member concerned.

19. Ordinary Members may compound for their subscriptions at the following rates:

   In lieu of all future annual subscriptions,
      both as Resident and as Non-resident Members ... ... ... ... 45 guineas.

   In lieu of all future annual subscriptions
      as Non-resident Members ... ... ... ... $22\frac{1}{2}$ guineas.

20. If a Resident Member, who has not compounded for his subscriptions, shall become a Non-resident Member, he shall, from the expiry of the year then current, and for as long as he continues to be non-resident, pay the annual subscription of thirty shillings, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Non-resident Member.

21. (a) If a Non-resident Member, becoming a Resident Member, has not made any payment of composition in lieu of subscription, then, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Resident Member, he shall, for as long as he continues to be a Resident Member, pay the annual subscription of three guineas, from the beginning of the year then current if he has not already paid his non-resident subscription for that year,
or from the beginning of the next year if he has already paid such subscription for the year then current;

(b) Should such a Member have compounded for his subscriptions as a Non-resident Member, then, from the beginning of the next year and for as long as he continues to be a Resident Member, he shall pay an annual subscription of thirty-three shillings as the difference between three guineas and the amount of annual subscription for which he had compounded, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Resident Member by making payment of such additional sum as shall, with the amount of composition already paid by him, make up the amount of forty-five guineas.

22. All payments made in composition shall be credited to capital, subject in each case to the deduction of an amount equivalent to one year's subscription, which shall be treated as revenue.

23. The first payment of subscription is due on election; but, if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year; and, if any Member fail to pay the annual subscription due by him before the end of that month, the Secretary shall apply to the said Member for payment.

25. (a) If the subscription payable by any Member shall remain unpaid on the 31st March, all his privileges of membership shall be in abeyance until he shall have paid the amount due from him, and the Secretary shall promptly address him by letter informing him to that effect;

(b) If the subscription payable by any Member shall remain unpaid on the date of the Anniversary General Meeting, the Secretary shall address the Member by letter, and shall demand payment, and shall inform him that, if his subscription remain unpaid after the lapse of two months from the date of the said letter, his name will be posted as that of a defaulter;

(c) If the subscription so demanded be not paid within the time aforesaid, the name of the Member so addressed shall, subject to the orders of the Council, be posted in the Society's Library as that of a defaulter;

(d) Should the subscription remain unpaid on the 31st December following, the case shall then be laid before the Council.
and, unless the Council shall otherwise decide, the defaulter shall cease to be a Member of the Society, and shall be so informed.

IV. THE COUNCIL.

A.—Constitution and Election of the Council.

26. At each Anniversary General Meeting the Society shall, subject to the following Rules, elect a Council to direct and manage the concerns of the Society for the period commencing with the day immediately after such Meeting and ending with the day of the next such Meeting; the term year in the ensuing Rules 27 to 34 inclusive and 46 signifies the aforesaid period.

27. The Council shall be elected from among the Ordinary Members of the Society and Honorary Members qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11, and shall usually consist of a President, a Director, four Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Librarian, and sixteen Ordinary Members: provided that—

(a) the office of Director may be left unfilled, and there may then be elected one more Vice-President, but so that the number of Vice-Presidents shall not exceed five;

(b) the office of one Vice-President may, if a Director is elected, be left unfilled;

(c) the office of Honorary Librarian may be combined with the office of Honorary Secretary;

(d) the number of the Council may be increased or diminished, but so that there shall not be more than twenty-four or less than five other Members besides the President;

(e) no one shall be appointed to be a Vice-President who has not already had not less than one year's service on the Council.

28. If any vacancy on the Council or in any office on the Council shall occur in the course of any year, the Council may appoint one of its number or any other eligible Member of the Society to perform the duties of such office or otherwise act in such vacancy for the remainder of such year.

29. The President and the Director shall each be appointed to hold office for three years from the date of his election, and shall be elected under Rule 26 only on any occasion when
a vacancy occurs; a retiring President or Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election either to the same office or to any other position on the Council.

30. The senior Vice-President in order of longest continuous service as such, and having had not less than four years service as Vice-President, shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election as Vice-President until not less than one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election, but shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity; if there shall be two or more Vice-Presidents with equal periods of longest continuous service, it shall be decided by mutual consent or by drawing lots which of them shall retire.

31. The Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary Librarian shall be eligible for re-election to these offices respectively from year to year; if not so re-elected, a retiring Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, or Honorary Librarian shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity.

32. An Ordinary Member of Council who shall have had four years continuous service on the Council shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election to the Council, unless elected President or Director or Vice-President, until not less than one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election.

33. The period of continuous service of a Vice-President and of an Ordinary Member of Council shall be reckoned from the date of his first election to the Council as Vice-President or as Ordinary Member, respectively, whether under the present Rules or under any Rules hitherto in force; provided that, if any Vice-President or Ordinary Member shall have retired and been re-elected after an interval of not less than a year, the period of continuous service shall be reckoned from the date of such re-election.

34. At the Ordinary Meeting of Council held in March, there shall be prepared a list, which—

(a) shall show the names of all persons then being Members of the Council, and the particular position on the Council held by each of them;—

(b) shall indicate those Members of the Council who are not eligible for re-election at the next Anniversary General
Meeting, and shall make clear the reason for each of the entries so made;—

(e) shall show any impending vacancies on the Council created by resignation or any other cause;—

(d) shall present the recommendations of the Council for constituting the number and personnel of the Council, and for filling the offices on it, for the ensuing year.

35. Not later than ten days after the Ordinary Meeting of Council held in March, a copy of the said list prepared under Rule 34 shall be sent to every Ordinary Member of the Society and to every Honorary Member qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11, having an address in Great Britain or Ireland, together with a notice that every such Member is entitled, subject to the provisions of Rules 29 to 32, to nominate any Ordinary Member of the Society or any Honorary Member eligible under Rule 11, other than himself, for election to any position on the Council, by a written communication, signed by himself and by a seconder who is a duly qualified Member of the Society, and accompanied by a written statement, signed by the nominee, expressing willingness to act if elected, which must reach the Secretary not later than the 4th April.

36. The list prepared under Rule 34, and any nominations received under Rule 35, shall be laid before the Council at its Ordinary Meeting in April, and the Council may then modify any of the previous recommendations made by it under Rule 34; and a revised list, showing the final recommendations of the Council and showing separately, as contingent amendments, any valid nominations received under Rule 35 which are not incorporated in the proposals made by the Council, shall be prepared for submission to the Anniversary General Meeting.

37. A copy of the revised list prepared under the preceding Rule shall be sent with each notice of the Anniversary General Meeting.

38. (a) At the Anniversary General Meeting, the list of recommendations made by the Council shall first be put to the Meeting as a whole, and, if it is carried, the contingent amendments, if any, shall not be put;—

(b) If such list shall not be so carried, it shall be in the discretion of the Chairman to put the recommendations of the Council and any of the said amendments in several parts and in
such order as to him shall seem appropriate; and, if no candidate or candidates shall have been nominated under Rules 35 and 36 in excess of the number required for the particular office or offices to be filled, the candidate or candidates nominated to such office or offices shall be deemed elected: otherwise, the election to such office or offices shall be determined by ballot, each Member present at the Meeting to be entitled to one vote in respect of each office to be filled.

B.—Meetings of the Council.

39. An Ordinary Meeting of Council shall be held once in each month from October to June, both months included.

40. The President, or the Director, or in the absence of both of them a Vice-President who is a Member of the Council, or in the absence of all of the preceding any three Members of Council acting concurrently, may summon a Special Meeting of Council, by a circular notice which the Secretary shall prepare and send out on being required to do so.

41. At all Meetings of Council, any five Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum, and the chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or, in the absence of both, by the senior Vice-President present, or, failing these, by the senior other Member present; seniority being determined by the order of names in the official list of the Society, which shall be drawn up annually and kept by the Secretary.

42. Excepting in cases which are prescribed by these Rules to be determined by ballot, the decision of the Council on any matter shall be determined by vote by show of hands, unless in any particular case a ballot be demanded; and in any case of equality of votes the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

V. OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

A.—Honorary Officers.

43. The President.—The President shall have the general supervision of the affairs of the Society; he will preside at Meetings of the Society and of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force.
44. The Director.—The Director shall have all the powers of the President, to be exercised in subordination to him, or independently in any case of emergency.

45. Vice-Presidents who are Members of the Council.—The Vice-President who is a Member of the Council, with whom the Secretary can most expeditiously communicate, shall have power to act for the President or the Director in all cases of emergency.

46. Honorary Vice-Presidents.—(a) The Members assembled in Anniversary or other Special General Meeting may elect any Member who has for three years held the office of President, Director, Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, or Honorary Librarian, or who has as an ordinary Member of the Council for not less than three years rendered special service to the Society or to the cause of Oriental research, to be an Honorary Vice-President; and anyone so elected shall continue to be an Honorary Vice-President as long as he continues to be a Member of the Society and is not re-elected to be a Member of the Council;

(b) An Honorary Vice-President shall not as such be a Member of the Council; but he may be re-elected a Member of Council, and he shall, if so re-elected, cease to be an Honorary Vice-President.

47. Honorary Secretary.—(a) The Honorary Secretary shall be responsible for seeing that the minutes of proceedings of Meetings of Council and of the Society are duly recorded in the Minute-book, and shall be the general adviser of the Secretary in respect of secretarial work and the editing of the Society's Journal; and, in the absence of the President, the Director, and the Vice-Presidents who are Members of the Council, he shall, subject to the control of the Council, direct the executive details of the Society's business;

(b) If at any time the Honorary Secretary holds also the office of Honorary Librarian, then he shall further discharge the duties defined in Rule 49 (a).

48. Honorary Treasurer.—The Honorary Treasurer shall supervise the collection of all money due to the Society, and shall see that every sum is duly paid to the Society's Bankers and entered in the Society's Passbook; he shall see that no bill exceeding the sum of five pounds shall be paid without the previous order of the Council, except in the circumstances defined in Rule 52; all cheques issued by the Society must be signed by him, or for
him in his absence by a Member of Council acting by direction of the Council; he shall supervise the keeping of the Society's accounts in the manner directed by the Council, and shall submit them to such Auditors as may from time to time be appointed; and he shall prepare, for presentation at the Anniversary General Meeting, a report which shall show the general financial position of the Society for the preceding year, with the receipts and disbursements and the balances in hand, and which shall previously have been audited by the said Auditors.

49. *Honorary Librarian.*—(a) The Honorary Librarian shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, pictures, memorials, and other objects of learning, curiosity, or interest, of which the Society is or may become possessed; keeping any of the same, when such an arrangement is practicable, in apartments, specially appropriated, in which such objects can be safely deposited and preserved;—

(b) If at any time the Honorary Librarian holds also the office of Honorary Secretary, then he shall further discharge the duties defined in Rule 47 (a).

50. *Honorary Auditors.*—There shall be two Honorary Auditors, elected annually under the provisions of Rule 81.

51. *Honorary Solicitor.*—The Council may elect an Honorary Solicitor.

B.—Salaried Officers.

52. *Secretary.*—The duties and functions of the Secretary, who shall also be the Librarian, shall be as follows: he shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, and of Committees when required to do so, and record their proceedings; he shall conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council; he shall, subject to the direction and control of the Council, superintend the persons employed by the Society; he shall superintend, under the direction and control of the Council, the expenditure of the Society; he shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the sum of five pounds shall, except in cases of urgency, be previously submitted to the Council, and shall, if passed, be paid by an order of the Council entered on the minutes; he shall countersign all cheques issued by the Society; and he shall have the charge, under the direction and control of the Council, of editing the Journal of the Society, and of superintending the printing and publishing of it.
53. Assistant Secretary.—The Assistant Secretary shall act under the orders of the Secretary; and, if at any time the latter shall be prevented by illness or other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act for him.

54. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary shall be elected by, and shall hold office during the pleasure of, the Council.

55. In the case of a prolonged absence of the Secretary or of the Assistant Secretary, the Council shall make such special arrangements for the discharge of the duties of the absent officer, and for the remuneration of the officiator or substitute, as may seem adequate and expedient.

56. Auditor.—There shall be elected annually a paid Auditor, to act in conjunction with the Honorary Auditors, under Rule 81.

VI. MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

57. The Meetings of the Society shall be termed General Meetings, and shall be convened by the President; they shall be either (a) Ordinary General Meetings, (b) Special General Meetings, (c) Anniversary General Meetings, or (d) such Public General Meetings as may be summoned for any purpose connected with the Society not being such as may according to these Rules be only considered by a Special General Meeting.

58. At all Meetings of the Society except the Anniversary and other Special General Meetings, each Member shall have the privilege of introducing one or more visitors, either personally or by card, subject to any special regulations which may be made by the Council as to the admission of visitors to any Meeting; the name of any visitor or visitors shall be notified to the Chairman of the Meeting.

59. At all Meetings other than Special General Meetings, ten Members shall form a quorum; at Special General Meetings, twenty-one members shall form a quorum.

60. The chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or, in the absence of both, by a Vice-President, or, failing the latter, by some other Member of the Council.

61. Notice of every Meeting shall be sent to every Member of the Society entitled to attend that Meeting; and, in the
case of a Special General Meeting, not less than fourteen clear
days' notice shall be given.

62. No proposal to alter, add to, or amend the Rules of the
Society, or relating to the property or financial concerns of the
Society or affecting its management or constitution save in the
ordinary conduct of its affairs, shall be dealt with except at
a Special General Meeting.

63. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority of
the Members present and having a right to vote; and in any
case of equality of numbers the Chairman shall have a second or
casting vote.

64. The minutes of proceedings of each General Meeting shall
be read at the next General Meeting, and, if accepted as correct,
shall be signed by the Chairman of that Meeting.

A.—Ordinary General Meetings.

65. Except in May, an Ordinary General Meeting shall usually
be held in each month from November to June, both months
included, on the second Tuesday of the month; when that day is
found inconvenient, the Meeting may be convened for such other
day as shall be determined by the Council.

66. The course of business shall be as follows:—

(a) The minutes of the last preceding General Meeting
shall be read, and, if accepted as correct, shall be signed by the
Chairman;—

(b) There shall be announced (1) the name of any candidate
for ordinary membership accepted by the Council under Rule 5;
(2) the name of any person newly admitted to be an Honorary
Member or a Foreign Extraordinary Member under Rules 9 and 10;
(3) any provisional appointment to the Council under Rule 28;—

(c) Any recommendations of the Council under Rule 8 for
the election of new Ordinary Members shall be disposed of;—

(d) Donations or presentations made to the Society shall be
announced and (if practicable) laid before the Meeting;—

(e) Papers and other communications shall be read, and
discussion may follow;—

(f) Except by the special permission of the Chairman, no
resolution other than a formal motion arising on the matters here
mentioned shall be proposed.
B.—Special General Meetings.

67. The President or the Council may at any time convene a Special General Meeting, to consider any matter which such a Meeting is authorized to deal with; and such a Meeting shall at any time be convened by the Council on a written requisition signed by ten Members of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made or subject to be discussed.

68. The notice of a Special General Meeting shall contain a clear statement of the circumstances in which it is summoned, and of the proposals to be made or the matter to be discussed.

69. Proceedings shall be commenced by reading the notice convening the Meeting: the matter, proposal, or subject mentioned in the notice shall then be discussed and dealt with; and no topic apart from, or not arising out of, such matter, proposal, or subject, shall be introduced, discussed, or dealt with.

70. If not less than one-third of the Members present and voting shall vote against any resolution, whether original or by amendment, other than one relating to matters under Rules 38 and 46, proposed at a Special General Meeting, such resolution shall, on the requisition of five or more Members forthwith made in writing to the Chairman, be referred for consideration and final disposal to a second Special General Meeting which shall be held not less than fourteen clear days and not more than thirty days after the date of the said Meeting.

C.—Anniversary General Meetings.

71. On such day in May as may be fixed from time to time there shall be held an Anniversary General Meeting, which shall be considered to be a Special General Meeting; but Rule 69 shall not apply thereto, and Rule 70 shall apply thereto only in the case of any matters under Rule 62 other than the annual election of the Council or in the case of any matter under Rule 107.

72. The following shall be the business:

(a) The minutes of proceedings of the preceding Anniversary General Meeting shall be read;—
(b) The Report of the Council and Auditors shall be read, and the acceptance of that Report shall be moved and seconded, and any recommendations made in it shall be considered and dealt with;—

(c) The President shall, if he wish, deliver an Annual Address, or he may deliver the same at a Public General Meeting;—

(d) The Meeting shall then make appointments to the Council, in the manner laid down in Part IV. of these Rules;—

(e) The Meeting shall then elect the Auditors for the ensuing year;—

(f) The Meeting shall then dispose of any other business of which due notice shall have been given, or which shall be admitted by the Chairman as a matter of urgency.

D.—Public General Meetings.

73. Public General Meetings of the Society may be held at such times and for such purposes as the Council may appoint, subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained.

VII. COMMITTEES.

74. The Council shall, as it may deem advisable, appoint Members of the Society to form Standing Committees to advise in connexion with Finance, the Library, and any other branches or departments of the Society’s operations, and may, at its discretion, at any time alter or vary the numbers and the personnel of the Committees so appointed.

75. The Council may at any time appoint Members of the Society to be a Special Committee for the consideration of any matter or matters specifically stated in an order of reference, and the Special Committee so appointed shall report to the Council.

76. Standing Committees shall be convened by the Secretary, at the request of any Member thereof; in appointing a Special Committee, the Council shall name a Member of such Committee as the convener thereof.

77. The President, the Honorary Secretary, the Honorary
Treasurer, and the Honorary Librarian shall ex officio be Members of all Committees.

78. Three Members of a Committee, whether Standing or Special, shall form a quorum.

79. The Members of any Committee, whether Standing or Special, may be authorized by the Council to consult any person being or not being a Member of the Society.

VIII. AUDIT.

80. The Council shall cause proper accounts to be kept of the income and expenditure of the Society; and the accounts for the year ending on the 31st December shall be delivered before the end of February following to Auditors, to be examined, audited, and signed by them.

81. (a) There shall be three Auditors, of whom one shall be a Member of Council other than the Honorary Treasurer, a second shall be an Ordinary Member of the Society not a Member of Council, and the third shall be a Public Accountant not a Member of the Society; and all of them shall be elected annually at the Anniversary General Meeting;—

(b) The outgoing Auditors shall be deemed to continue in office till the day after the Anniversary General Meeting, or, if from any cause their successors shall not be elected at such Meeting, then till the election of their successors;—

(c) An outgoing Auditor shall be eligible for re-election.

82. The accounts signed by the Auditors shall be printed and published in the Society's Journal.

IX. PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

83. The proceedings or transactions of the Society, and papers, illustrations, notices of books, and any other notes, communicated to it and approved for publication, shall be published quarterly under the title of "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland"; and the said Journal shall be edited by the Secretary in accordance with Rule 52.
84. The Council shall decide what papers shall be accepted for publication in the Journal, and may determine at what date they shall appear.

85. Every communication published in the Journal of the Society becomes so far the property of the Society that the author may not, save with the permission of the Council duly recorded, republish it until an interval of six months shall have elapsed after its publication by the Society.

86. Copies not exceeding twenty-five in number of any serially numbered article published in the Journal shall be presented gratis to the author of the article; and, if the author, at the time of forwarding to the Secretary his manuscript, or his last corrected proof if proof be sent to him, apply to the Secretary for an additional number of copies not exceeding twenty-five, the additional number applied for may be supplied to the author at cost price.

87. The Council is authorized to present copies of the Journal to learned Societies and distinguished persons; and it shall announce at Ordinary, Anniversary, and Public General Meetings presentations made under this Rule.

88. Every Member is entitled, as soon as he has signed and sent in his Obligation and has made his first payment of annual subscription or his payment of composition in lieu of subscription, to receive the parts or volumes of the Journal published subsequently to his election, and also any parts or volumes, previously published, of the year covered by such payment; and, if they be available, he may, by permission of the Council and at prices to be fixed by the Council, obtain any parts or volumes of the Journal issued prior to the year covered by such payment.

89. The parts of the Journal shall be forwarded post-free, as they are from time to time issued, to each Member at that address which he has given in his Obligation, or which appears opposite his name in the list of Members last published in the Society’s Journal; and every Member shall be bound to notify to the Secretary from year to year, in time for the annual revision of that list, any correction or alteration which he wishes to have made in his address: otherwise, he shall have no remedy against the Society for recovery of any part or volume of the Journal which, having been despatched to his then standing address, miscarries.

90. Except by a special order of the Council, the Journal or any
part thereof shall not be supplied to any Member whose annual subscription is in arrears.

91. Any Member who has not received a copy of the Journal to which he is entitled can obtain the same gratis; provided that he apply for it within six months of the first day of the quarter for which it has been issued, and that, if the address to which it was forwarded is not his correct address, he had taken steps as required by Rule 89 to have his correct address entered in the published list of Members.

92. Any person not being a Member of the Society may become an annual subscriber to the Journal at the rate of thirty shillings a year, and shall be supplied with it if he pay that amount in advance before the 15th January.

X. THE LIBRARY.

93. Save on Sundays and Bank-holidays, the Library shall be open daily from the 1st October to the 30th June for the use of Members of the Society between the hours of eleven and five, except on Saturdays, when it shall close at one; but the Council shall have power to close the Library on special occasions for cleaning, repairs, or any other purposes.

94. Any Resident Member who pays full annual subscription as such or has paid composition in lieu thereof, and any other Member technically non-resident who shall elect to pay or compound for full annual subscription as a Resident Member, and any Honorary Member qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11 and residing within the limits which determine resident membership, shall be entitled to borrow books from the Library, excepting such books as may be reserved by the Council for use in the Library itself; and no one else shall be permitted to borrow any book or books from the Library, except under a special order of the Council.

95. For every book so borrowed a receipt shall be signed by the Member borrowing it, on a printed form provided for that purpose.

96. A Member entitled to borrow books from the Library shall not have more than seven volumes on loan at any one time.
97. No book borrowed shall be retained for a longer period than one month, if the same be applied for by any other Member; and in no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months.

98. The Council may grant, by special vote, on such terms as it thinks fit, the loan of MSS., or of books reserved for use in the Library, and may authorize the Secretary, as Librarian, to suspend, under special circumstances, the operation of Rules 96 and 97.

99. If anyone shall cause loss of or damage to any volume or other property of the Society, he shall make good the same; and, if any Member shall fail to return any volume or other property of the Society within four months after application shall have been made to him for the return thereof, the said volume or other property shall be considered lost, and the Society shall be entitled to proceed for the recovery of its value.

XI. THE CHARTER, DEEDS, AND COMMON SEAL.

100. The Charter and Deeds of the Society shall be kept in the custody of the Society's Bankers.

101. (a) The Common Seal of the Society shall be an elephant surmounted by a howdah and ridden by a mahout wielding an elephant-goad, with the inscription "Soc. Reg. As.Britt." below the elephant;—

(b) The Common Seal shall be kept in a box or safe having two locks not capable of being opened by the same key or keys; and of one lock the key or keys shall be kept by the Honorary Secretary, and of the other lock the key or keys shall be kept by the Secretary;—

(c) The Common Seal shall be affixed to any deed or other writing only at a Meeting of the Council and by the authority of the Council; and such deed or writing (except in the case of a diploma under Rule 15) shall then be signed by the President or other person presiding at the Meeting and by the Secretary, the particulars of the same being entered in the Minute-book.
XII. BRANCH AND ASSOCIATE SOCIETIES.

102. Societies established in Asia, for the same objects for which the Society was formed, may, on the recommendation of the Council, be admitted by a vote of a Special General Meeting to be Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

103. Societies established in parts of the world other than Asia, for the same objects for which the Society was formed, may, on the recommendation of the Council, be admitted by vote of a Special General Meeting to be Associate Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

104. The following Societies have been admitted as Branch or Associate Societies up to the present time:—

The Asiatic Society of Japan.
The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Shanghai).
The Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Pekin Oriental Society.
The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

105. Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-resident Members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than Special General Meetings; and, in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS.

106. In all cases prescribed, reserved, or agreed to be determined by ballot, when a ballot results in an equality of votes and it is necessary to make an elimination of persons in
respect of whom such equality exists, there shall be a second ballot confined to the names of those persons; and, if the votes shall again be equal, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

107. (a) If sufficient cause shall be shown and established, in the form of wilful and persistent disregard of the agreement made by signing the Obligation or otherwise implied to observe and comply with these Rules, or in any other form, the name of any person, against whom such cause shall be established, may be removed from the list of Members of the Society by the decision of a Special General Meeting at which the votes shall be taken by ballot; and such person shall thereupon cease, subject to the provisions of Rule 70, to be a Member of the Society if the resolution be to that effect;—

(b) The inquiry into any such matter shall be initiated by the Council, either of its own accord, or on a requisition signed by not less than three Members of the Society and sent or delivered to the Secretary;—

(c) Before proceeding with the inquiry the Council shall cause the Secretary to inform the person concerned of the charge made against him, and shall require him to reply to the same within such time as they may appoint; and due notice of any Meeting at which such charge shall be considered either by the Council or the Special General Meeting shall be given to such person;—

(d) Any such matter shall be thoroughly sifted by the Council before it may be laid before a Special General Meeting; and the decision of the Council as to whether it shall or shall not be laid before a Special General Meeting shall be taken by ballot;—

(e) Any person concerned in any such matter shall be entitled to be present with a friend, or to depute a friend to be present, and to state and argue his case, or to have it stated and argued by such friend, both before the Council and before the Special General Meeting.

108. Any notices required to be sent to any Member pursuant to any of these Rules, other than notice of the election or admission of such Member, shall be deemed duly given if sent by post by the Secretary to the last known address in Great Britain or Ireland of such Member; and notices shall not require to be sent to any Member not having an address within the United Kingdom.

109. Words denoting the masculine in these Rules shall include the feminine.
110. The foregoing Rules shall come into operation at once, and shall supersede all previously existing Rules or Regulations, but not so as to prejudice during the current year, or for such longer time as may be applicable in any particular case, any special rights or privileges acquired in virtue of any payment already made to and accepted by the Society.
FORM A (see Rule 14).

OBLIGATION OF MEMBER.

I have received a copy of the Rules of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, with a notice that I have been elected as an Ordinary Member of the said Society; and I hereby agree to observe and comply with the said Rules, and any modified, altered, or amended form of them, which may be hereafter adopted by the Society: and I will promote the interests and welfare of the Society.

Signed

Dated

Address

[N.B.—The Member shall here fill in the address to which the Publications of the Society are to be sent for him. Attention is invited to Rules 89, 90, and 108.]
CHARTER OF INCORPORATION
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.
DATED 11 August, 1824.

George the Fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting

Whereas our Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and others of our loving subjects have under our Royal Patronage formed themselves into a Society for the investigation of subjects connected with and for the encouragement of science, literature and the arts in relation to Asia called "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" and we have been besought to grant to them and to those who shall hereafter become Members of the same Society our Royal Charter of Incorporation for the purposes aforesaid

Now know ye that we being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary have of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion willed granted and declared. And we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors will grant and declare that our said Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and such others of our loving subjects as have formed themselves into and are now Members of the said Society and all such other persons as shall hereafter become Members of the said Society according to such regulations or byelaws as shall be hereafter formed or enacted shall by virtue of these presents be the Members of and form one body
politic and corporate by the name of "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" by which name they shall have perpetual succession and a common seal with full power and authority to alter vary break and renew the same at their discretion and by the same name to sue and be sued impleaded and answer and be answered unto in every Court of us our heirs and successors and be for ever able and capable in the law to purchase receive possess and enjoy to them and their successors any goods and chattels whatsoever and also be able and capable in the law (notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain) to take purchase possess hold and enjoy to them and their successors a Hall or College and any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments whatsoever the yearly value of which including the site of the said Hall or College shall not exceed in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds computing the same respectively at the rack rent which might have been had or gotten for the same respectively at the time of the purchase or acquisition thereof and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate for the purposes aforesaid as fully and effectually to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever as any other of our liege subjects or any other body politic or corporate in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland not being under any disability might do in their respective concerns And we do hereby grant our especial licence and authority unto all and every person and persons bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent) to grant sell alien and convey in mortmain unto and to the use of the said Society and their successors any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments not exceeding such value as aforesaid And our will and pleasure is that our first Commissioner for the time being for the affairs of India shall be a Vice Patron of the said body politic and corporate And we further will grant and declare that there shall be a general meeting of the members of the said body politic and corporate to be held from time to time as hereinafter is mentioned and that there shall always be a council to direct and manage the concerns of the said body politic and corporate and that the general meetings and the council shall have the entire direction and management of the same in the manner
and subject to the regulations hereinafter mentioned. But our will and pleasure is that at all general meetings and meetings of the council the majority of the members present and having a right to vote thereat respectively shall decide upon the matters propounded at such meetings the person presiding therein having in case of an equality of numbers a second or casting vote. And we do hereby also will grant and declare That the council shall consist of a President and not more than twenty-four nor less than five other members to be elected out of the members of the said body politic and corporate and that the first members of the council exclusive of the President shall be elected within six calendar months after the date of this our Charter. And that the said Charles Watkin Williams Wynn shall be the first President of the said body politic and corporate. And we do hereby further will grant and declare that it shall be lawful for the members of the said body politic and corporate hereby established to hold general meetings once in the year or oftener for the purposes hereinafter mentioned (that is to say) That the general meetings shall choose the President and other members of the council. That the general meetings shall make and establish such byelaws as they shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the said body politic and corporate for the election and admission of members for the management of the estates goods and business of the said body politic and corporate and for fixing and determining the manner of electing the President and other members of the council as also of electing and appointing such officers attendants and servants as shall be deemed necessary or useful for the said body politic and corporate and such byelaws from time to time shall or may alter vary or revoke and shall or may make such new and other byelaws as they shall think most useful and expedient so that the same be not repugnant to these presents or to the laws or statutes of this our Realm and shall or may also enter into any resolution and make any regulation respecting any of the affairs and concerns of the said body politic and corporate that shall be thought necessary and proper. And we further will grant and declare that the council shall have the sole management of the income and funds of the said body politic and corporate and also the entire management and superintendence of all the other affairs and
concerns thereof and shall or may but not inconsistently with
or contrary to the provisions of this our Charter or any existing
byelaw or the laws or statutes of this our Realm do all such
acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential
to be done for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects
and views of the said body politic and corporate. And we
further will grant and declare that the whole property of the
said body politic and corporate shall be vested And we do
hereby vest the same solely and absolutely in the Members
thereof and that they shall have full power and authority to
sell alienate charge or otherwise dispose of the same as they
shall think proper but that no sale mortgage incumbrance or
other disposition of any messuages lands tenements or heredita-
ments belonging to the said body politic and corporate shall be
made except with the approbation and concurrence of a general
meeting. And we lastly declare it to be our Royal will
and pleasure that no resolution or byelaw shall on any account
or pretense whatsoever be made by the said body politic and
corporate in opposition to the general scope true intent and
meaning of this our Charter or the laws or statutes of our Realm
and that if any such rule or byelaw shall be made the same
shall be absolutely null and void to all intents effects construc-
tions and purposes whatsoever In witness whereof we have
causd these our letters to be made patent Witness ourself
at our palace at Westminster this eleventh day of August in the
fifth year of our reign

By Writ of Privy Seal

SCOTT
JOURNAL
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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

XXI.
THE SITE OF SRAVASTI.

By J. Ph. Vogel.

At the conclusion of a paper\(^1\) dealing with the possible identity of the site of Kasiā with Veṭhadipa, I expressed the hope that a continuation of my explorations on that site would lead to a final solution of the topographical problem. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, this hope has not been fulfilled. Last winter's excavations, however, have had the result of settling another question no less important for the ancient geography of India—that of the position of Śrāvastī.

It will be remembered that Cunningham\(^2\) located this ancient city at Sahēt-Mahēt, an extensive site on the borders of the Bahraich and Gonda districts of the United Provinces, and on the right bank of an ancient bed of the Rāpti. Sahēt-Mahēt consists of two distinct sites. The larger one, known as Mahēt and covering an area of more than 400 acres, he identified with the city proper; Sahēt, the smaller site, which covers 32 acres and is situated at

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\(^1\) J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 1049–53.
a distance of a quarter of a mile south-west of Mahēt, he concluded to represent the famous Jetavana. This double identification, based on topographical evidence, was confirmed by the discovery of a colossal Bodhisattva image in a shrine at Sahēt. An inscription on its base records that this Bodhisattva, together with a parasol and post (chāttraṁ padaś ca), was set up by Friar Bala "at Śrāvasti in the Kosambakuṭi at the Lord's walking-place" (Bhagavato camākame).¹

Notwithstanding the evidence afforded by this inscription, Mr. V. A. Smith undertook, in two papers published in this Journal,² to disprove the accepted identification, and claimed to have discovered the true site of Śrāvasti near the village of Bālapur in Nepal, not far from the place where the Rāpti issues from the hills. His conclusions were based on a careful study of the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims, who apparently reached Kapilavastu from Śrāvasti by travelling in a south-easterly direction, whereas the supposed site of the former place in the Nepal Tarai lies almost due east from Sahēt-Mahēt. The colossal Bodhisattva, Mr. Smith assumed, had been brought down the river from the true Śrāvasti to the spot where Cunningham found it. This assumption received some support from the fact that the Bodhisattva, which once must have stood in the open, sheltered by a stone parasol, had come to light in a small shrine of an evidently late date.

In the course of last winter's explorations, it was present in my mind that a discovery of the stone parasol, under which the image was once placed, would go far to settle the question in favour of Cunningham. Nothing, however, was found at Sahēt in the way of sculptures but a few

Buddha and Bodhisattva statuettes, partly inscribed with the Buddhist creed. These finds at any rate proved that the site of Sahēt was an important place of pilgrimage even in the expiring days of Indian Buddhism. It is significant that some of these images are made of the blue schist of Gayā, and others of the red sandstone of Mathurā.

When, on my return from Sahēt-Mahēt, I inspected the Lucknow Museum, Babu R. D. Banerji drew my attention to an inscribed fragment of red sandstone, which was standing in a corner of the epigraphical section. Most of the inscription was completely obliterated, but at the beginning of the last line but one the word Śāvas[...iye was plainly legible. On examining it more closely, we came to the conclusion that this stone can be nothing but a fragment of the sought-for parasol post. The inscription, as far as traceable, was found to be identical with that on the Bodhisattva statue. It was certainly somewhat disconcerting to find the main object of one's excavation already in a museum. The point now to decide was who set it there? The state of the museum records renders it difficult to answer this question with certainty. Here I wish only to mention that, in all probability, the inscribed fragment was found in the course of excavations carried on at Sahēt-Mahēt by Dr. Hoey in 1884–5, though, strange to say, it is not referred to in that gentleman's report.¹ It is hoped that Dr. Bloch will ere long publish a detailed account of this inscription.

Fortunately, we are no longer dependent on the uncertain testimony of this inscription. Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, who was my partner in last winter's excavation and continued the work for a fortnight after my departure, had the good luck of discovering a copperplate inscription which once for all settles the topographical question. It

was found in a cell of the large monastery which occupied the south-west corner of the mound and had been partially excavated by Dr. Hoey. The plate measures 18 by 14 inches, and is very well preserved owing to its having been protected by an earthenware case. It records the grant of six villages to "the Community of Buddhist friars, of which Buddhhabhatāraka is the chief and foremost, residing in the great Convent of Holy Jetavana." The donor is Govindacandra of Kanauj, who dates it from Benares in the year 1186, Āṣāḍha full-moon, Monday. The document shows not only that Sahet has been rightly identified with the Jetavana, but also that as late as the twelfth century there existed here an important Buddhist establishment which enjoyed the royal favour of the king of Kanauj. As Pandit Daya Ram will shortly edit the Sahet copperplate grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, it is unnecessary to go here into further detail.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that our explorations have thus vindicated one of Cunningham's brilliant identifications, which lately had been thrown into doubt. Too much has it become the fashion to lay stress on the inaccuracies of which that pioneer of Indian archaeology has been guilty, without considering the redeeming factor of his truly wonderful insight into questions of ancient geography. The identification of Śrāvasti and the Jetavana is a matter, not only of academical interest, but of vital importance to the millions of Buddhists who regard the favourite abode of their Lord as one of the most hallowed spots on the face of the earth.

Our recent discovery has, moreover, a distinct bearing on questions of ancient topography in general. It shows that the final word in nearly every instance has to come from prolonged researches made on the spot. The itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims alone are insufficient guides; nay,
they are often liable to lead us astray. Above all, their accuracy, though marvellous if measured after the Oriental standard, should not be over-estimated. It should never be lost sight of that they had not the means of accurately fixing the distances and bearings of their routes. The former they must have estimated from the time spent in covering them, the latter from the position of the sun. M. Barth\(^1\) gives a true valuation of their accounts when describing them as "de véritables itinéraires, avec des indications de distance et d'orientation, indications sans doute tout approximatives, souvent peu concordantes, parfois manifestement inexactes et toujours difficiles à interpréter sur le terrain, mais qui déterminent du moins la région où doivent se faire les recherches."\(^2\)

\(^1\) *Journal des Savants*, Février, 1897, p. 65.

\(^2\) [Attention may be invited to an article by Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, entitled "The Shifted Cardinal Points: from Elam to Early China," published in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. ii, pp. 25-31. Further examination in that line might perhaps throw a light on the point that the bearings given by Fa-hian and Huien-tsiang seem so often to be erroneous.—Ed.]
XXII.

THE BABYLONIAN UNIVERSE NEWLY INTERPRETED.

By WILLIAM F. WARREN.

Few studies in ancient cosmology can more entertain or instruct the investigator of to‐day than a careful comparison of the seven diagrams published as correct pictures of the Babylonian universe in the works named below.¹ No two of the seven agree. Moreover, the first represents the Zodiac as at a vast distance above the sphere of the fixed stars, a proceeding which at the start disarranges all ordinary astronomic ideas. Equally unpicturable in my imagination is the seventh of the series, the world sketched by Radau. Again and again have I tried to construct it in thought, but every time have failed. Even Jensen in his great work gives us for “the place of the Convocation of the Gods” (Du‐azag), only a pitch‐dark cavern in the thin crust of his sea‐filled hemispherical earth, and has no place for Hades but another cavern located in the same thin crust and oddly

¹ The reader is earnestly requested to turn to these diagrams and to note their striking divergencies.

(1) Isaac Myer, Qabalah, Phil., 1888, p. 448.
(2) Hommel, Babylonischer Ueprung der Aegyptischen Cultur, 1892, p. 8.
(3) Hommel, Aufsatze und Abhandlungen, 1901, Th. iii, 347.
(4) Jensen, Kosmologie der Babylonier, 1890, appendix.

Professor Hommel’s second is a marked improvement on his first. In connection with it he prints a generous reference to the present writer.
enough far above the cave of the gods. Surely there is a call for new attempts to think the thoughts of these ancient Semites after them.

For the reconstruction of the Babylonian universe we have no less than twelve most valuable data derived from the study of ancient Babylonian texts. These will now be enumerated, and that the enumeration may command the greater confidence I shall connect with each of them one or more references to equivalent statements by experts of high authority in this field. Here follow the data:

(1) In the Babylonian conception of the universe the earth occupied the central place. Winckler expressly calls the earth “the accepted centre” of the planetary system of this people.

(2) The northern half of the earth was viewed as the upper, the southern as the under. The former was associated with light and life, the latter with darkness and death. Winckler remarks:—"The South and the Underworld are identical.”

(3) The upper or northern half of the earth was regarded as consisting of seven stages (tupukati), ranged one above another in the form of a staged pyramid. Speaking of the staged temple of Nippur, Sayce observes:—"It was a model of the earth, which those who built it believed to be similarly shaped, and to have the form of a mountain whose peak penetrated the clouds.”

1 Jensen's diagram, anglicised in terminology and much enlarged, may be seen in Worcester's Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge, opposite p. 109.
2 Himmels und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker. Von Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leipzig, 1901, p. 34.
3 "Identisch ist also Süden und Unterwelt auch hier wie bei unserer kosmischen Ausrichtung der Erde auch" (p. 24).
4 Gifford Lectures, 1903, p. 374. See also Boscawen, in the Oriental and Biblical Journal, Chicago, 1884, p. 118. For interesting parallels see Letherby, Architecture, Mysticism, and Myth, London, 1892. The existence in Egypt of a type of pyramid with sloping stages, and the
(4) In like manner the antarctic or under half of the earth was supposed to consist of seven stages corresponding to those of the upper half. As Jensen expresses it:—"The seven *tupukati* of the underworld are a facsimile of the seven *tupukati* of the overworld."  

(5) Like the quadrilateral temples modelled after it, the earth of the Babylonians was four-cornered. In this particular it agreed with the conception ascribed to the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, Chinese, and to the Indo-Aryans of the Rig-veda period.

(6) In Babylonian thought, Winckler says, "there were seven heavens and seven hells." This belief is one of untraceable antiquity. Writing on this subject, Hommel remarks—"The idea of the seven heavens seems to go back to the beginnings of Semitic culture."

(7) Above the seventh heaven was another, the "highest heaven," that of the fixed stars; called by the Babylonians clear traces in India of a conception of the earth as spheroidal in figure despite a series of rising zones or retreating mountain-terraces upon its surface, suggest that the stages of the Babylonian earth should not be mentally pictured as necessarily implying their possession of the sharply angular outline presented by a staged temple, or by the figure in our diagram. It is quite possible that in Babylonian thought the quadrangularity of the earth was largely a conscious and deliberate emphasizing of the cardinal points of the heavens and earth, and that its pyramidal form in architecture was as conscious and deliberate a deviation from supposed reality as are with us the parallel meridians and flat zones of a Mercator's Chart of the world. Moreover, as the celestial spheres are of a substance so crystalline as to be absolutely invisible to men, so the rising stages of the earth are to be viewed as less and less grossly material, until at length all appearance of materiality vanishes, leaving the highest as invisible (save in the case of a divinely sent trance, Genesis xxviii, 12), as are the heavens in which they are lost.

1 *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 175.


3 "Was die obere Welt hat, hat auch die untere. Es gibt demnach sieben Himmel und sieben Höllen oder Höllenstufen" (op. cit., p. 34).

4 "Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer," in *Ausland*, 1891, p. 381.
the "heaven of Anu," after the name of the oldest and highest of their gods.\(^1\)

(8) This eighth heaven was divided by the Zodiac into two corresponding portions, an upper, or Arctic, and an under, or Antarctic. At the pole of the former Anu had his palace and throne.\(^2\)

(9) In Babylonian thought the north pole of the heavens was the true zenith of the cosmic system, and the axis of the system upright; consequently, as among the ancient Egyptians and Indo-Aryans, the diurnal movements of the sun and moon were regarded as occurring in a horizontal plane. Speaking of the Babylonians Maspero says—"The general resemblance of their theory of the universe to the Egyptian theory leads me to believe that they, no less than the Egyptians, for a long time believed that the sun and moon revolved round the earth in a horizontal plane."\(^3\)

(10) Proceeding outward from the central earth, the order of the seven known planets was as follows: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.\(^4\) That their respective distances from the earth were not uniform was already known. Such at least seems to be the opinion of Winckler, and certainly is that of Hommel.\(^5\)

(11) In order to pass from the upper half of the earth to its under half, that is, from the abode of living men to the abode of the dead, it was necessary to cross a body of water, which on every side separated the two abodes. This

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\(^1\) Winckler, p. 34; also Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 10.

\(^2\) Winckler, p. 36; Jensen, p. 24; A. Jeremias, p. 27, "Der Sitz Anu's ist der nördlich vom Tierkreis gelegene Himmel mit dem Nordpol des Himmels als Mittelpunkt. Dort ist sein Thron."


\(^4\) Winckler, p. 35. Hommel calls it "die uralte feste Anordnung" (*Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, iii, 375-383).

\(^5\) See Winckler, p. 34. "In immer grösserem Abstand von der Erde" is the language of Hommel in his *Insel der Seligen*, p. 38.
THE BABYLONIAN UNIVERSE.

The upright central line is the polar axis of the heavens and earth. The two seven-staged pyramids represent the earth, the upper being the abode of living men, the under one the abode of the dead. The separating waters are the four seas. The seven inner homocentric globes are respectively the domains and special abodes of Sin, Shamash, Nabu, Ishtar, Nergal, Mardak, and Ninib, each being a 'world-ruler' in his own planetary sphere. The outermost of the spheres, that of Anu and Ea, is the heaven of the fixed stars. The axis from centre to zenith is 'the Way of Anu'; the axis from centre to nadir 'the Way of Ea.'
explains the language of Dr. A. Jeremias, where he says—
"When one sails out upon the ocean, one finally comes
down into the Underworld." ¹

(12) According to Diodorus Siculus (ii, 31), the Baby-
lonians considered that twelve designated stars south of
the Zodiac stood in the same relation to the dead as do the
twelve corresponding stars north of the Zodiac to men still
in the land of the living. This representation clearly
makes the living and the dead the residents respectively
of antipodal surfaces of one and the same heaven-inclosed
earth. In like manner, in the Creation Tablets (V,
line 8), Ann and Ea are antipodally located gods, the
former having his palace and throne at the north pole
of the heavens, the latter his palace and throne at the
south pole.²

Such then, according to latest scholarship, are the funda-
mental features of the ancient Babylonian world-concept.
The task of combining them is simple. One can but
wonder that there should have been such mistakes and
such delay in effecting the due adjustment. In the diagram
accompanying this paper each requirement of the twelve
enumerated propositions is fully met. The upright central
line represents the polar axis of the heavens and earth in
perpendicular position. The two central seven-staged
pyramids represent respectively the upper and lower
halves of E-KUR, the earth. The seven dotted half-
circles above the earth represent the "seven heavens" of
the planets; the corresponding hemispheres below the
earth the "seven hells." The outermost sphere, the upper
half cut away, as were the seven heavens, to show the
interior of the system, is of course the all-including starry

¹ Op. cit., p. 10; also, his "Hölle und Paradies bei den Babylonier" (Der alte Orient, Jahrg. 1, Heft 3, S. 14 ff.); also F. Jeremias, in Chantepie de la Saussaye's Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, 2nd ed., 1905, Bd. i,
S. 275; Tiele, Histoire Comparée des Anciennes Religions, p. 177.
² Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, Leipzig, 1902, p. 201.
sphere girdled by the many-mansioned Zodiac,¹ and made scintillant by the appointed astral watchers who keep their patient vigils one half above the living, one half above the antipodal dead.

How wonderful a world-view was this! How perfect the symmetries of the system. Its duplex centre lived on in Pythagorean thought as "Earth and Counter-earth."² Doubtless it influenced Plato when in the Timæus he said, "To Earth, then, let us assign the form of a cube." It still lives on in the four-cornered earth of the New Testament, and in that of the Mohammedan teaching. Its heavens lived on in the "homocentric" "crystalline spheres" of the Greek astronomers, and through the influence of Ptolemy's Almagest, shaped the thinking of all savants, philosophers, and poets till the days of Copernicus. Dante's heavens are those of Ptolemy, and Ptolemy's are those of the ancient worshippers of Anu and Sin. Their music is still audible, their form still visible, in Milton's Ode to the Nativity.

But while the presence of this highly mathematical world-concept is thus traceable through millenniums, its origin was among a people antedating the Babylonians. A truer name, therefore, for the system would be, the Pre-Babylonian. The East-Semites received it from their predecessors in the possession of the Euphratean valley, the Akkado-Sumerians. At least such is the opinion and the teaching of our highest experts.³ Did the system originate among these non-Semitic predecessors in the valley? This has been assumed, but no man can pretend to know.

¹ The 'lunar mansions' of astrology are all within the Zodiac.
² The often misunderstood χρυσός and ἀρίθμους; O. F. Gruppe, Die kosmische Systeme der Griechen, Berlin, 1851, p. 82. Correctly understood by Cicero, Tusc. Disp., i, 28, 68.
³ H. Zimmerm, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, Aufl. iii, 1902, S. 349.
A PORTION of a Hittite cuneiform tablet from Boghaz Keui has come into my possession, which is shown by its contents to belong to the same tablet as that of which I have published another portion in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1907 (pp. 919, 920). The original tablet must have been a very large one, and probably contained a complete list of the offerings to be made to the various deities in the Hittite pantheon. It thus resembled the great inscription of Meher Kapussi, near Van, in which we find a similar list of the offerings to be made to the Vannic gods (J.R.A.S., New Ser., xiv, 3 (1882), pp. 461 sqq.). As I have already stated in the *Journal* for last April, p. 548, the new fragment enables me to correct some of the readings in my copy of the first fragment.

The following is a transliteration of the cuneiform text:

**Obverse.**

1. -is-sa pa at (?)  

2. -sa-an khu-ub-ru  

3. [I] wa-ak-sur ni-ma I wa-ak-sur  
   [one] one  

4. ARKI-SU-MA la-a-be-is si-pa-an-[ti]  
   *After this* providing (?) [thy] tithe (?)  

5. tu-el ti-ya-ma si-ip-(zi)-ya a-na  
   *for [the god]*
6. si-pa-an' da-an-zi I LU I GUD
the tithe (?) mayest thou set: 1 sheep, 1 ox
EBURU-ya a-na]...
of the grass for [the god...

7. I LU a-na AN IM si-ne-e I LU
1 sheep for Sandes of the flocks (?); 1 sheep
a-na AN
for the god...

8. I LU a-na AN Na-an-ni AN UH BAN-DA
1 sheep for the goddess Nanni the deity of the lusty flock
zi-ip...

9. AN-MES AMIL-MES ya-[as ?]-si-is-sa-an (?)
gods (&) men
an-da ka...

10. nu V GAR * a-na X ta-khi (?)
for 5 measures of for 10
wi-ya...
[for]

11. AN IM da-a-i ARKI-SU-[MA la]-a-kha-an-ni-[us
Sandes I have set. After this the
si-pa-an-ti]
[as thy tithe].

12. nu I GUD GIS-KARAN su-[un]-na-[an-z]
For 1 ox wine mayest thou

13. zi-ru-bi-in-ni bi-ib-[ru] ya khu
a casket

14. khu-u-i-ba sa(?) sa-rri (?) su-un-na-an-z
the ribs (?) of (?) the king (?) mayest thou

15. la-kha-an-ni-us si-pa-an-ti
the as thy tithe.

16. I LU KU-MAL a-na AN Ar-ga-a-pa
One sheep male for the god Argapa
si-pa-[an-ti da-an-z]
as [thy] tithe [offer]
17. a-na AN Ar-ga-a-pa a-na DIN (?) sa
   to the god Argapa for the preservation (?) of
   DIN (?)-ti...
   thy life (?) [give it];
18. na-at SI bi-ra-an da-a-i GIS in...
   this before the table I have set. A wooden...
19. khu-i-ba-an-da a-na I GAR *
   the ribs (?)... for one measure of...
   da-a-khu-u-ut-[ta]...
   appointed...
   [before]
20. AN Ar-ga-pa da-a-i ARKI-SU-MA
   the god Argapa I have set. After this
   [la-a-khā-an-ni-us]
   the...
21. si-pa-an-ti nam-ma ANA (?) nam-ma-an...
   as thy tithe... for (?)...
22. na-as-ta bi-ib-ru AN Ar-ga-[a-pa]
   in (?) these casket(s?) Argapa
23. ARKI-SU-MA la-kha-ni-us [si-pa-an-ti]
   after this the... as thy tithe.

24. Na-at BIT MAS (?) AN A...
   This house of the lord (?) the god A...
25. nu V GAR *
   for 5 measures of...

REVERSE.

2. ba-ba-a...

3. nu I GAR KUL...
   for one measure of seed...
4. nu i-na...
   to be in...
5. su-ub-bi-ya-akh-khi I GAR...
   one measure...
   [nam-ma-an ?]
6. ANA (?) nam-ma-an GIS-KARAN-ya sa  
   for (?) of wine  
7. su-ub-bi-ya-akh-kha-an zi  

8. ab-bi-iz-zi-ya LU-ya i-na  
   Of a male (?) sheep in  
9. AN Al-khi-su-wa mus(?)-sa GIS AL-PÜ  
   the god Alkhisuwa a perforated cup (?)  
   PÜ a perforation  
10. si-pa-an da-an-zi a-na I GIS ir-ri-is-sa-[an]  
    the tithe offer; for one  
11. GIS-KARAN UD-AB-A BAR ub-ni GIS-KU  
    of wine half an ubni, of box-wood (?)  
    BAR ub-ni  
    half an ubni  
12. I GIS-nu-ur-ma I DUK kab-bi-is DUK  
    one fig, one kabbis-vessel, an  
    ab-bar-ma-[as]  
    abbarmas-vessel  
13. I DUK kab-bi-is I DUK bar-ma-as GIS-KIB  
    one k.-vessel, one barmas-vessel, herbs,  
    I ta one  
14. zu-wa-as ANA (?) ma-da-at-as I  
    for tribute (?), one  
    ga-qi-[ak-ya]  
15. [nam-ma?]-an ANA (?) nam-ma-an GIS-KARAN-ya  
    for (?) of wine  
    sa (?)  
16. [AN Al-khi]-su-wa sa-ma-AN-UD si-pa-an-da  
    the god Alkhisuwa Sama-Samsi by way of tithe
A HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM BOGHAZ KEUI  989

17.  [GIS-KAR]AN  BI-ZUN  be-zi  BIT-zi
     of wine  cups  in (? the house  us

18.  ku-is-ki  e-iz-za  MUR-GA  bi-i-[e-it]
     as it was  a brick  house

19.  -zi

20.  kha(?)-i-ba-as-sa-an  nam-ma  ar
     thereupon (?)

[GIS KARAN]
[of wine]

21.  [UD-AB]-A  BAR  ub-ni  GIS-KU  BAR  ub-ni
     halfanubi, of box-wood(?  halfanubni

22.  [I  GIS-nu-ur-]ma  DUK  kab-bi-i-is  DUK
     one  fig.,  a kabbis-vessel,  an
     ab-bar-[ma-as]
     a.-vessel

23.  [DUK  kab-bi-i]-is  DUK  ab-bar-ma-as  GIS-[KIB]
     [a k.-vessel],  an a.-vessel  of  wood

The chief interest of the tablet lies in the names of the Hittite deities which it contains. Sandes, who was identified with the Syrian Hadad, comes first, as he does in the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions; as god of šinḫ, which is probably the Assyrian šēni or zīni, 'flock,' he is associated with Nanni, the goddess of 'the flock.' The name of the goddess occurs in the native hieroglyphic inscriptions, where, as I have shown (P.S.B.A., November, 1905, p. 223), she is ideographically represented by the picture of a heap of corn, and must therefore have been a goddess of the peasantry. The name of Argâpa appears for the first time, and Alkhisuwa is a correction of the name which I read Alkhiswa in my last paper.
Obverse.

4. As I have already stated in the Journal for April (1908), p. 548, arki-su-ma is the correct reading of the characters which I have wrongly given as KUR Kib-iš-ma in my last paper (Two Hittite Cuneiform Tablets, J.R.A.S., October, 1907, pp. 913–21), which I will henceforth refer to as THCT. It is possible that namma in Rev. 20 is the Hittite equivalent of the Assyrian formula.

Labeis is the nominative, of which labin is the accusative, in one of the tablets found by Chantre at Boghaz Keui, and copied by Scheil (S. i, 3, 8; in l. 7 we probably have [la-]a-bi-e-ni-is).

For sipa in the probable sense of tithe see THCT, p. 916. In my note, however, the reference to 'the city Khattu-sipa' must be omitted, since a comparison of the passage with other tablets from Boghaz Keui which I have since examined has made it clear that the paragraph must be read: Mān atus (ALU) Arinnas (ALU) Khattu-si pa-izzī nu AMEL GIS-PA lali zirridis-san khalzai-su(m), 'This I the king of Arinna have sent by way of gift for the people of the city of the Hittites to the scribe, collecting (?) it from the towns.'

5. For tuel see YUZGAT, Obv. 2, 10. The sense remains as obscure as ever.

The scribe has inverted the two component parts of the character zî.

6. 'A grass-fed' as opposed to a 'stall-fed ox' is meant. The passage serves to fix the meaning of the suffix -ya.

7. Šinê, as I have said, is probably borrowed from the Assyrian zéni.

8. The goddess Nanni or Nana is mentioned in the native hieroglyphic texts of Hamath and Mer'ash. According to

1 In Rev. 2 of the same tablet the reading kha must be corrected into pa, the passage being ALU pa-izzī nu AMEL GIS-PA atus assidi, 'by way of gift to the city I the king have despatched to the scribe.'
the classical writers, Nana was the daughter of the Sangarius and the mother of Attys. Naneis, formed like Artemis, is a name found in the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia.

9. Since -anda is the adverbial termination, my division of the words here is probably incorrect. Anda, however, seems to be an independent word in Scheil, i, Obv. 9, 12.

10. The preposition mu is replaced by the Assyrian ana in line 19.

I am unable to identify the character which follows GAR. In Rev. 3 its place is taken by KUL, 'seed,' so that it must signify something of the same sort. A comparison of the whole passage with l. 19 and Rev. 5, 6 goes to show that the sense is 'reckoned at one gar of . . . for 10 . . .'

11. My suggestion in THCT that lakhannius may signify 'products' must be given up.

12. The verb sunna is probably connected with sunussan in the tablet Belck, l. 8.

13. For bibru, 'a casket,' see THCT, p. 917.

14. In THCT khuiba seems to be the phonetic equivalent of TIK-TI, 'the ribs.' The two characters which follow are partly obliterated, and my reading of them is probably incorrect.

16. For KU-MAL, zikaru, 'male,' see W.A.I. v, 12, 1.

Instead of DIN, i.e. baladhu, we may read khi, the word being khi-sa-khi. In Rev. 9, however, the sign for khi is differently formed, and I would therefore identify the character we have here with DIN.

17. If nat refers to the sheep, it must be singular and not plural. In l. 24 it is clearly singular.

For biran as the equivalent of the Assyrian passuru, see THCT, p. 917.

19. Since -anda is the adverbial termination, the meaning would be 'rib-like' if khuiba signifies 'rib.' Dakhu, which I believe to be the causative of da, 'to set'
or 'appoint,' is found in the 'Yuzgat' tablet in the compound verb nakhá-dakkhu, where we also find dakkkhwn and dakkkhu-da.

For the passive participle kvitta, 'made,' see YUZGAT, Ovb. 15, Rev. 8, 19.

21. Namma can hardly be the adverb 'thereupon' here, as in Rev. 20. In Rev. 15 it seems to be written namman. My explanation of  as the preposition ana is very doubtful; elsewhere in the Hittite tablets it denotes the numeral 'one.' As namman is followed by GIS-KARAN-ya in Rev. 6, it is possible that the phrase means 'cup by cup.' We can hardly associate with namma the NAM-wa which precedes ERU, 'copper,' in SCHEIL, Ovb. 6.

22. In THCT na-ta appears to signify 'in this (casket)'; consequently nas-ta ought to be 'in these.'

Reverse.

5. The native hieroglyphic texts would suggest that subbiya-kkhki means the dances performed by the Corybants in honour of the gods.

8. Abbé-ziya may be derived from abbi, 'father,' and so mean 'a sheep that is a father.'

9. The present tablet shows that my reading of the god's name must be corrected,  representing , su, and not is. Su is written plainly in this line.

If the character which follows the name of the god is a single one, it would more naturally be uz than mus. It may, however, be faultily written for se (or khi) khu. It can hardly be intended for im.

11. What the ideographs UD-AB-A signify I do not know. Some species of wine is intended.

The ubni will be a Hittite measure.

GIS-KU is the Assyrian urkARiNu, W.A.I. ii, 45, 4.

12. Kabbis is probably borrowed from the Assyrian qabutu, qabudē, 'goblets.' There is also an Assyrian word kubbu, signifying a 'corn-vessel.'
13. The scribe has omitted ab before bar. GIS-KIB is stated to be 'the herb ripkhu' in W.A.L. ii, 23, 21.

14. Madatas is possibly the Assyrian mandattu, madattu, 'tribute.' On the other hand, analogy would indicate that ṭ is 'one' rather than ana, 'for'; see note on Obv. 21. In Scheil, i, Obv. 13, we find the accusative singular [ma-]da-at-ta-an.

Gaqa[akya] is completed from Yuzgat, Rev. 31.

16. I suppose Sama-Samsi to be the name of a man who is addressed by the writer of the tablet. It may, however, be a title of the god Alkhisuwa.

18. For kuis-ki, the present participle with suffixed ki, see kuit-ki, the 3rd person singular of the verb, with the same suffix, in Yuzgat, Obv. 19, Rev. 39. Kuis-ki is found in Chantre, iii (1), 9.

For bi-i-e-it, the Assyrian bit, see Yuzgat, Obv. 21, etc., and Chantre, iii, 11. Bi-i-e-[it], with determinative of 'divinity,' must also be read in Scheil, i, Rev. 1; a few lines lower down (l. 6) we have (AN) bi-i-e-it i-id-[din]. In the present passage 'the house of brick' corresponds with 'house of the god' in the Scheil tablet, the genitive, according to rule, preceding the word which governs it.
XXIV.

STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICINE.

By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

IV.—THE COMPOSITION OF THE CARAKA SAMHITA, AND THE LITERARY METHODS OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICAL WRITERS. (A study in textual criticism.)

The fact of the Caraka Samhitā, or the Medical Compendium of Charaka, being a composite work is well known at the present day. The work is the joint production of two medical men, Charaka and Driḍhabala, both natives of Kashmir, and living in that country, probably one in the second, the other in the eighth century of our era. Charaka's share itself claims to be no more than an edition of an earlier work by Agniveṣa. This man, being one of the traditional six disciples of Punarvasu, called Atreya or son of Atri, is said to have reduced to writing the oral teachings of his master, an event which must have occurred at some time in the sixth century before our era. Charaka's edition of Agniveṣa's work bears the name of Samhitā, or Compendium, while the earlier work of Agniveṣa is called a Tantra, or treatise or textbook. It seems probable that Agniveṣa wrote a series of such treatises on the several branches of

1 For No. I, see this Journal for 1906, pp. 283 ff.; and for No. II, this Journal for 1906, pp. 915 ff., and 1907, pp. 1 ff.; for No. III, see Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin, vol. i, pp. 29 ff.

Medicine as taught by his master Átreya in the ancient 'University' of Taxila, in the extreme north-west of India. What Charaka did was to combine the substance of these treatises into a single Samhitā, or Compendium. For some reason or other, now no longer known, he was unable to finish his work. Some six centuries later it was completed by Dridhabala. This complementary portion, however, was no longer a compendious edition of the treatises of Agnivesa, but as Dridhabala himself informs us (CS. viii, 12, v. 79, p. 930), a compilation from the works of several medical men who had written standard works on medicine between his own time and that of Charaka. The foremost among these men was the celebrated Vāgbhaṭa the elder, counted in medical tradition equal to Charaka and Suśruta, who had published a Samgraha, or Summary of Medicine, based mainly on the works of those two great authorities, but partly also on those of other men, such as Bheḍa and Kāṇkhāyana. Besides Vāgbhaṭa I, Dridhabala drew largely on a work of the famous Vṛinda, better known by his sobriquet Mādhava, or the Honeyed, apparently on account of the attractiveness of his writings, who in the seventh or eighth century had published his system of medicine, of which two parts, called respectively Roja-viniscaya on Pathology, and Siddhayoga on Therapeutics, have survived to the present day.

The preceding statements may appear to be made in rather dogmatic form. But it should be understood that this form has been given them merely for the sake of convenience, so as to define more clearly the points at issue.

Both these men were contemporaries of Átreya. Bheḍa, indeed, is said to have been one of his six disciples, and a unique manuscript of a Samhita which goes by his name has survived. This work must have been available to Vāgbhaṭa I. But as no work of Kāṇkhāyana now survives, it is doubtful whether Vāgbhaṭa drew on an actual work of his, or merely on quotations from it surviving in other works of later date.
In reality they present no more than a working hypothesis, which, however, is based, and, I think, is conformable to all the evidence already available. Of such evidence we possess a not inconsiderable amount. It is explained in my "Osteology of the Ancient Indians," and in the earlier numbers of these "Studies." It is not sufficient, however, to permit of a final decision, and the main object of the present "Study" is to present an additional body of entirely new evidence which strikingly confirms several of the main items of the hypothesis, while it conflicts with none of them.

The present "Study" also contributes some important elements towards the settlement of another very perplexing question. We know that Drīḍhābala contributed about one-third of the contents of the work which now passes under the name of Čaraka's Compendium (Čaraka Saṁhitā). But we know only partially what particular portions of the work are comprised in that one-third. Drīḍhābala himself tells us (CS. vi, 28, vv. 273–5, p. 827) that he contributed two entire Sthāna, or Sections, viz., the seventh and eighth, out of the eight sections of which the Compendium consists; and that he also wrote seventeen out of the twenty-eight (or thirty, according to another mode of reckoning) chapters of the sixth section on Therapeutics (Cikitsita). The puzzle is to know exactly the identity of the seventeen chapters which Drīḍhābala claims for himself. It is common sense to assume that he simply appended his own seventeen chapters to the eleven (or thirteen) already existing, and that therefore he means to claim for himself the last seventeen chapters of the series of twenty-eight (or thirty) which constitute the Therapeutical Section. If we knew for certain the exact serial order of the chapters in that section as it left the hands of Drīḍhābala, there would be no difficulty in the matter. But the trouble is that tradition presents us with two serial orders, both found
in existing manuscripts, which seriously conflict with one another. They are shown in the subjoined table:

**Table of the two Traditional Serial Orders.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>28-Series</th>
<th>30-Series</th>
<th>Column I, in Jivānanda</th>
<th>Column II, in Gangādhar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rasāyana.</td>
<td>Rasāyana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vājikaraṇa.</td>
<td>Vājikaraṇa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Eleven Chapters ascribed to Charaka.

1. Jvara.
2. Rakta-pitta.
3. Gulma.
4. Prameha.
5. Kuṣṭha.
6. Yakṣman or Śoṣa.
7. Arśas. (b)
8. Atisāra. (d)
9. Visarpa. (f)
10. Madātyaya. (h)
11. Dvīvraṇiya. (b)

(b) Seventeen Chapters ascribed to Dṛḍhabala.

12. Unmāda.
15. Śvayathu or Śotha.
16. Udara.
17. Grahaṇi.
18. Pāṇdu.
19. Hīkka-śvāsa. (a)
21. Chardi. (e)
22. Trṣṇā. (g)
23. Vīsa.
24. Trīmarmiya.
25. Urustambha.
27. Vātasūṇīta.

(a) Arśas. (b)
(b) Grahaṇi.
(c) Pāṇdu.
(d) Hīkka-śvāsa.
(e) Kāsa.
(f) Chardi.
(g) Vīsa.
(h) Trīmarmiya.

1 Regarding the sources on which the Table is based, I may explain that Column I has the support of the Summary List of the chapters, at the end of the Sūtra Sthāna, in the two manuscripts, Government of India, No. 2508 (now in deposit with the Asiatic Society of Bengal), p. 695; and (partially) India Office, No. 335, fl. 123. It is taught in the commentary of Chakrapāṇī-lattta, at the end of the Cikitsāتا Sthāna, in Tübingen, No. 463, fol. 534b, and is adopted in the editions of Jivānanda.
As will be seen, they agree with regard to the six initial, and the five concluding chapters of the section. The former, as one naturally expects, they uniformly ascribe to Charaka; the latter, to Drīḍhhabala. But respecting the serial order of the intermediate seventeen chapters (7-23), the two traditions greatly differ. One tradition makes the five chapters on arāsas, hæmorrhoids, atisāra, diarrhoea, visarpa, erysipelas, madātyaya, alcoholic disorders, and dvirranaśya, twofold wounds, to follow the six initial chapters, and ascribes them to Charaka, while the other tradition replaces these chapters by the five on unmāda, mental disorders, apasmāra, epilepsy, ksata-kṣiṇa, consumptive disorders, śvayathu, inflammatory swellings, and udara, abdominal enlargements. What adds to the difficulty is that the earliest surviving commentator, Chakrapāṇidatta, supports the former tradition, while the latest edition with any pretence to a critical character—that of Gangādhara—adopts the latter tradition, and has, as we shall see presently, some very weighty evidence in favour of its choice.

There is yet another, perhaps even more perplexing point connected with Drīḍhhabala's complementing activity. He not only added one-third of the existing Compendium; but he also revised the other two-thirds which Charaka wrote. That he did so, is absolutely certain. For example, the first section, or Sūtra Sthāna, as now existing, concludes with a full inventory of the whole Compendium, inclusive of the two last sections and the whole of the twenty-eight (or thirty) chapters of the sixth section;

and Abinās Chandra. Column ii has the support of the Summary List, in the manuscripts, Tübingen, No. 458, fol. 177a, Tübingen, No. 459, fol. 163a, and Deccan College, No. 925, fol. 93a; also partially in India Office, No. 335, fol. 123. It has also the support of the actual order of the chapters in the Cikitsita Sthāna, in all six manuscripts available to me, viz., Tüh., 458 and 459, Ind. Off., 335 and 339, Decc., 925, and the old Nepal MS. (dated 303 n.e. = 1183 A.D.). It is adopted in the editions of Gangādhara, and of the two Sens.
therefore, inclusive of the one-third contributed by Drīḍhabāla. It is obvious that that inventory cannot have been compiled by Charaka, but is the work of Drīḍhabāla. But further, there are certain passages, the phraseology of which, according to the same early commentator Chakrapāṇidatta, has been modified in what he calls the Kashmir Recension (kaśmīra-pāṭha) of the Compendium—which recension, there is good reason to believe, is referable to Drīḍhabāla's activity. In these circumstances one cannot help suspecting that what has happened in these particular passages, may have happened in others, without being noticed by the commentators. It should be added that in the passages themselves, whether interpolated or merely modified, there is no indication whatsoever of their true authorship. It must be obvious that no correct view of the development of Indian medical science is possible so long as we are unable to distinguish what goes back to the early age of Charaka from what is no older than the comparatively recent time of Drīḍhabāla. In the sequel I hope to show that the existing text does, after all, offer here and there certain undeniable indications, which, combined with a careful scrutiny of the context, enables one, to a great extent, to separate the original from the supervenient portions of the text.

For the present experimental scrutiny, I have selected those portions of the Caraka Saṁhitā which are concerned with the diseases called gulma, or abdominal tumours. The pathology of these growths is explained in chapter iii, of the second section (CS., Nidāna Sthāna, pp. 210–214), and its therapeutics in the corresponding chapter iii, of the sixth section (CS., Cikitsita Sthāna, pp. 483–499). Both chapters are uniformly ascribed to Charaka by the medical tradition of India, and thus afford a suitable subject for the experiment.

It will be convenient to begin with a brief analysis
of the two chapters. The pathological chapter, which, with the exception of the two concluding verses, is written in prose, is divided into twenty-one paragraphs.¹

§ 1 enumerates the five kinds of gulma, which are due to disorder of one humour (air), of two humours in complication (air-bile, and air-phlegm), of three humours in combination (air, bile, phlegm), and of the blood.

§§ 2 and 3 give a summary of the chapter, Ātreya, at the request of Agniveṣa, explaining (1) the causes, (2) premonitory conditions, (3) symptoms, (4) troubles, (5) remedies of gulma.

§ 4 enumerates the causes of an air-tumour, such as fever, unsuitable use of drugs, but especially irregularities in diet, sexual indulgence, and conduct generally.

§ 5 describes the symptoms of an air-tumour, the air-humour gathering in the intestines, and consolidating into a sort of ball, in any of five localities, viz., in the upper, middle, lower, and two lateral regions of the abdomen.

§ 6 describes the troubles (vedanā) of an air-tumour, which may vary in intensity, and consist in the feeling of being bitten by ants or pricked by needles, fever in the evening, dryness in the mouth, shortness of breath, pains in various parts of the body, difficulties in digesting, dark discoloration of the skin, eyes, excreta, etc.

§§ 7 and 8 describe the conditions of an air-tumour when complicated with disorders of the bile-humour. In that case, the tumour, now briefly called bile-tumour, feels soft and yielding. It arises from eating things sour, salty, hot, dry, etc., and is recognized by a greenish or yellowish discoloration, while in other respects the general conditions are much like those of the simple air-tumour.

§§ 9–11a describe similarly the phlegm-tumour, which however feels firm and hard, arises from greasy, heavy,

¹ I adopt, for the sake of convenient reference, the divisions into paragraphs of the Jīvānanda edition of 1896, though it is by no means perfect.
sweet, cold food, etc., and is recognized by a whitish discoloration.

§ 11b states that a tumour which arises from the concurrent disorders of all three humours is incurable.

§§ 12–16 describe the blood-tumour, which is caused by disorders in the menstrual discharge, and therefore occurs only in women, whence the ignorant are misled to suspect pregnancy.

§ 17 enumerates certain premonitory conditions.

§§ 18 and 19 explain that every tumour begins with a disorder of the air-tumour, and repeats that a so-called concurrence-tumour is incurable.

§ 20 gives some general directions respecting the treatment of tumours; that lubricants, sudorifics, emetics, and enemas should be first resorted to for regulating the air-tumour, because when that is done the disorders of the other tumours are easily dealt with.

§ 21 repeats, in a versified form, the prose directions given in § 20.

§ 22 briefly summarizes, once more, the contents of the chapter, as being the number, causes, symptoms, premonitory conditions, and remedial treatment of gulma.

There are two incongruous points in this professedly pathological account of the tumours, which cannot fail to attract our attention at once. In the first place, §§ 2 and 3 duplicate § 22. Both profess to give a summary of the contents of the chapter, but while § 22 enumerates them in the actual order in which they stand in the chapter, §§ 2 and 3 assign to the premonitory conditions a place which they do not occupy in the chapter. Paragraphs 2 and 3, therefore, are suspect; and in the sequel we shall find this suspicion confirmed by an indication that the whole introductory portion, consisting of §§ 1–3, is the work, either wholly or in a revised form, of Dridhabala.

In the second place, §§ 20 and 21, containing as they do directions regarding the treatment of tumours, impress
one as being out of place in a chapter on the pathology of those growths, and as belonging rather to the chapter on their therapeutics. As a matter of fact, on referring to the *Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha* of Vāgbhata the elder, we find that the whole of § 20 occurs verbatim in that work at the commencement of the sixteenth chapter on the therapeutics of *gulma*. And similarly, on referring to Mādhava's great work on therapeutics, called *Siddhayoga*, we find the whole of § 21 verbally repeated, as verse 2, at the beginning of its thirtieth chapter on the treatment of *gulma*. If we further remember that § 20 and § 21 are duplicates, § 21 being substantially only a versified version of the prose statement in § 20, it is difficult to decline the conclusion that whoever wrote those two concluding paragraphs, 20 and 21, copied them verbatim from the *Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha* and *Siddhayoga* respectively. If this be so, they cannot have been written by Charaka, but must have been added to his pathological chapter by the revisor Driḍhabala, who, on his part, copied them from the works of Vāgbhata the elder, and Mādhava. As a corollary, we have the interesting chronological information that Driḍhabala is posterior not only to Vāgbhata I, but also to Mādhava. It might be objected, as an alternative hypothesis, that Charaka wrote the two paragraphs, and that Vāgbhata, whose therapeuetic chapter is in prose, quoted the prose version from § 20, while Mādhava, who wrote in verse, quoted the versified duplicate

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1 The facts seem to be these: Vāgbhata I (in AS., vol. ii, p. 89, ll. 8–12) compressed in prose the substance of Charaka's versified remarks in verses 18–25 of his therapeuetic chapter (p. 485), preserving a few catchwords (jīvā, mārutam, etc.). Afterwards Mādhava turned the compressed prose version once more into verse (MS., p. 261, vv. 1–4), and in doing so preserved the same catchwords (mārute, vijite, etc.). Still later, Driḍhabala added the prose of Vāgbhata I and the verse of Mādhava to Charaka's genuine *Nidāna* (as §§ 20 and 21, p. 214), without apparently realising, not only that the prose and verse versions were duplicates, but that both these versions themselves were actually duplicates of Charaka's own genuine verses in his *Cikitsāsā* chapter.
from § 21. There can be no demonstrative proof in such cases, but which alternative is more probable? On the hypothesis of Charaka's authorship we have to admit two incongruities, not only that he appended a distinctly therapeutic statement to his pathological chapter, but further that he went so far as to duplicate that incongruous appendix in prose and verse. Why he should have taken the trouble to duplicate in verse an otherwise incongruous statement, when the whole of the remainder of the chapter is written in prose, passes one's understanding. As we shall see in the sequel, the substance of the statement, in §§ 20 and 21, is actually given by Charaka, in rather more detail, and in a versified form, in the beginning of his chapter on the therapeutics of gulma (vv. 18–25 in CS., p. 485). On the Charaka hypothesis, accordingly, we should have to admit that he actually repeated a therapeutic statement of his own as an appendix to his pathological chapter, where it was out of place, and that he further made this incongruous repetition in a duplicate form, in prose (§ 20), and in verse (§ 21). On the other hand, on the Dṛḍḥhabala hypothesis, we know that Dṛḍḥhabala himself states that he compiled from various sources (CS. viii, 12, v. 79, p. 930), and it is quite intelligible that, mere compiler as he was, he was anxious to utilize his sources to the uttermost, even at the expense of consistency and congruity. To my mind, at least, there can be no question, even on this single piece of evidence, as to which of the two alternatives is to be preferred. But we shall see presently that the evidence in favour of the Dṛḍḥhabala hypothesis accumulates as we go on in our enquiry.

I now proceed to the analysis of Charaka's chapter on the therapeutics of gulma. It is entirely written in verse, and these (in Jivananda's edition of 1896, which I here again follow) number 184. It divides itself into three portions. The first, verses 1–17, is pathological;
the second, verses 18–62a, is therapeutic; the third, verses 62b–164, is pharmaceutic. The whole concludes with an appendix and a summary, verses 165–84.

Verses 1–17 are pathological. They go over exactly the same ground as Charaka's chapter on the pathology of gulma. But the account they give is duplicated as follows:—Verses 1–5 describe in general terms the growth of the four kinds of humoral tumours, i.e., those due to (1) air, (2) air and bile, (3) air and phlegm, (4) combination of all three. Verse 6 enumerates the five localities of the tumours exactly as in § 5 of the pathological chapter; and verse 16 adds a description of the blood-tumour. In verses 7–15 and 17 the same account is repeated, in some more detail, explaining the causes, symptoms, and troubles of each of the five kinds of tumour.

With regard to the latter more detailed account, it is especially apparent that it is based on Charaka's detailed account of the tumours in his pathological chapter. And I may here add the curious fact that this more detailed account (vv. 7–15 and 17) is a verbatim copy of the account of the tumours in Mādhava's great pathological work, known as the Nidāna, where it is found in chapter xxviii, verses 6–11, and 12b (MN., pp. 174–6).

The improbability of Charaka having written these introductory seventeen verses appears to me obvious. It seems almost impossible that Charaka should have gone to the trouble of versifying the substance of his own pathological chapter, and prefixing it to his therapeutie chapter, where it is quite out of place. It is far more probable that this was done by the uncritical revisor and compiler Dṛjhabala. There can be little doubt that the real author of the latter portion of the introduction (vv. 7–15, 17) is Mādhava, who versified the substance of Charaka's pathological chapter for his own pathology (Nidāna); and from him Dṛjhabala, the compiler, copied it. The earlier portion (vv. 1–6, 16) also is, in all
probability, a copy, though for the present I am not able to name its source. It might, of course, have been written by Drīḍhabala himself, but as he is essentially a mere compiler, that is not very probable.

Verses 18–61 are therapeutical. They constitute the essential portion of Charaka's chapter on the treatment of internal tumours. In verse 18 Charaka explains that he is now going to describe what is the proper course of treating a tumour in its various stages, and that having done so he will recommend a number of formulæ appropriate to each stage. In verse 62a, having finished the description of the course of treatment, he repeats the statement that he will now proceed to enumerate the formulæ which are suitable to its several stages. It is plain, therefore, that in verses 18–61 Charaka professes to have covered the whole ground of the therapeutics of tumours. The details are as follows: In verses 18–30 he gives general directions as to the internal treatment of air-tumours with lubricants,1 decoctions, enemas, and sudorifics. He is particularly careful to explain two points; first, that the treatment must be adapted to the three localities in which tumours occur, viz., the upper or epigastric region of the abdomen (ārdhva-nābhi), the middle, or umbilical region (pakv-āśaya), and the lower or hypogastric region (jathāra); and, secondly, that though always on the guard against complications with the other two humours (bile and phlegm), attention must in the main, and at all times, be directed to the rectification of the air-tumour on account of its being the basic cause of all tumours. Next, in verses 31–42, Charaka goes on to describe how bile-complications are to be treated. This is done by means of milk-clysters and purgatives; if necessary, by bleeding; and ultimately, if all other remedies fail, by surgical

1 Lubricant, in the original, is sneha, or oleaginous preparation, especially medicated oil or clarified butter, to be taken internally (sneha-pāna).
operation of the tumour when mature. In connection therewith, he describes the signs by which a mature may be distinguished from an immature tumour. Directions are also given for a suitable dietary. In verses 43–6α, Charaka turns to the treatment of a deep-seated tumour. Such a tumour, apparently, is not to be treated surgically, but only by means of lubricants and purgatives, till it disperses of its own accord. In verses 46β–61β, Charaka proceeds to describe the treatment of a phlegm-complication by means of fasting, emetics, sudorifics, purgatives, and clysters, together with attention to a suitable diet. If these remedies prove ineffectual, the surgeon is to be called in to apply potential or even actual cauterity, and ultimately the knife. Finally, in verse 61c, Charaka directs that in the case of a concurrence of disorders of all three humours, a suitable combination of all the before-mentioned remedies must be resorted to.

Respecting the last point, it may be noted that this is all that Charaka says about the concurrence-tumour. As he had previously (in the pathological chapter) declared that that kind of tumour was incurable, he does not trouble about describing it in detail, but contents himself with indicating a method of alleviating it. There is another point I may note at once in passing; it will be discussed more in detail in the sequel. Charaka makes no mention whatsoever of the blood-tumour of women. The only tumours which he notices in the course of his therapeutic exposition are the air-tumour, the tumours due to the complication of two humours (air and bile, air and phlegm), and the tumours due to all three humours concurrently. Besides these three (or four) kinds of humoral tumours, he knows no other.¹

¹ The scheme of Charaka is essentially one of three kinds, viz., tumours of one humour, of two humours combined, and of three humours combined. But the second kind admits of two varieties, viz., air plus bile, and air plus phlegm. Hence, in a sense, the scheme may be said to be one of four kinds. The scheme of Suśruta the younger (see p. 1022)
Having described the proper method of treatment of tumours, Charaka proceeds to the pharmaceutic portion (vv. 62–164) of his therapeutic chapter, in which he gives a list of formulae for preparing the various kinds of remedies which he had recommended in the course of that description. The list divides itself into three sections, which are marked off from one another by a few words of general advice regarding digestion. The details are as follows:—In verses 62–107 Charaka enumerates a number

is one of five kinds, viz., tumours of the air, bile, and phlegm humours (each singly), of the three humours combined, and of the blood. But the bile and phlegm tumours of Suśruta, though either of them seemingly of a single humour, are really identical with the air-bile and air-phlegm tumours of Charaka. Vāghbhāṣṭa I, in his Astāṅga Sangrahā (vol. i, p. 288, ll. 8, 9), propounds a theory of eight kinds, viz., three tumours of a single humour (air, bile, phlegm), three tumours of a couple of humours (air-bile, air-phlegm, and bile-phlegm), one tumour of all three humours combined (air-bile-phlegm), and one blood-tumour. This, however, is mere scholastic trifling, and is practically admitted to be such by Vāghbhāṣṭa himself; for in his subsequent description of the several kinds of gulma he speaks only of the five kinds of Suśruta’s scheme, but ignores entirely his own additional three (bile, phlegm, and bile-phlegm) as unrealities. The eightfold division of Vāghbhāṣṭa I is adopted by Vāghbhāṣṭa II in his Astāṅga Hṛdaya (vol. i, p. 784, v. 32). Mādhava, in his Nidāna (p. 172, v. 1) adopts the fivefold division of Suśruta; and he is followed by Dridhabala, who foists that division into Charaka’s account of gulma (ante, p. 1003). Instead of §§ 1–3 of the existing redaction, the original text of Charaka may be suggested to have been something as follows:—Tha khalu traya gulmā bhavanti | tad-yathā vatta-gulmah samśrīga-gulmo nicaya-gulmah. || And combining this with Suśruta’s scheme, above-mentioned, Vāghbhāṣṭa I writes (AS., p. 288, ll. 86, 9): Gulmo ‘ṭadhā prthag-dosaiḥ samśrītair z nicayaṁ-pataiḥ ārvavasya ca doṣena nāriṇāṁ jāyate ‘gulmah. || The scheme, found in the Bower MS., is the fivefold one of Suśruta II. Thus five gulma are mentioned in part ii, vv. 237 and 256, and the blood-tumour in part ii, v. 361. This places the date of the treatise in the Bower MS. after Suśruta II. In this connection the scheme of the Hārīta Samāhitā is noteworthy. It includes five gulma; but the blood-tumour is not among them. It is based on the principle of locality: of these localities there are five, hṛd, kūkṣi, nābhi, vasti, and maddha, and in them respectively there are five gulma, viz., yakṣī (liver), aṣṭāṅgikā, grānthi, candā-vedākhi (hernia?), and plīhan (spleen). This scheme appears to include diseases to which the term gulma as used by Charaka and Suśruta does not apply at all.
of formulae for preparing lubricants, purgatives, nutrients, etc., useful in combating an air-tumour. Now come two verses, 108 and 109, of general advice. Verses 110–30 are devoted to a list of formulae useful in bile-complications. After two more verses, 131 and 132, of general advice,

1 It may be noted that the formula in verses 65, 66 (in CS., p. 489), is found also in Suśruta, verses 26, 27 (in SS., p. 805). It is one of the few verbal coincidences between the textbooks of Suśruta and Charaka, and may be due to copying either from one another or from a common source—a point still waiting for exact investigation. Verses 108a and 132a are quoted verbatim in AS., vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 18, 19, by Vāgbhaṭa I, who explicitly indicates them as a quotation by the prefixed phrase, bhavati et altra.—Some verses in the Jiv. ed. of 1896 are altogether spurious, being due neither to Charaka nor Śrīdhābala. To these belong v. 64a, on p. 488, which cannot be genuine for several reasons: (1) the satpala formula, for which the verse refers the reader to the rāja-yākyaman chapter, as a fact occurs in the gulma chapter itself, at p. 495, in verses 143, 144, though with the name pańcakola; (2) the satpala of the rāja-yākyaman chapter occurs on p. 531, where, however, there is nothing to identify it as the satpala; (3) the rāja-yākyaman chapter, coming after the gulma chapter, the reference on p. 488 would be a reference forward to p. 531, instead of backward; (4) the verse is not found in the old Nepal MS. (fl. 2436), nor in any of the other MSS. accessible to me (Ind. Off. 335, fl. 279b; Ind. Off. 339, fl. 21a; Tāb. 450, fl. 424a; Tāb. 459, fl. 53a; Decc. 925, fl. 226a), nor in any edition, except Jiv., 1896, and Avinās Chandra. The interpolation is clearly based on a remark in AS., vol. ii, p. 89, l. 14, where the reader is referred to the rāja-yākyaman chapter for the satpala formula. There the remark is justified, for in AS. the rāja-yākyaman chapter comes before the gulma chapter, and the reference, therefore, is backward, from p. 89 to p. 38, where the satpala formula is given with that very name. Moreover, AS. does not give the pańcakola formula in its chapter on gulma. In fact, verse 64a is a very stupid and apparently modern interpolation. Also verses 82–6, on p. 490, are in all probability not genuine. They are, it is true, found in some MSS. (e.g., Ind. Off. 359, fl. 224a; Tāb. 458, fl. 425a), and are admitted in the editions of Gangādhar, the two Sen, and Abinās Chandra. But they are omitted in some of the oldest and best MSS. (e.g., old Nepal MS., fl. 244a; Ind. Off. 335, fl. 280b; Tāb. 459, fl. 54a; Decc. 925, fl. 226b; also in Jiv., 1st ed., 1877, p. 515), as well as by Chakrapāṇidatta, who, in his Cikitsā Samgraha (p. 339), quotes the whole passage, verses 81–91, but omits verses 82–6. His commentator, Śiva Dāsa, however, refers to them, so that we may conclude that he had them in his text of Charaka, while they were wanting in the text used by Chakrapāṇidatta. Seeing that they are substantially identical with verses 75–80, the balance of probability is for their being spurious, though a comparatively early interpolation.
come verses 133–64 giving formulæ for the treatment of phlegm-complications.

This concludes the promised list of formulæ, and according to Charaka's own statement, above referred to (p. 1008), one would expect his therapeutic chapter to close here. But instead of closing, it proceeds to add two small paragraphs, one of which, comprising verses 165–7, gives a description of certain incurable tumours due to concurrent disorders of all three tumours; while the other, comprising 168–71a, gives directions respecting the treatment of blood-tumours. These two paragraphs clearly constitute an appendix to the therapeutic chapter; but that the appendix cannot have proceeded from Charaka seems obvious enough from its character. For, as regards the first paragraph, it is quite out of place where it stands. Being pathological, its proper place would be at the end of Charaka’s pathological chapter, in § 19, where Charaka refers to the incurable tumours (see p. 1004). As a matter of fact, that paragraph does occur verbatim in that very place in Mādhava’s Pathology (Nidāna, p. 177). For there it stands at the end of the chapter on gulma, which is its proper place. There can be no reasonable doubt that Drīḍhabala quoted it from Mādhava, because, as he noticed quite correctly, the pathological chapter of Charaka omitted to give a detailed description of the incurable concurrence-tumour. But, uncritically enough, he added it as an appendix to the therapeutic instead of the pathological chapter. As to the second paragraph on the blood-tumour (vv. 168–78a), it reproduces in a versified form the prose statement of Vāgbhaṭa I in his Aṣṭāṅga Saṁhitā (ch. xvi, vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8–17). Charaka’s genuine exposition (vv. 18–92a), as has been previously (p. 1009) pointed out, makes no mention at all of the blood-tumour. It suggests itself that Drīḍhabala, noticing the omission, supplied it from Vāgbhaṭa I’s work. In this case, he could not so well
draw on Mādhava’s therapeutic Siddhayoga; for that work (ch. xxx, vv. 36–9, pp. 268–9) contains but a bare mention of the blood-tumour.\footnote{It may be added that Vāgbhata II, in his Aṣṭāṅga Hrdaya (ch. xiv, vv. 19, 122–9), again quotes Dṛḍhabala’s verses in a slightly modified form. The prose statement of Vāgbhata I appears to be based in part on Suśruta’s verses (SS., Utt. Skh. xlii, vv. 119, 120, p. 805).}

Following upon the appendix, the therapeutic chapter winds up, in verses 178bc–84, with a summary of its contents. That this summary, in the form in which we now have it, cannot be the work of Charaka, is shown by the circumstance that it contains, in verses 182b–4, a reference to the matters mentioned in the introduction and appendix, neither of which can be compositions of Charaka.

Before proceeding farther, I must revert to a passage of the concluding division of the pharmaceutic portion, which appears to me to exhibit distinct marks of being an interpolation of Dṛḍhabala. The passage comprises verses 133b–6. These verses give directions as to the method of cupping a phlegm-tumour patient. It seems very doubtful whether the process of cupping was included in Charaka’s scheme of treating a phlegm-tumour. Referring to that scheme in the earlier portion of the therapeutic chapter, we find Charaka directing, in verses 49–51, that the patient should be made to vomit and to sweat, and when this had the effect of relaxing the rigidity of the tumour, the patient should be given lubricants, enemas, and purgatives prepared with the so-called daśa-mūla (or ten-roots) drugs. There is here no recommendation to bleed the patient by cupping. If we now turn to the pharmaceutic portion of Charaka’s therapeutic chapter we find in verse 133a a direction to cause vomiting, in verse 137a a formula how to sweat the patient, and in verse 138 a formula for the preparation of the daśa-mūla purgative. All this agrees with Charaka’s earlier directions. And when we now find between verses 133a and 137a interpolated a direction
for cupping (vv. 133b–6), and further find that precisely the same direction, in the same connection, is given in the Aṣṭāṅga Sāmañgraha (vol. ii, from p. 93, l. 25, to p. 94, l. 5), it seems impossible to refuse the conclusion that the verses in question are an interpolation by Drīḍhabala on the basis of the AS. remarks. With regard to the latter, it is to be noted that they omit all details of the operation, but refer for them to a previous chapter on yantra-śastra-vidhi, or "the employment of instruments" (38th of the Sūtra Sthāna, vol. i, p. 169, ll. 15, 16). But as the Caraka Samhitā does not contain a similar chapter on instruments, and hence the interpolator could not avail of a reference to it, he was compelled to give, and does give, the details of the operation in the gulma chapter itself. Another point which is in favour of these verses being an interpolation of Drīḍhabala is the fact that throughout his directions for treating tumours the genuine Charaka never enters into the details of operative methods, but at once recommends to have recourse to the surgeon, whose business, he says, it is to intervene operatively (see vv. 42 and 61). Lastly, it is to be observed that Mādhava, who closely follows Charaka in his therapeutic treatise Siddhayoga, entirely ignores the use of cupping.

In the course of the foregoing analysis I took occasion to point out that it contains constructive evidence of Drīḍhabala's interference with Charaka's original text. I shall now adduce some direct evidence in corroboration. It occurs in the pharmaceutic portion (vv. 62b–164) of the therapeutic chapter. In that portion the Siddhi Sthāna (or eighth section of the Caraka Samhitā), which is admittedly the composition of Drīḍhabala, is thrice referred to by name. It is first named in verses 98 and 99. In verse 95 Charaka had been speaking of sudorifics (sveda), and he had referred to the fourteenth chapter (called sveda-vidhi, or "the employment of sudorifics") of his first section (or Sūtra Sthāna) for further information on the subject. He
had next referred, in verses 96 and 97, to the importance of elysters (vasti, nirūha) in the treatment of tumours, but had omitted to give any particular formula for preparing them. It was evidently for the purpose of repairing this omission that Dṛḍhābala inserted the two verses 98 and 99. They run as follows:— "Various approved elysters for curing tumours are given in the Siddhi Sthāna; also medicated oils for the same purpose will be found in the chapter on vātaroga (i.e. rheumatic and nervous diseases). These oils, administered as drinks, or unguents, or elysters, are very effective in the case of air-tumours, for oil is the subduer of the air-humour." Of the Siddhi Sthāna we know that Dṛḍhābala himself claims to be the author (CS. vi, 28, vv. 273–5, p. 827); and the reference is to the third chapter (vasti-sātriya siddhi) of that Sthāna which treats of the preparation of elysters. The chapter on vātaroga (or, as it is more commonly called, vāta-vyādhī) is the twenty-sixth (or, according to the other reckoning, twenty-eighth) chapter of the Therapeutic Section (Cikitsita Sthāna), and, from the way in which it is mentioned in connection with the Siddhi Sthāna, it may rightly be concluded that Dṛḍhābala indicates himself as its author.

The second reference to the Siddhi Sthāna occurs in verse 128b. In verse 127 Charaka had recommended to sufferers from bile-tumours certain medicated oils as unguents; and in verse 128a he added a milk elyster (kṣīra-vasti), medicated with bitter drugs. The latter, he indicated, was to be found in the first (or third) chapter of his Therapeutic Section (Cikitsita Sthāna), where he described the treatment of bilious fevers (pitta-jvara). To this Dṛḍhābala added the following half-verse (v. 128b):

"Also those elysters which will be found in (the third chapter of) the Siddhi Sthāna are useful to patients from bile-tumours."

The third reference occurs in verses 157 and 159. In the former verse Dṛḍhābala says that "Approved formulē
for enemas (nirūha) will be found in the Siddhi Sthāna; also approved formulæ for the preparation of medicated liquors in the chapters on the treatment of grahanī, or diarrhoea, and of arṣus, or hæmorrhoids.” And after a remark of Charaka, in verse 158, that the powders, pills, and caustics (ksāra), appointed for air-tumour patients, may be used also for phlegm-tumour patients, if prepared with double the quantity of drugs, Drīḍhabala, with the object of particularising the caustics, explains, in verse 159, that “The caustics, here meant for phlegm-tumour patients, are those described, as approved and unattended by risk, in the chapter on grahanī, or diarrhoea.” The chapter on grahanī is the seventeenth (or nineteenth) of the Therapeuetic Section (Cikitsita Sthāna), and here again, as in the previously-mentioned chapter on vātaroga, the association of the chapter on grahanī with the Siddhi Sthāna suggests an indication by Drīḍhabala of his own authorship.

The inference with respect to Drīḍhabala’s authorship of the two chapters on vātaroga and grahanī receives support from the Indian medical tradition. Both traditional serial orders (ante, p. 1000) allot the two chapters to Drīḍhabala. Moreover, they are specifically attributed to him by the commentators Vijaya Rakshita and Aruṇadatta, in the first half of the thirteenth century. The former, in his Madhukara commentary on Mādhava’s Nidāna (Jiv. ed., pp. 147, 152), expressly ascribes the vātaroga chapter to Drīḍhabala; and the latter, in his commentary on the Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya (Śārīra Sth., iii, vv. 62b, 63a, p. 571) does the same with regard to the grahanī chapter. Of course, this need be no independent testimony, for the two commentators may have had for the ascription no other ground than the inference now under discussion; but even if this be so, the agreement shows the obviousness of the inference which suggests itself so naturally to independent investigators.

But this leads a step further. There is good reason
(see my “Osteology,” p. 14) for believing that Vāgbhaṭā II, when he wrote his Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya, was acquainted with Dṛḍhabala’s edition of the Caraka Samhitā. In his chapter on the treatment of gūlma (AH. iii, 14, p. 249 ff.) he refers to Dṛḍhabala’s interpolation in the following terms (ibid., vv. 99 and 102a, p. 265): “For the purpose of curing tumours let the physician administer the enemas (vīrūha) described in the Kalpa-siddhi Sthāna,” and “in a phlegm-complication the caustics (kṣāra) should be administered which are mentioned in the chapters on the treatment of arśas, or hæmorrhoids, aśmari, or gravel, and grahanī, or diarrhoea.” Here we see that Vāgbhaṭā II, while quoting Dṛḍhabala, enlarges the list of chapters by the addition of aśmari. The treatment of aśmari is included in the chapter on the treatment of what is called Trimarmiya (or Three Vitals). That chapter is the twenty-fourth (or twenty-sixth) of the Therapeutic Section (Cīkitsita Sthāna) of Charaka’s Compendium, and is uniformly attributed to Dṛḍhabala by the Indian tradition, e.g. in the two traditional serial orders (p. 1000), by the commentator Vijaya Rakshita (in his Madhukosa, pp. 179, 180, 186) and by Bhaṭṭotpala (in his commentary on the Bhṛat Samhitā, liii, 39–41, Sudhakar ed., p. 661). It can hardly be doubtful, therefore, that the same attribution was intended by Vāgbhaṭā II (ninth century); but if so, it follows, as a natural conclusion, that in his opinion the chapter on arśas, which is so significantly associated with those on aśmari and grahanī, was also the composition of Dṛḍhabala. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, as we have seen, Dṛḍhabala himself, in verse 157, associates the chapter on arśas with that on grahanī, and both these chapters with the Siddhi Sthāna, which certainly was his own composition. Dṛḍhabala, therefore, clearly appears to indicate himself as the author of all three portions of the Caraka Samhitā. Now the chapter on arśas forms one of the crucial points
of the whole difficulty. For, as will be seen by reference to the Table on p. 1000, the chapter on arṣas is ascribed by one of the two traditional serial orders to Charaka, while the other attributes it to Dṛḍhabala. The latter is that adopted by Gangādhar in his Berhampur edition, and if the inferences above drawn from Dṛḍhabala's own statements, as well as from those of the commentators, are admitted to be correct, it follows that that serial order, in fact, is the true one. And this conclusion, in its turn, practically decides the whole difficulty about the identity of the seventeen chapters which Dṛḍhabala contributed to the Cikitsita Sthāna. The main point which makes one feel not quite satisfied with the solution is the testimony of the great commentator Chakrapāṇidatta (c. 1060 A.D.), who adopts the rival serial order. Until this point has been satisfactorily cleared up, perhaps it may be better to allow the authorship of the ten chapters, numbered 7–10 in the Table of the two Serial Orders, to remain an open question.

I may, however, briefly mention another piece of evidence in favour of the serial order in question, viz. that in column ii of the Table. According to it the two chapters on unmāda and apasmāra take their places (Nos. 7 and 8) immediately after the sixth chapter on yakṣman. In the Nidāna Sthāna, which is admittedly the composition of Charaka, they have precisely the same position, while in the rival serial order (col. i of the Table) they stand in a very different place (Nos. 12 and 13), separated from the sixth by five intermediate chapters. The six initial chapters, from jvara down to yakṣman, are, in both serial orders alike, attributed to Charaka; and it may reasonably be argued that, if Charaka wrote any more chapters, he would keep to his own order, exhibited in the Nidāna Sthāna, and after finishing with yakṣman, would go on to the treatment of unmāda and apasmāra, instead of writing five chapters on subjects
not touched on at all in his *Nidāna.* As the therapeutic order in column ii exactly agrees with the pathological order in Charaka's *Nidāna*, it seems only reasonable to hold that the order shown in that column is the true one.

But to return to our previous discussion, I have shown (p. 1012) that there is good reason to attribute to Drīḍhabala the Appendix to the therapeutic chapter on *gulma*, which deals with the incurable tumour and the blood-tumour. Respecting the latter tumour, I may now add a further unexceptionable proof of the authorship of Drīḍhabala. In verse 174 reference is made to a clyster called *daśa-mūlika*, or 'prepared with the set of ten roots.' The formula for preparing this clyster is found in the third chapter of the *Siddhi Sthāna*, verses 59 and 60 (CS. viii, 3, p. 880), where it is named *dvi-paṇca-mūlika*, or 'prepared with the set of twice-five roots.' Drīḍhabala's account of the blood-tumour, as has been already observed, is, in the main, a versification of the prose account by Vāgbhaṭa I in his *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha* (AS., vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8–17). In the latter work, the *daśa-mūlika* is also referred to (ibid., l. 14), and the formula for preparing it is given (in prose, but versified by Drīḍhabala) in the fifth chapter of its *Kalpa Sthāna* (AS., v, 5, vol. ii, p. 154, ll. 18–21), also under the name of *dvi-paṇca-mūlika*. Both circumstances, the close agreement with Vāgbhaṭa I, and the reference to the *Siddhi Sthāna*, prove unequivocally that the account of the blood-tumour cannot come from Charaka, but has been added by Drīḍhabala on the basis of the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I.

1 There can be no doubt that the *Nidāna Sthāna*, equally with the *Cikitsita Sthāna*, was left incomplete by Charaka; but whatever chapters they contained would be expected to have run in the same order.

2 The *Kalpa Sthāna* of Vāgbhaṭa I corresponds to the *Siddhi Sthāna* of Drīḍhabala. In the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II, it is called *Kalpa Sthāna*, or *Kalpa-Siddhi Sthāna* (AH. i, 1, v. 43; iv, 14, v. 99b, in vol. i, p. 30; ii, p. 265), the latter term witnessing to Vāgbhaṭa II's acquaintance with Drīḍhabala's edition of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*.

I have already (p. 1007) referred to the extreme improbability of the introductory portion of the therapeutic chapter (vv. 1–17) having been written by Charaka. It is concerned with the pathology of the gulma diseases, and recapitulates in verse the whole of the contents of the prose chapter on that subject which is actually contained in the Nidāna Sthāna, or Pathological Section of Charaka's Compendium. It is incredible that Charaka should have stultified himself by repeating his own pathological remarks as an introduction to his therapeutical teaching. But there exists some more definite proof in support of this contention. The portion in question contains statements with respect to the situation and number of the tumours which are irreconcilable with admitted doctrines of Charaka. Thus, after recommending lubricants (snēha) and clysters (vasti) as remedies for tumours, Charaka, in verse 22, explains that "lubricants should be used when the tumour is situated in the upper region of the abdomen (ūrdhva-nābhi, lit. above the navel); clysters, when it occurs in its lower region (pākv-āśaya, lit. seat of ripe digestion); and both, when it is found in the middle region (jathara, belly, bowels)." As these three regions include the whole of the abdomen, which is the seat of the gulma diseases, it is obvious that Charaka recognizes only three localities for a tumour. On the other hand, the introduction, in verse 6, distinctly enumerates five localities. It states explicitly that "tumours occur in five situations (paṃca sthānāni), the pubic (vasti), the umbilical (nābhi), the cardiac (hrd), and the two lateral (parsve) regions of the abdomen." This fivefold division, which likewise includes the whole of the abdomen, is incompatible with the threefold division. It cannot well be held that Charaka taught both schemes of division, one in the introduction, and another conflicting with it in the body of the therapeutic chapter. The fact is that the fivefold division is the doctrine of Suśruta; that is
to say, of Suśruta the younger, who wrote the Complementary Treatise (*Uttara-Tantra*) of the Compendium that goes by the name of Suśruta. It is taught explicitly in the forty-second chapter of that Treatise, in verse 3a (SS., p. 803): "The five seats of a tumour in men are the two lateral (*pārśve*), the cardiac (*hrd*), the umbilical (*nābhi*), and the pelvic (*vasti*) regions."¹ From Suśruta that doctrine was definitely adopted in nearly all subsequent medical books in supersession of the earlier threefold division of Ātreya, handed down by Charaka. Thus Vāgbhaṭa the elder teaches the fivefold division, both in the Pathological (AS., *Nidāna Sthāna*, ch. xi, vol. i, p. 288, l. 22) and Therapeutic Sections (AS., *Cikitsita Sthāna*, ch. xvi, vol. ii, p. 90, ll. 16, 17) of his textbook *Āstāṅga Samgraha*. So also Mādhava, in his *Nidāna*, ch. xxviii, verse 1 (MN., p. 172). From Vāgbhaṭa I and Mādhava, who were among the chief sources of Drīḍhabalā, the latter adopted the fivefold division, and introduced it into Charaka’s account of *gulma*, both the pathological (CS., *Nidāna*, § 5, p. 211) and therapeutic (*Cikitsita*, introd., v. 6a, p. 484), heedless of the fact that the therapeutic directions of Charaka (ibid., v. 22, p. 485) were based on the threefold division. Vāgbhaṭa the younger followed the inadvertent lead of Drīḍhabalā. In the *Nidāna Sthāna* of his Compendium *Āstāṅga Samgraha*, ch. xi, verse 40b (AH., vol. i, p. 786), he teaches the fivefold division of Suśruta, but in the *Cikitsita Sthāna*, ch. xiv, verse 4 (AH., vol. ii, p. 249) he quotes the threefold division *verbátim* from Charaka. The latter case deserves notice, because of the different and more consistent way in which Vāgbhaṭa the elder deals with it. The passage in question is that above referred to, Charaka’s verse 22. When Vāgbhaṭa I comes to deal with it in his therapeutic

¹ This is practically the same as the modern division of the abdomen, as shown, e.g., in the diagram on p. 733 of Dr. Gerrish’s *Textbook of Anatomy* (2nd ed.).
chapter, he does not quote it, but alters it so as to suit the fivefold division which he had adopted. He says (AS., Cik., ch. xvi, vol. ii, p. 90, ll. 16, 17): "lubricants should be used when the tumour is situated in the cardiac region (hṛdaya); elysters, when it is in the pelvic region (vasti); and both, when it is in the umbilical (nābhi) and lateral (pārśe) regions." This shows that Vāgbhata I had realised the inconsistency of the threefold division being retained by an expositor who held the fivefold division. Neither of the two subsequent expositors, Driḍhabala and Vāgbhata II, were heedful of it. The action of Driḍhabala in introducing in this heedless way the fivefold division into the therapeutic chapter of Charaka is of no little importance, because it furnishes us with one of the clearest evidences of Driḍhabala having interfered with the original text of the pathological chapter of Charaka. As shown previously (p. 1003), paragraph 5 of that chapter, as it now stands, states that tumours may grow up in five places in the abdomen, viz., the cardiac, umbilical, pelvic, and two lateral regions. This is the well-known fivefold division of Suśruta. It cannot have stood in the text as written by Charaka. There it must have been the threefold division into the cardiac, umbilical, and pelvic divisions.¹

The question of the number of localities in which the gulma disease is said to be met with is, to some extent, complicated with the number of their kinds. In close, though not essential, connection with the doctrine of the five localities of tumours (see ante, p. 1021), Suśruta the younger also ascribes to them five varieties.² In chapter 42, verses 5b and 6a (SS., p. 803), he explains that

¹ The existing text is hṛdi vastuṇ pārśeṣu v-bhāṣā vā sa (gulmaḥ) tālam-pajjanaṇayati. The original text probably was jathāre tapaṣāyage udhaṇa-nābhayā vā, etc.

² The equalization of the number is probably only due to the Indian scholastic love of symmetry.
"tumours may arise, in people generally, from disorders in
the humours, acting either singly, or concurrently; and in
women especially, a further kind of tumour may arise from
disorder in their menstrual blood." And then he goes on
(in vv. 8–12) to describe in detail the following five kinds
of tumours, namely, those due—(1) to disordered air,
(2) disordered bile, (3) disordered phlegm, (4) concurrent
disorder of all three humours, and (5) disordered blood.
Now, as previously (p. 1009) pointed out, Charaka in his
therapeutic chapter knows, and describes only three kinds
of tumours, viz., (1) those due to one disordered humour
(air), (2) those due to two disordered humours in complica-
tion (air-bile and air-phlegm), and (3) those due to the
concurrent disorder of all three humours (air, bile, phlegm).
And it is in agreement (whether essential or not) with this
doctrine of three kinds of tumours that, as noticed on
p. 1020, Charaka also teaches a triad of positions in which
a tumour may occur. It follows, therefore, that when
Charaka is made to teach a pentad of tumours (in v. 6a),
and, conformably thereto, the existence of a blood-tumour
(vv. 168–77a), the discrepancy is due, not to Charaka,
but to his uncritical revisor and interpolator, Dr̄iḍhhabala.
Moreover, as Charaka is represented as teaching this
discrepant doctrine, both in his therapeutic and pathological
chapters, this fact proves that both chapters have suffered
from the revising labours of Dr̄iḍhhabala. As to the
therapeutic chapter, we have seen (p. 1012) that the doctrine
of the blood-tumour is taught in an appendix (vv. 168–77a).
The very fact that it occurs in an appendix, and the
further incongruous fact that though a pathological matter,
it is appended to a therapeutic chapter (two matters, which
the genuine Charaka always keeps separate), prove, with
as much cogency as the circumstances admit, that Charaka
cannot be the author of the appendix, but that Dr̄iḍhhabala
must have written it. Similarly, all those portions of the
existing pathological chapter, which teach the un-Charakiyan
doctrines of a pentad of tumours, and a blood-tumour, cannot be genuine compositions of Charaka, but must be either modifications or entirely new additions made by Drīḍhabala. These portions are, (1) the three initial paragraphs, for §§ 1 and 2 mention the pentad of tumours, and § 3, as previously observed (p. 1004), not only duplicates the genuine summary in § 22, but enumerates the items in a false order; and (2) the five paragraphs 12–16, for they set out in detail the doctrine of the blood-tumour. For the sake of completing the enumeration of the spurious accessions to the pathological chapter, I may here add, (3) the passage, already noted (pp. 1003 and 1022) in § 5, which mentions the pentad of positions of a tumour, and (4) §§ 20 and 21, because (see p. 1005) they are verbatim quotations from Vāgbhaṭa the elder’s Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha and Mādhava’s Siddhayoga respectively, and because they exhibit the incongruity of appending therapeutic matters to a pathological chapter.

Regarding the description of the blood-tumour in §§ 12–16 of the pathological chapter, the manner in which it is done affords a further curious evidence of the authorship of Drīḍhabala. As previously observed (pp. 1005, 1012), one of the main sources of Drīḍhabala in his revisionary and complementary activity was the Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha of Vāgbhaṭa the elder. Comparing the pathological (Nidāna) chapters of that work and of the Caraka Saṁhitā we find their relation to be as follows (see Table I on p. 1028). Corresponding to §§ 1–3 in Charaka, which I have already attributed to Drīḍhabala, there is nothing in the Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha. Corresponding to §§ 4–11, which contain Charaka’s description of the humoral tumours, there is Vāgbhaṭa I’s description (AS., vol. i, from p. 288, l. 10, to p. 289, l. 13), which closely, but by no means slavishly, follows the description of Charaka. On the other hand, §§ 12–16, which contain Charaka’s description of the blood-tumour, agree, in §§ 12–14, almost verbatim, with the
corresponding description in the *Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha* (vol. i, p. 289, ll. 14–22). Corresponding to §§ 17–19 in Charaka, there is nothing in Vāgbhaṭa I; but § 20 in Charaka is quoted verbatim from the opening lines of Vāgbhaṭa I's therapeutic (Cikitsita) chapter (vol. ii, p. 89, ll. 8–11), while § 21 in Charaka is quoted verbatim from the commencement of the therapeutic chapter of Mādhava's *Siddhayoga* (MS., v. 2, on p. 261). Corresponding to § 22, which contains the single summing-up verse of Charaka, there is nothing in the *Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha*, which contains an altogether different series of concluding verses, partly based on Suśruta.¹ This summary comparison discloses a curious state of things, especially in the large descriptive portion of the chapters. The almost verbal agreement of the description of the blood-tumour in §§ 12–14, may be seen from the subjoined parallel columns, the identical passages being shown in italics:

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**Caraka Samhitā.**

*Sonaṇa-pulmas = tu khalu striya eva bhavati, na paruṣasya | garbhakoṣṭh-ārtav-āyamana-vaiśeṣyaḥ | 12|| Pāratantryād = avaiśāradyāt satatam = apacār = ānurodhāḥ = vegān = udīrṇān = uparundhantyā āmagarbhe v = āpi acirāt = patite tath = āpy = acira-prayāṭyāt rtau vā viṭa-prakopāṇāyā = āsenaṁānāyā viṭaḥ prakopaṁ = āpadyate***

**Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha.**

*Rakta-pulmas tu | garbhakoṣṭh-ārtav-opayamana-vaiśeṣyaḥ | 12 || Pāratantryād = avaiśāradyād = apacār = ānurodhāḥ = ca striya eva bhavati | tatra yadā sā rtumati nava-prasutā yoni-rogini vā viṭa-lānyā = āsevate tadā asya vāgyaḥ kupito yonyaḥ mukham = anupravīṣy = ārtavam = uparunaddhi māsi māsi tad = ārtavam = uparudhyamānam kūṣim = abhivardhayati***

---

Clearly, there must have been copying on one side or the other, but considering all the evidence that has been

¹ And, I may add, partly quoted by the later Nidāna of Mādhava (AS., vol. i, p. 296, ll. 8, 9=MN., p. 174, v. 4).
accumulating respecting the peculiar revising methods of Drīḍhabala, the balance of probability inclines towards the copy being on the side of the Caraka Samhitā; that is to say, that Drīḍhabala wrote the account in that Samhitā, copying for the purpose largely from Vāgbhaṭa I. The case seems to stand thus: Vāgbhaṭa I based his description of the humoral tumours on Charaka, and that of the blood-tumour on Suśruta (and, probably, other authorities). Supposing that he had found the blood-tumour described in Charaka, he would have utilized Charaka's description for his own account of that tumour, but he would not have copied it, as little as he copied Charaka's description of the humoral tumours. Rather the fact is that he found the blood-tumour ignored in Charaka, but described in Suśruta (SS., p. 804, v. 12); and so, according to his plan of compiling a Samgraha, or summary of the leading medical opinions of his time, he combined in his own account, in his own way, the doctrines of the two standard medical writers. On the other hand, Drīḍhabala, when he came to revise the pathological chapter of Charaka, noticed, of course, the total omission of the blood-tumour, and as in his time that kind of tumour had become an established item in the medical teaching on gulma, he proceeded to insert it into Charaka's account, largely copying for this purpose from the description which he found in the Astānga Samgraha of Vāgbhaṭa I.

This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the therapeutic chapters in Charaka and Vāgbhaṭa I. The relation of the two works to each other is shown in the subjoined Table II. It will be noticed that there is a difference in the method followed by the two writers. While Charaka keeps the therapeutic portion (vv. 18–61) distinctly separate from the pharmaceutic (vv. 62–164), Vāgbhaṭa I intersperses them. The two accounts, therefore, frequently overlap one another, and it is not possible, in
the Table, to do more than roughly indicate their mutual relation. Moreover, it must be remembered that it is the object of Vāgbhāṣṭa I to present a Summary (Samgraha) of the medical doctrines of his own time. Accordingly the pharmaceutic portion contains also formulæ gathered from Suśruta (e.g., AS. ii, 93, ll. 7–9 = SS., p. 812, v. 103), Kāṅkāyana (e.g., AS. ii, 91, ll. 9b–13a, see C.CS., p. 341), Bheḍa (e.g., AS. ii, 91, ll. 21–5), and perhaps other authorities. On the other hand, Vāgbhāṣṭa I studies brevity by referring the reader to other chapters, where the subject has already been dealt with (e.g., the reference to the chapter on vidradhi, AS. ii, 93, ll. 4, 11). But the main point which I wish to make comes out clearly enough, namely, that Vāgbhāṣṭa’s account of the blood-tumour (AS., vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8b–17) is an addition of his own, based on Suśruta; and that the account of it in Charaka is not an original part of Charaka’s therapeutic chapter, but added on to it as an appendix by the revisor, Driḍhabala. Similarly, the Table shows that the introductory part of the chapter (vv. 1–17), to which there is nothing corresponding in Vāgbhāṣṭa I, is also an addition made by Driḍhabala; made, in fact, as pointed out on p. 1007, from Mādhava’s Nidāna and other, at present, unknown sources.

1 For another similar reference see ante, p. 1014.
Comparative Table I (showing copyings).

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<td>(§ 1.)</td>
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<td>§ 22.</td>
<td>Para. 21.</td>
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<td>v. 157, 159.</td>
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<td>v. 178b-182a.</td>
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Comparative Table II.

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<td>v. 20-28.</td>
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<td>v. 30-42.</td>
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<td>v. 46b-61b.</td>
<td>v. 131, 132.</td>
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<tr>
<td>v. 61c.</td>
<td>v. 133-164.</td>
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1 Brackets indicate modified passages.
2 Verse 64a is certainly, and verses 82-6 possibly, spurious.
3 Verses 98, 99, 128, 157, 159, are interpolated by Drīḍhārāla; also possibly verses 133b-136.
4 These four are connecting verses (see p. 1011), two of which, 108a and 132a, are quoted by Vāgbhaṭa I at the end of his chapter xvi.
XXV.

THE AUFCRECHT COLLECTION.

By F. W. THOMAS.

The annexed catalogue relates to a collection acquired by the India Office Library from the late Professor Aufrecht in the year 1904. The collection consists, as will be seen, partly of Sanskrit MSS., in most cases copied by Professor Aufrecht himself from originals in Europe or India, but including a few copies made, or procured from India, by friends (e.g., Professor Kuhn, Professor Bühler, Professor Kielhorn, and Dr. Stein) or otherwise obtained, and a few originals acquired by gift or purchase; partly of glossaries or word-indices; partly of pratika-indices, i.e., arrangements of initial words, of verses, mantras, or sūtras. In several cases we have the full apparatus of MS., glossary, and pratika-index to the same work. Many of the MSS. are equipped with collations, and miscellaneous notes are appended to a large proportion of them. We may take account also of a few specialities, such as materials for an edition of the Damayantikāvya or Nalacampū (No. 53).

The most striking features of the collection are its mass taken absolutely and its comprehensiveness in relation to the main corpus of the Vedic and the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. It may be doubted whether any literature has ever been studied by a single individual in quite so thorough a manner. For his Oxford catalogue Aufrecht read through the complete text of the works therein described, and his Catalogus Catalogorum demanded in its compilation very much more than a comparison of titles. The present collection
gives us an insight into his manner of working. Of MSS. required for his purpose or his reading generally he was prepared to make copies with his own hand, adding careful collations. He noted the lexicographical features in the works which he read, and compiled glossaries, which not rarely assumed the proportions of *indices verborum*; and he made elaborate provision for tracing verse quotations from even the most voluminous sources. "I have known Aufrecht," wrote Professor Kielhorn, in whom Sanskrit scholarship has recently lost one of its most eminent and respected representatives, "for about 42 years, and I have often sat for hours with him in his library; and every time I have been more and more astonished at the enormous amount of information which he has collected in the numerous MS. books on his shelves. He has read and re-read more Sanskrit works than any other Sanskrit scholar, and has always done so with the pen in his hand. . . . As early as 1862, when I first came to Oxford, Aufrecht had prepared a complete glossary of the Rigveda, which, had it been published, would have rendered M. Müller's and Grassmann's work unnecessary. And so it will be with many other texts which he has indexed during an unusually long and laborious life."

The glossary mentioned by Professor Kielhorn appears as No. 1 in this collection: Grassmann refers to it in his Preface. The similar glossary to the Atharva-Veda (No. 6) is mentioned in a letter from Muir published in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for 1867 (p. xxviii; see also, as regards the Rg-Veda, p. lxxxvi, 1870), whereas Whitney's Index appeared in 1880. There are other cases also where Aufrecht's unpublished glossaries or *pratika*-indices have been anticipated—a good instance would be the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Nos. 59, 60). What portion of utility they nevertheless retain must vary from case to case. In any event there remains a great quantity of
material which will be useful in the consultation of particular texts and in the compilation of dictionaries and other books of reference. The pratika-index, in twelve volumes, to the chief poetical and dramatic works I have myself had frequent occasion to consult, with increasing admiration for its comprehensiveness and accuracy. It is not surprising that after parting with his MSS. Aufrecht felt "like a man who has lost wife and children": they were, in fact, underestimated by him as "the outcome of the last 30 years." He was at the time (1904) 84 years of age. In March, 1906, he wrote: "I have now finished the Catalogue of the Munich MSS., and shall send this laborious work to the press in a few days. I am longing to do something for myself, and have chosen the Bhāradvāja Črāutasūtra for my next work." The Munich catalogue, the last of Aufrecht's undertakings which was not "for myself," was, indeed, sent to, and partly seen through, the press; but the edition of the Bhāradvāja Śrāuta Sūtra cannot have been far advanced at the time of his death early in 1907.

The statements regarding editions, originals of MSS., etc., which are given in this list, are for the most part based upon information supplied by Aufrecht himself. Acknowledgment must also be made to Professor Macdonell, who saw the collection in Bonn and made notes regarding many of the volumes. But in not a few cases it has been necessary to elicit the facts from the works themselves, in which process some points have been left uncertain and no doubt some errors overlooked or originated. The list is composed, as will be seen, of two parts, the former giving an account of the collection as it stands in the order of the numbers assigned by Aufrecht, and the second 1 being an index of all the

1 In regard to which I must acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. F. W. Thomas.
works, with a reference to the numbers under which the several MSS., glossaries, or *pratika*-indices may be found.

It is to be hoped that the publication of the list may enable those interested in Sanskrit studies to profit by the results of Aufrecht's heroic labour. His desire that "if scholars make use of my materials, they will acknowledge the service," is one which would hardly fail to be respected.
I. List and Descriptions . . . 1034–1055

II. Index of Titles . . . 1056–1063
## I. — List and Descriptions

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*An asterisk attached to numbers of folios indicates that the writing is on one side only; attached to numbers of pages it indicates that the writing is on alternate pages only.*
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*Where the method of citation is not stated, the customary method, e.g. by sections of the text in the case of Vedas and by verse-numbers in the case of Purāṇas, Epics, Satakas, etc., should be understood.*

I.—List and Descriptions (continued).

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The references to the Vīyu Purāṇa are on separate columns of each page.

Combined Index Verborum. Manu ix-xii occasionally noted.

Procured through Dr. Stein; revised (1895) by Pañḍit Govind Kaul.

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Ancityālaṃkāra.
Kalividambana.
Kavikaṇṭhābharana.
Kādambaraikathāsāra.
Kāmandaki Nitisāra.
Kāvyaprakāśa.
Kāvyādarsa.
Kāvyālaṃkāra by Rudraṭa.
Kirāṭarjunīya.
Kuṭṭinimata.
Kumārasambhava (Sargas i-xvii).

Kuvalayānanda.
Krṣṇakarnāmrta.
Khaṇḍapraśaṭi.
Gītakovinda.
Grhyasangrahapariśiṣṭa by Gobhilaputra.
Candakāṇika.
Candīśataka.
Cāṇakyaśataka.

Jānakiparinayā (Act i).
Dārayantikāvya.
Darpadalana.
Dasarūpa.
Daśavatārakhanda prasāasti.
Dinākrandananastotra.
Dūtāṅgada.
Dhanānjayavijaya.
Dharmaviveka.
Dhvanyāloka.
Nalodaya.
Nāgānanda.
Naiṣadhiya.
Paṇotantra.
Padyāvalī.
Padyāṃrtatarāṅgini.
Pārvatiparinayā.
Puruṣapariksā.
Prasannarāghava.
Priyadarśikā.
Bālabhārata.
Bhaṭṭikāvya.
Bhartṛhari.

Bhāminivilāsa.
Bhāvaśataka.
Bhojaprabandha.
Manu.
Mahānātaka.
Mahābhārata (occasional verses?).
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<td>32 x 16 cm.</td>
<td>fols. 46 + 185 + 1 + 145</td>
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Preceded by one folio of namaskāras. Vajrasahasranāma dated Samvat 1808; Kañkhaṇḍa not dated. MS. purchased from Quritch. Collated with India Office No. 1556 (Eggeling) and Cambridge No. 2403. Pratikas cited by verse numbers.
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<td>Kicakavadha by Nitivarma, with PŚi.</td>
<td>Calcutta (Notices, No. 6151), Durgadatta Sastri</td>
<td>Copy not dated. The author of the PŚi appears to be unnamed. Cargoed with original by Pandit Jvaladatta Prasada's library and later by Pandit Govind Kaul. Sent to Prof. Aufrecht by Dr. Stein.</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22 x 17 cm</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>Latakamela by Śākhalhāra.</td>
<td>MS.</td>
<td>Watermark 1824 (Aufrecht). Presented to Prof. Aufrecht by William Wright. Externally the MS. resembles some of those collected by Leyden.</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23 x 19 cm</td>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>Adhyātmārānāyaṇa.</td>
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<td>Uttarakāmarītī.</td>
<td>Calcutta (1831), Calcutta (1857), Calcutta (1889).</td>
<td>Combined Index Verborum. Anonymously cited (red ink) partly by pages, partly by numbers of acts and verses.</td>
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<td>Anarāhārāghava.</td>
<td>Calcutta (1860), Nīrayānāgara (1885).</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>25 x 20 cm</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>(1) pp. 1-123, Madhārākāsa.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Index Verborum. Citations partly by pages, partly by numbers of acts; followed by a few grammatical notes.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Roman</td>
<td>Vepṣamhāra.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Some grammatical notes at the end.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>The two glossaries are combined.</td>
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<td>Gītāgovindā, iv-xii.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Combined Index Verborum (Pāṇinīcāntātā quoted by pages). A few grammatical notes at end.</td>
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<td>Vāsamālattā.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>The four volumes form the materials for an edition; vol. i containing text with glosses and collations from the Oxford MS.; vol. ii, a list of authorities and notes (pp. 1-9), the text of Ucchvāsī i (pp. 13-161), from the Poona MSS. xii, 30-1, with comparison (pp. 179-92) of MS. xii, 30-1, and the commentary (pp. 196-543) as far as the end of Ucchvāsī ii, probably from Poona xii, 34; vol. iii, the Index Verborum (citations by folios of the MS.).</td>
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<td>Roman</td>
<td>Duvanantikāvya, with commentary by Guṇavānayāgani.</td>
<td>MS. and G.</td>
<td>G.</td>
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<td>Bhojaprabandha by Ballāla.</td>
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<td>pp. 188 + 188 + 82.</td>
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<td>Saduttikarṣyāmṛta by Śrīdharadīsa.</td>
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<td>pp. 135.</td>
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<td>Padyāvallī by Rāpagośvāmin.</td>
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<td>pp. 107.</td>
<td>Nāgarī (text) and Roman (comm.), Padyāmṛtaspāna by his son Jāyānāma.</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<td>pp. 114 + 78.</td>
<td>Roman.</td>
<td>Subhāṣītāvallī (from the “Gurupuddhati”).</td>
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<td>Prof. Aufrecht.</td>
<td>A tracing. The original MS., which contained 62 folios, was accordingly different from that described in Winternitz, Catalogue, pp. 281-8. Received from Rājendra Lāla Mitra; not dated. Collated partially with Oxford No. 329.</td>
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<td>MS. and P.</td>
<td>Poona (iv, 75).</td>
<td>Prof. Aufrecht.</td>
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<td>Bombay (Poona, viii, 146 i).</td>
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<td>i, Prof. Pavolini; ii, Prof. Aufrecht.</td>
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</table>

*Citation by sections and verses, followed by names of authors alphabetically arranged with the verses cited from them, and a classified list of names. The two MSS. denoted by B and C, and containing respectively 177 and 170 folios, are probably Bühler’s Kashmir Report, p. xvi, Nos. 263-4 (see Peterson’s edition, Preface, pp. 1-6). Vol. i contains lists of authors and pratikas arranged alphabetically; vol. ii, pratikas arranged under authors’ names. The numbers of the verses diverge slightly from those in Peterson’s edition. Pratikas cited according to numbers of sections and verses. Copy of MS. formerly in the possession of Prof. Jacobi. pp. 101-35 contain the pratikas (arranged according to verse-numbers), lists of authors, etc. pp. 88-107 contain the pratikas (arranged according to numbers of sections and verses) and list of authors. Vol. ii adds the translations of the verses not recorded in Indische Sprache, also notes and references.*
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<th>(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratikas (P.).</th>
<th>(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.</th>
<th>(9) Name of Copyist of MS.</th>
<th>(10) Remarks.</th>
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<td>66</td>
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<td>22 x 18 cm.</td>
<td>pp. 108.</td>
<td>Roman.</td>
<td>Sāhityadarpana (pp. 1-78).</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica.</td>
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<td>Perhaps some citations (by pages and lines) extend as far as p. 83 of the edition.</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>i, 34 x 21 cm. ii, 29 x 18 cm. iii, 21 x 17 cm.</td>
<td>i, fols. 46. ii, pp. A + 1-92. iii, pp. 93-160.</td>
<td>i, Nāgarī. ii, Nāgarī. iii, Nāgarī (text) and Roman (comm. and indices).</td>
<td>Udbhata-lankāra with commentary by Indurāja (Kaviyalankāralaghu-vṛti).</td>
<td>MS. and P.</td>
<td>i, Poona (vi, 64). ii, iii, India Office (Bühler MS. 115, see col. 10).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vol. 1 received from Professor Kielhorn, probably a copy of Poona vi, 64; vols. ii, iii, copied partly (pp. 1-82, 1-3) from a MS. of Bühler, which is itself perhaps copied from the same, partly from 1. The indices and pratikas (citations by pages) occupy a few pages (143-60) at end.</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22-3 x 18-9 cm.</td>
<td>pp. A + 182.</td>
<td>Nāgarī (text) and Roman(P.).</td>
<td>Kaviyalankāra by Rudraṭa.</td>
<td>MS. and P.</td>
<td>India Office (Bühler MS. No. 130).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Preceded by a few notes (p. A) and followed by index and pratikas (citation by sections and verses).</td>
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<td>29 x 17 cm.</td>
<td>p. 196.</td>
<td>Roman.</td>
<td>(1) pp. 1-67, Alankāra-sākharā by Kesava Miśra. (2) pp. 68-106, Vagbhata-lankāra.</td>
<td>Index and P.</td>
<td>MS. (whence?).</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Quoted by folios and lines; (2) by sections and verses; in both cases Aufrecht gives (1) indices, (2) pratikas of sūtras, (3) pratikas of verses, (4) lists of names.</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<td>18 x 21 cm.</td>
<td>pp. 295 + 791 (partly *) + 829 (partly *) + 506. iii. Roman. iv. Roman and Nāgarī.</td>
<td>(1) Lexicographical Analoeota. (2) Bhāṭṭīkāvya.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Index and P.</td>
<td>Calcutta, 1883.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vols. 1, ii contain Lexicographical Analoeota A-P, which are continued in vols. iii, iv: the latter consist principally, however, of the Index Verborum to the Bhāṭṭīkāvya.</td>
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<td>MS.</td>
<td>Oxford (No. 137).</td>
<td></td>
<td>According to No. 364, from the Siva Purāna. The first few pages (2-6) are collated with Leipzig MS. No. 362. The last 7 pages (of smaller size) contain notes. The two MSS. are bound together in a volume 18 x 22 cm.</td>
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<td>Caiturvinśātāstami.</td>
<td>MS. and P.</td>
<td>Manich (Hang, No. 134).</td>
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<td>Collated with Bühler MS. (India Office No. 169. Pratikas cited according to verse numbers.</td>
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<td>(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work</td>
<td>(9) Name of Copyist of MS.</td>
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<td>Yogaratnamalā by Nāgārjuna</td>
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<td>Followed by two folios of facsimile.</td>
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<td>17×21-2 cm</td>
<td>fols. 129*</td>
<td>Nāgārjuna</td>
<td>Vetalapaṇaṇaṁśatikā by Kṣemendra</td>
<td>MS. Poona (v, 33).</td>
<td>Prof. Aufeicht</td>
<td>With marginal notes referring to Soma-deva and Sivadāsa.</td>
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<td>fols. 1+75*</td>
<td>Nāgārjuna</td>
<td>Vetalapaṇaṇaṁśatikā by Vallaḥhadāsa</td>
<td>MS. Bombay (No. 470 of 1887-91)</td>
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<td>pp. 588 (partly *)</td>
<td>Roman.</td>
<td>(1) pp. 1-381, rare words in various poems, etc. (2) pp. 382-95, grammatical and other notes. (3) pp. 396-588, Subḥūṣṭaratanaḥpūrṇārāṇ, pp. 1-68.</td>
<td>G. Bombay, 1880 (?)</td>
<td>G. Bombay, 1880 (?)</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>Nāgārjuna</td>
<td>Vatsyayana Kāmasūtra.</td>
<td>MS. India Office (Eggeling, No. 1234)</td>
<td>Prof. Aufeicht</td>
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<td>Gatratnamahodadhittiḥ by Gaṅgādhara (part).</td>
<td>MS. Benares</td>
<td>MS. and G. Poona (No. 329 of 1875-6) and British Museum (No. 397 A).</td>
<td>Prof. Aufeicht</td>
<td>Modern copy; not dated.</td>
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<td>82</td>
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<td>18×22 cm</td>
<td>i, fols. 56*+ ii, pp. 38.</td>
<td>Nāgārjuna (texts) and Roman (P).</td>
<td>Anekārhadhihvanimaṇḍarī by Mahākṣapaṇaka.</td>
<td>MS. Poona (No. 329 of 1875-6) and British Museum (No. 397 A).</td>
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<td>83</td>
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<td>Ḥaraṇvali by Puruṣottama.</td>
<td>G. Calcutta (1807).</td>
<td>G. Calcutta</td>
<td>The pratikas occupy pp. 57-73 of vol. i (citation by verse and section numbers). The British Museum MS. belonged to Professor Jacobi.</td>
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<td>Nānārthasaṅgraha by Ajayapāla.</td>
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<td>MS. Oxford</td>
<td>Each page has four columns; citation by verse numbers.</td>
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<td>Prof. Aufeicht</td>
<td>For the most part interleaved. citation by verse numbers.</td>
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<td>Prof. Aufeicht</td>
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Agniveśa Rāmāyana 36 P.
Agnihotra Prayoga 32 MS.
Aghoramantrasāndhanaprakāra 73 MS.
Atipavitreṣṭi Prayoga 32 MS.
Atipavitreṣṭihautra Prayoga (Baudhāyana) 32 MS.
Atharva Veda 5 MS.

Atharva Veda Parisisṭa 6 G.
Adhyātmarāmāyana 7 MS.
Anargharāghava 45 MS.

Anekārthadhvanimañjari 47 G.
Anyoktimuktālatā 82 MS. & G.
Anyoktiśataka 36 P.
Amaruśatāka 36 P.
Alaṁkāraśekhara 36 P.

Alaṁkārasarvasva 69 Index & P.
Ātmabodha 36 P.
Āpastamba Dharmasūtra 39 G.
Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 36 P.
Āryāsaptasāti of Govardhana 15 G. & P.

Āśrama Upaniṣad 36 P.
Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra 39 G.
Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra 14 G.
Īśa Upaniṣad 14 G. & P.
Unādisūtra 31 G.
Uttararāmacarita 48 MS.

Udāttarāghava 36 P.
Udbhataalamkāra 46 G.
Upaniṣads (Āśrama, Kena, Kaṭha, etc.) 67 MS.
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Aikāhniacaturmāsyya Prayoga (Baudhāyana) 36 P.
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<td>Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa Bhāṣya</td>
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Gitagovinda

"Guṇaviṣṇu (Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya)
Grhyasamgrahapariśiṣṭa
Gobhila Grhya Sūtra
Caṇḍakausīka
Caṇḍiśataka
Caturvimśatimṛti

"Caṇakyaśataka
Cāturāṣa Prayoga (Āśvalāyana)
Cāturāṣa Prayoga (Baudhāyana)
Cāturāṣāyautra Prayoga
Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya (Guṇaviṣṇu)
Chāndoga Upaniṣad
Jānaki parināya
Jaimini Grhya Sūtra
Jaimini Grhya Sūtra Vyākhyā
Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa
Taittiriya Āraṇyaka

"Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa
Taittiriya Saṃhitā
Damayantīkāvyā (Nalacampū)

"Darpadalana
Daśarūpa
Daśvatārakhaṇḍaprāśasti
Dīnakrandanastotra
Dūtāṅgada
Dharmaviveka
Dhanānjayavijaya
Dhvanyāloka
Nakṣatrasattṛṣṭihautra Prayoga
Nandikesvara Purāṇa
Nalacampū (Damayantīkāvyā)

"Nalodāya
Nāgānanda
II.—Index (continued).

Nānārthasaṅgraha 84 MS.
Nārada Pañcarātra 38 P.
Nṛṣimha Purāṇa 33 P.
Naiṣadhīya 36 P.
Pañcatantra 36 P.
Pañcadaśī 39 P.
Padma Purāṇa 39 Titles of chapters.

Padyāṃṭatarāṅgini 36 P.

Padyāṃṭasopāna 64 MS. & P.
Padyāvalī by Rūpagosvāmin 64 MS.

Pāraskara Grhyasūtra 36 P.
Pārśvanātha Grhyasūtra 63 MS. & P.
Pārthivapūjā 73 MS.
Pārvatīparināya 36 P.
Pārvatīparīkṣā 39 G.

Puṇyāhavacana 86 MS.
Puruṣaparīkṣā 32 MS.
Praśna Upaniṣad 36 P.
Prasannarāghava 31 G.

Priyadarśikā 36 P.
Bālabhārata 36 P.
Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 30 G.
Brhad-nāradiya Purāṇa 33 P.
Brahma Purāṇa 39 Titles of chapters.

Brahma Sūtra 39 P.
Bhaṭṭikāvyā 36 P.

Bharatakavadvātrimśikā 70 G.
Bhaṭṛhari 55 MS.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa (ter) 36 P.
Bhāminīvilāsa 39 G. and titles of chapters.

Bhāvaśatāka 36 P.
Bhojaprabandha 36 P.

54 MS.
## II.—Index (continued).

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XXVI.

THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE "SECRETUM SECRETORUM,"

A MEDIEVAL TREATISE ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE.

Published for the first time from the MSS. of the British Museum,
Oxford, and Munich.

With an Introduction and an English Translation.

INTRODUCTION.

By M. GASTER.

1. Great was the reputation of Aristotle in the Middle Ages. His sway was undisputed, and whatever bore his name was sure to be treated as the expression of the highest wisdom. But that fame rested mostly on Arabic translations and interpretations of his philosophical writings. Along with the genuine writings, however, also other treatises were circulated which were ascribed to Aristotle, with what justification has not yet been settled, but probably because some of the ideas put into his mouth seem to have been culled from his genuine writings and others reflected, more or less accurately, views and opinions contained in his writings. Among such pseudo-Aristotelian writings, none enjoyed wider circulation than obtained by the treatise which claimed to represent the "Politeia" of Aristotle. It contributed much more to the reputation of Aristotle than any other of his writings, and enjoyed a far greater popularity than any popular book of the Middle Ages. It claimed to be the quintessence of political wisdom and statecraft: the last word on the rule of body and mind, the treasure-house of occult knowledge, the deepest mystery in the conduct of man. It was known that Alexander the hero of the East had been the pupil of
Aristotle. He had been in constant communication with his master, and letters purporting to have passed between master and pupil were circulated from very olden times. The prowess of Alexander, the victories he easily won, and the facile manner in which he governed the most diverse races deeply impressed the mind of the people. All this was attributed to the wise teaching and the prudent counsel vouchsafed to Alexander by his great master Aristotle. The same teaching, it was assumed, if known and followed, would hold good, then, for any successor of Alexander. Thus a book has been compiled which purported to contain that very teaching of Aristotle sent to his pupil as a great mystery. If it were to be of any use, it must needs be comprehensive: he had to be taught, or better, directed how to govern the people, how to select councillors and advisers, how to arrange his battles, how to manage his finances, how to select trusty messengers to conduct safely and satisfactorily all diplomatic negotiations, how to choose administrators fit to look after the affairs of State, how to judge men's aptitudes from their outward appearance. But this was not all: he had to be taught also how to conduct himself, how to retain and strengthen his physical health, how to act in all seasons of the year, how to keep measure in eating, drinking, and other forms of pastime, and some indications had to be given of the secret properties of stones and metals, which would be useful to him for his personal benefit and for ruling the peoples.

2. A book of this kind was sure to be received favourably and to be assiduously circulated, if not so much by the rulers, at least by the ruled. It has at no time been safe, and still less so in olden times, to tell the truth to kings and princes; but under the protection of Aristotle, covered by his great reputation and justified by the brilliant results obtained in the case of Alexander, such a venture could be carried out with impunity. Sound and good
advice could thus be given to those who held unlimited sway over the body and property of their subjects, in the guise of 'secret statecraft.' What the "Apologue" taught under the form of a tale or fable, the "Regimen Principum" taught in the form of a lesson of the past. Rules of conduct were inculcated by the "Apologue," interspersed with maxims and followed by 'moralisations' in books like the "Panchatantra," the "Syntipas," and others. Akin to these, yet differing in form, are books like "Barlaam Josaphat" and in a higher degree such a book as this one, ascribed to Aristotle. In order to enhance its importance it is described as a deep Secret, as the mysterious wisdom of State, revealed only to Alexander and given to the world by a miraculous chance through the intervention of one of the Mohammedan Khalifs. Through the investigations of Knust, Steinschneider, Förster, Suchier, Hertz, and Steele, one can form some estimate of the wide popularity of this book and of the deep influence it has exercised upon the literature of many countries. There is scarcely any European language into which that book has not been translated, and numerous have been the poetical renderings of its contents. It appealed too strongly to the instincts of the peoples not to be taken up and to be held up as the "Mirror of Kings."

3. The bibliography of the innumerable editions and MSS. in the various languages in the libraries of Europe has not yet been completed. There is no library which does not contain a number of copies of the "Secretum." In the "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," vol. vi, 1889, p. 1 ff., Förster has made an attempt at cataloguing the Latin MSS. and partly the translations in other languages. He enumerates no less than 207 Latin MSS., and W. Hertz, in his "Gesammelte Schriften," pp. 156-61, and p. 165, No. 4, supplies a bibliography, a brief sketch of the history of the "Secretum," and a goodly list of Arabic
MSS. This treatise has also been versified, and, to limit myself to English versions, we have the poem of Lydgate, and his continuator, Burgh. R. Steele, in editing this poem (E.E.T.S., London, 1894) has given a succinct and yet full and lucid history of this text. One of the books in Gower's "Confessio Amantis" is but a rhymed transcript of part of this "Secretum." Roger Bacon wrote a commentary on it. There are besides in English a good number of ancient translations more or less amplified, some from the French, and also a few from the Latin.

4. Without attempting here to disentangle the web of these numerous versions, or to establish the literary filiation and connection between them, it suffices for our purposes to establish the fact that there are at least two recensions, a shorter and a longer one, and that both go back to ancient Latin texts not earlier than the twelfth century.

5. These Latin texts in their turn rest on Arabic originals. In the Arabic also at least two recensions are known, a short and a long one. As we shall see later on, a third text must have existed in Arabic differing from these two. It must have been much shorter than either of those hitherto come to light. This book had shared the fate of all popular books. Copyists took liberties with the contents. There are few MSS. or even prints which agree fully with one another. In some, chapters are missing; in others, chapters are added. Moreover, this book covers a wide field; portions have been detached and treated as separate writings. The "Regimen Sanitatis," i.e. the direction for preserving one's health, applied to wider circles. Men in affluent circumstances could carry out equally well as kings, the medical prescriptions contained in that section. And this portion has, in fact, been detached, and was translated and circulated separately. Similarly, the chapter on precious stones and their secret virtues appealed to the students
of Lapidaries and to alchemists, and that section was also elaborated and amplified, and it led an independent existence. Again, the treatise on Physiognomy contained in our book has later on been incorporated into the works of Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, and others, and is the primary source for the literature of physiognomies in the Middle Ages.

6. In the light of the latter development of the "Secretum," and the separate existence of some of its chapters, the question may be asked whether these chapters had always formed part of the original composition or whether they had been incorporated into it at a later stage, swelling the contents and ensuring for it a larger circulation. Only on that supposition an answer can be found for some of the problems connected with the literary history of that book, and the first step towards arriving at any solution is to compare the various texts and translations extant.

7. Two names are mentioned as authors of the Latin translations—one, Johannes Hispalensis, a converted Jew, who flourished 1135-1150, and another, a certain Philip Clericus, of uncertain date, but according to Förster, of the beginning of the thirteenth century: this date may be taken as the best authenticated, corroborated by the fact that only writers of the thirteenth century are acquainted with that translation. A third Latin translation may have also existed, the basis for the old Spanish. Examining those first two translations more closely, it will be found that Johannes Hispalensis translated only one treatise of this book, the "Rule of Health" and "The Four Seasons" (Book xii), accompanied by a short introduction describing the finding of the book in the temple of the Sun, and stating that Aristotle had written it at the request of Alexander. He does not seem to have translated any other section of the book, and yet he calls it by the same Arabic name, "Sir Alasrar" (corrupted in the
Latin), as the complete work. He evidently knew only so much of the book. Philip, on the other hand, translates the full text, which bears the same name. It contains, in addition to the chapters translated by Joh. Hispalensis, the rule of princes, the manner of warfare, the battle array, the choice of councillors, the mysterious properties of stones, some astrological sections, etc. In later times these two versions have been blended, and the work of the one mixed up with that of the other.

8. In comparing, then, the various Latin translations among themselves, great discrepancy will be found in the order and sequence of these very chapters, and in the division of the texts into books and chapters. The "Rule of Health" will be found either after book ii or after book vii, and in other respects the order of the books and chapters differs in these versions and recensions.

9. The Arabic original from which the Latin is the translation, although extant in many libraries in Europe, has hitherto not been published. Steinschneider, however, has examined some of the most interesting, and he has compared the Arabic with the Latin of Philip ("Uebersetzungen," p. 995, cf. p. 245 ff., where a full bibliography is to be found). He has established that in the Arabic texts a similar confusion is found in the division of the text into ten or eight books, and in the order in which they follow upon one another, agreeing in part with, but also disagreeing from, the Latin. The same question arises—Do these Arabic MSS. represent a late stage of development, when out of many independent treatises one single book had been evolved, or has the "Secretum" been preserved in its original form? Some of these, like the treatise translated by Joh. Hispalensis, may already have had the title "Secretum," and others may also have had the same title or one approximating it, and this identity of titles facilitated the blending of all of them into one book.
10. In addition to the Latin translations there is now a Hebrew version which, though it also rests on an Arabic original, represents, however, a recension other than that of the MSS. hitherto known. It differs from each of these recensions, and may help us to reconstruct the history of this book. In point of time it is at least contemporary, if not older than, any other translation of the full text, and it is an open question whether Philip has not made use of the Hebrew in his Latin translation. In one instance he distinctly refers to the Hebrew name of a bird of which he gives also the Arabic names. The reference may be a later interpolation, as this Latin text offers many examples of a double translation, due no doubt to marginal glosses, which later copyists transferred to the body of the text; but it may just as well be due to Philip himself.

11. Judging from ancient quotations in Hebrew literature the "Secretum" was known already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is quoted in the language of this very translation. The style also points to that period and to Spain as its home. At that time a number of books of a similar character were translated from Arabic into Hebrew, such as the "Maxims of the Philosophers," the legendary "History of Alexander," the philosophical writings of Aristotle, genuine as well as spurious. Steinschneider in his great work on the translations from Arabic into Hebrew (and indirectly into Latin) deals exhaustively with this literature. One man stands out prominently towards the end of the twelfth century as author, poet, and skilled translator, Judah Al-Hharizi, who flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century (1190-1218).

12. The translation of the "Secretum" has also been ascribed to him. Some have doubted this authorship, but no proof to the contrary has been brought forward. Hharizi is the author of the translation of the
"Maxims of the Philosophers" ("Mussare ha-Pilosophim"), from the Arabic of Honein ibn Ishak (latest edition, A. Lowenthal, Frankfurt, 1896). He is also the author of the legendary "Life of Alexander," the English translation of which I published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897. Hharizi seems to have made his own the cycle of the Alexander legends, embracing the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle. It is not a mere coincidence that in most of the MSS. the "Maxims of Philosophers," the "History of the Death of Alexander," the "Letters of Aristotle to Alexander," and those of "Alexander to his mother Olympias" should be found to follow immediately after the "Secretum Secretorum." No doubt these writings were designed to form a complete cycle on the life of Alexander. Also linguistic parallels can be found between the "Secretum" and the "Maxims," proving them to be the work of one author. "Maxims," book ii, ch. 4, "the letter of Aristotle," is an abstract of the "Secretum," as shown by Lowenthal ("Sinnsprüche der Philosophen," Berlin, 1896, p. 112 ff.); and the Hebrew text, ed. Lowenthal, p. 27 ff., is strikingly similar to the Hebrew text of the "Secretum."

13. Hharizi, the undoubted author of the Hebrew translation of the "Maxims," could not have borrowed verbatim a few passages from the "Secretum" to incorporate them with his own translation of the whole of the "Maxims." It is, on the contrary, much easier to explain this similarity by assuming the author of one translation to be the author of the other, for he would use the same language in both cases. Similarity of language, nay, in some instances, absolute identity, runs through both books. They differ, on the other hand, very considerably from another collection of "Maxims" translated also from the Arabic under the title "Choice of Pearls," and ascribed to Aben Gabirol. There is no valid reason why the translation of the "Secretum" should
not be the work of Hharizi. Another argument may also be adduced to make Hharizi's authorship of the translation probable. For as it was utilised in the thirteenth century it could not have been translated into Hebrew later than towards the end of the twelfth century, and no quotation from that book has been traced in Hebrew literature anterior to the period of Hharizi.

14. This Hebrew version, preserved in a large number of MSS., some of which, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the same in all. Only slight variations, due to the negligence of the copyist, and minor differences in the numbering of the books and chapters, mark the difference between one MS. and the other. In comparing this version with the Arabic we find that, though agreeing in the main as far as the order of chapters and contents with the so-called shorter Arabic recension, yet it differs also greatly from it. It has many chapters and paragraphs for which no parallels in the other versions have hitherto been discovered. The differences between the Hebrew and the Latin of Philip are still greater. It is not possible to enter upon a minute examination of these differences so long as the Arabic texts remain unpublished. I must limit myself here to the more important points in which the Hebrew agrees with or disagrees from either of these versions, as the results obtained may have a distinct bearing on the history of the "Secretum."

15. The shorter Arabic recension is divided into eight books of unequal length, and the longer recension into ten, also of unequal length. The Latin is divided into ten books and the Hebrew into eight, like the shorter Arabic. But this difference is more apparent than real. Certain sections included in one or other of these chapters in the shorter Arabic are numbered separately in the longer, and thus the number of the divisions is increased without increasing the contents.
16. What purports to be an exchange of letters between Aristotle and Alexander, explaining the origin of this work, forms a kind of Introduction. Then follows the Prologue on the part of the first discoverer, who pretended having found it in a Temple of the Sun dedicated to Asklepios. He had gone in search of it at the bidding of the King of the Faithful, and having found it, translated it from the Greek into 'Rumi' and thence into Arabic. The author of this translation is the well-known Yahya ibn Batrik, i.e. John the son of Patricius, a Syrian freedman under the Kalif al-Mamun, c. 800. The word 'Rumi' cannot be translated otherwise than as meaning 'Syriac.' Whether Yahya was the double translator, first into Syriac and then into Arabic, is an open question. No one has as yet even touched it. If it be true that Yahya knew neither Greek nor Latin, then he could only translate the work from Syriac into Arabic, and we shall have to assume that prior to his time some one else had translated the book from the Greek into Syriac. It is not unlikely, then, that on the occasion of the second translation Yahya may have added to the originally shorter compilation of the "Secretum" some other treatises which may have existed independently and which went now to swell the bulk of the book.

17. There is some internal evidence for such a growth of the book. I have mentioned above that Johannes Hispalensis had translated only one or two of such treatises which form now chapters in the "Secretum," notably the "Rule of Health" and the "Four Seasons," which had an Introduction similar to that found now at the head of the "Secretum." If we turn to the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin texts we shall find that the greatest difference between these versions is found in the place assigned to these very treatises and to that on Physiognomy in the order of chapters of the "Secretum."

18. The Introduction finishes with a table of contents. If we examine it more closely we shall be struck by the
peculiar fact that those two large treatises on the "Rule of Health" and on "Physiognomy" are not mentioned at all under separate headings, though they are found included in the book, whilst much smaller chapters figure there as separate Books. It is a clear indication that when the table of contents was drawn up these treatises had not yet been incorporated into the "Secretum," and were added later on at a new revision of the text. The table was left as it originally stood, and each translator or copyist then arranged the interpolated portions as best he chose. Hence those profound differences in the position of the "Rule of Health." In the longer Arabic and in the Latin and in those dependent on the Latin, it is found in Book ii, and the "Physiognomy" is placed either at the very end of the "Secretum" as in the Latin, or follows upon the "Rule of Health" as in the longer Arabic. The same holds good also for the chapter on the "Occult properties of precious stones and plants." In the Latin and in the old English translation based on it (ed. Steele) it is found immediately after the "Rule of Health," whilst in both the Arabic texts it forms the concluding chapter.

19. In the division of the "Secretum" into Books the Hebrew agrees in the main with the Latin or longer Arabic. Some are exceedingly small and consist of only one chapter, such as Books v and vi. But a close examination of the Hebrew will show a differentiation in the marking of the divisions, not without import for the history of the text. The word רמנ, which I have translated 'Book,' is found in the MSS. of Oxford and Munich heading only certain chapters which in accordance with the table of contents are the beginnings of new divisions, such as i–iii, iv, v (in the present edition marked vii), vi (viii), vii (ix), viii (xiii). The other divisions with one exception (x) are called with a different title, יבש, 'Gate,' even those very elaborate sections on Physiognomy (xi) and on the "Rule of Health" (xii). Section x has no heading at all; it is neither
'chapter' nor 'Book.' Evidently the copyist was in some doubt how to mark it, and he left it without any distinctive title. The same indecision and confusion between 'book' and 'chapter' are found in the longer Arabic. The shorter does not mark the subdivisions.

20. If we deduct those books and chapters not found in the table of contents, which cause all the confusion in the MSS. of the "Secretum," we reduce it to what must have been the more primitive state. It is freed from the encumbrance of the astrological, medical, and physiognomical sections. Guided by the comparison between these recensions, part of the alchemistic portion will also have to be eliminated, and the chapter on the "Occult properties of stones," the ancient Lapidarium, will have to be reduced to a much smaller proportion than found in the later and more elaborate form of the "Secretum." Of Astrology proper looming so largely in the later European recensions the Hebrew has only a faint trace and could not have been more in the Arabic original which the translator follows most faithfully. In many instances he also, like the Latin, gives even the Arabic technical terms and the Arabic names of scarce birds and gems, sometimes accompanied by a Hebrew translation, but as often as not only in Arabic, for he had evidently not found a proper equivalent for them in Hebrew. No doubt in time an Arabic text will be found corresponding exactly with the Hebrew.

21. The elimination of those chapters not only rounds off the text of the "Secretum," but helps also to trace it back to its supposed Greek sources. It also modifies the results to which previous investigators had arrived as to the character of the first compiler. So long as the Physiognomy, the Hygiene, and the astrological sections were treated as essential portions of the original composition, it was natural to suppose that the author must have been a physician, who, according to the knowledge
displayed in those chapters, may have lived in the eighth or ninth century. If, however, those very chapters are later interpolations the real book may have been composed earlier than the ninth century, and the author not in any way connected with medical science. It so happens that for those tracts Förster has shown that the Physiognomy is based on the Greek treatise of Polemon on Physiognomy, and Steele has pointed out the work of another author, Diocles Caristes (B.C. 320), as the source for one section of the "Rule of Health." The immediate Greek author for the whole of the Hygiene or "Rule of Health" has not yet been discovered, but all the libraries have not yet been searched.

22. Having thus cleared the way, we may now proceed with our enquiry a few steps further, and endeavour to trace the remaining portion of the book to Greek sources or to parallels in the Greek literature, and to fix, if possible, the place where the "Secretum" has been compiled for the first time.

23. So much has already been written that apparently little can be added. All the scholars are unanimous that the Greek text of this book is no longer existent. Has it ever existed? The recent discovery of the "Politeia" of Aristotle has, at any rate, shown that there is some substratum of truth in the allegation that this book was a translation, though indirectly, from a Greek original. But like all such books of a popular character, it was more in the nature of a compilation and paraphrase than a literal translation. It was to be a "Mirror of Kings," and served, as already remarked, as a centre for the crystallization of many maxims and teachings on the government of kings and the rule of nations.

24. The background throughout the book is Persia and India. Alexander dreads the Persian nobles. Persian kings are referred to; their advice to princes, their maxims of government, their customs and habits are
often mentioned. Greeks come in for very little mention, Indian teaching and Indian tales are much more often referred to. It would be an interesting subject for scholars of Indian literature to discover the sources of the statements which are here on many occasions put into the mouth of the Indians. But Persia remains the land to which the teachings of Aristotle are sent, for Persia is the centre of the political activity of Alexander. It is to that part of the world that we must trace the older form of this book, and not, as some have suggested, to carry it as far west as Egypt. The allusion to chess is another argument for seeking the origin of the book in Persia or Western Asia. Through Persia this royal game has come to Europe, and has retained to a great extent the Persian nomenclature. And in the "Secretum" the king with his vizier and scribes, with his rich garments and costly array, is an undoubted copy of the court of Persia under the early Khalifs. This reference to Persian and to Indian literature of maxims and apalogues points to a definite time when, and to certain definite influence under which, this compilation may originally have been started. It must be after the time of the introduction of "Syntipas" and "Panchatantra" into the old Persian literature, and after the translation had been made into Pehlevi or into old Syriac ("Kalilag Va-Dammag"), since when these books became the literary property of the Western nations. (In one or two instances we may trace Gnostic influences, and especially teachings which approximate some of the views entertained by the Sufis or the pure Brethren.)

25. This book, then, is a compilation consisting of divers smaller treatises, of many times, and of different origins, all grouped round the central portion, the "Rule of Kings," the Mirror held up to the king by the wise teacher Aristotle, the Guide by which he is to rule the nations subdued by him or who owe him allegiance and fealty.
This is also the true purport of those Indian works, which, like "Syntipas" and "Kalilah," spread so far and had so profound an influence on the literature of the Middle Ages. Similar "Guides" are known to have existed in Greek. There are "Mirrors" or instructions to kings, such as that of Agapetos, the teacher of the Emperor Justinian, or that of pseudo-Isokrates. This literature will help us also in the further elucidation of the origin and date of the oldest form of the "Secretum."

26. Among the books which came from India and were destined to play an important rôle in the literature of the West, is the famous Buddhist legend known as the legend of "Barlaam and Josaphat," or Joasaph. Here we have a book which has undergone a strange transformation. Originally a Buddhist "Life," it has become a collection of legends and apologues, with a distinct theological colour and tendency. It has become an apology of Christianity and of asceticism. The immediate source of the Greek version has been traced to Persia or Western Asia. Some place it in the Sabbas cloister in Palestine (Krumbacher, Byz. Litteraturg., 2nd ed., p. 886 ff.). The Greek author has not been satisfied with merely changing Buddasaph into Joasaph, but he has woven into his romance the whole "Apology" of Aristides, as discovered by Armytage Robinson, and has no doubt laid under contribution also many other writings not yet identified. One of these, then, seems to have been a "Mirror of the King," placed into the mouth of Joasaph (pp. 308 ff. and 331 ff., ed. Boissonade). This "Mirror of the King" agrees in the main with the above-mentioned metrical "Mirror of Kings" of Agapetos, who lived at the beginning of the sixth century. The date for the composition of "Barlaam" is assumed now to be about the first half of the seventh century. It has also been demonstrated by K. Praechter (Byz. Zeitschrift, ii, pp. 444-460) that the version in "Barlaam" is not directly borrowed from Agapetos, and that both are
pointing to an older source common to them. In some of the general views expressed one may recognise in both these "Mirrors" the influence of the Fathers of the Church, Basilios and Gregory of Nazianz, who follow more or less the 'example' of pseudo-Isokrates and Agapetos. But the contents of the "Mirror" in Barlaam is not exhausted by the reference to these sources.

27. If we now compare the last-named "Mirror" with some of the portions contained in the "Secretum," we shall find a similarity perhaps no less striking than the similarity between the other Greek Mirrors and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. It must not be forgotten that the "Secretum" is known to us only through the Arabic translation, which rests on a previous translation made from the Greek into Syriac. The Arabic translator, however faithful he may have been, could scarcely be expected to make his version, in fact a third version, tally with that in "Barlaam," with which it might have been originally identical, for this had since become part of another though a different compilation which has also undergone, to a certain extent, the manipulation of the authors who have embodied it into their romance. A "Mirror" passing through Syriac and Arabic into Hebrew and Latin could with difficulty be compared with the same "Mirror" passing through some Greek intermediaries into Agapetos and "Barlaam." And yet in spite of these different translators and editors, sufficient points of resemblance can be found between "Barlaam" (Agapetos) and the "Secretum."

28. This relation between "Barlaam," Agapetos, and "Secretum" should cause no surprise, for the "Secretum" has undoubtedly been compiled under similar conditions which prevailed at the compilation of "Barlaam." Of these two the "Secretum" must be the older, since Agapetos in the sixth century had utilised already a similar text for his "Mirror of the Kings."
29. We find further in the Byzantine literature also other "Mirrors," in which perhaps portions of the "Secretum" are embedded. They are akin to the Western development which followed upon the publication and propagation of the Latin "Secretum." Steele has given a list of more or less elaborate works which start directly or indirectly from the "Secretum" and have the same object. They are political "Vade-mecums" for kings and princes. In Greek we have among others, and also enjoying great popularity, the rather elaborate exhortation of the Emperor Basil (867–86), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty on the throne of Byzantium. In a series of chapters the Emperor advises his son, Leo VI, on his behaviour and conduct, on alms-giving, on education, on courage, on judgment, on humility, and chastity. This writing reflects the teachings of pseudo-Isokrates and Agapetos, probably also that of "Barlaam." Krumbacher (I.c., p. 458) refers also to other sources for this compilation of the Emperor Basil, such as the anonymous "De Politica Sapientia," published by A. Mai (Script. vet. Nova Coll., ii), further Nikephoros Blemmyde's treatise on the "Model of the King" and on the duties of the Princes, and another anonymous letter "About the King," published by Vitelli. To these sources I add, also possibly a Greek version of the "Secretum."

30. Leaving out other writings, I refer finally to one of the latest developments, the so-called Teaching of Neagoe, Prince of Wallachia (sixteenth century), to his son. It is a very voluminous compilation, following the same lines as the other "Mirrors of the Kings" hitherto mentioned, but interesting for the fact that the portion of the "Mirror of the King" retained in "Barlaam," together with the apologues, have been introduced into this larger book ascribed to Neagoe. It has been preserved in a Greek MS. in one of the cloisters on Mount Athos and in ancient Roumanian and Slavonic versions. The
relation in which they stand to one another and the
sources from which that teaching has been evolved have as
yet not been examined. Perhaps portions could be traced
to the "Secretum."

31. The "Secretum" belonged, without doubt, to
a larger cycle of similar compilations, and may represent
one of the oldest versions of "Mirrors" after pseudo-
Isokrates. It is not here the occasion for entering upon
a detailed comparison between these different recensions
of Eastern and especially Greek "Mirrors of the King."
It must suffice to have drawn attention to a series of
writings of which the connection had hitherto not been
suspected, and to have contributed to the possible dis-
covery of the lost original in one of the Greek texts
mentioned.

32. The "War tactics" (Book ix) lead us on the one
hand to the numerous writings on the art of war,
composed after the time of Alexander in the period of
the Diadochs, not all of which have been preserved, and
on the other to the no less rich mystical literature, and
the calculation of the numerical value of the letters and
symbolical virtue of the names (vide Koechly & Ruestow,
5 ff.), or Sextus Julius Africanus, the Church historian, who
devotes a chapter to the art of war in his encyclopædic
work (vide W. Christ. Gesch. d. griech. Litt., 2nd ed., Munich,
1890, p. 724 f.).

33. The medical treatise stands by itself, and may have
been the work of the translator from Greek into Syriac,
who adapted the old writing to the knowledge of the
time. And last, but not least, some old Greek texts on the
philosopher's stone or that pure substance by means of
which base metals are changed into gold and silver, have
been published by Berthelot in his "Collections des anciens
alchimistes grecs," Aristotle figuring very often (v. Index)
as author of alchemistical writings. Further investigations
will no doubt throw more light on the composite character of and the elements that make up the "Secretum." It is a kind of encyclopaedia drawn from the most diverse sources, bearing the stamp of the seventh or eighth century, resting on a somewhat late and already overworked ancient tradition, containing fragments from contemporary literature of a more popular character. Started under favourable auspices, sent out into the world as the last word of practical wisdom of Aristotle, it has retained its popularity for centuries, and has exercised a lasting influence on European civilisation.

34. The Hebrew text, published here for the first time, rests upon the collation of four MSS., the oldest of which (A) dates from the year 1382 (British Museum Or., No. 2396); the others (O¹ and O²) are MSS. Oxford Nos. 1436 and 2386, and finally Codex Munich (M) 342. With the exception of Oxford No. 2386 the other MSS. belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I have retained the divisions into books as found in the MSS., but I have subdivided the text into smaller paragraphs for easier comparison with other texts. The various readings have been added in footnotes only when they proved to be of importance. Scribes' errors have not been noticed; omissions in text A have been supplied in square brackets from one or more of the MSS., noting whence they had been taken. I have limited myself to these four MSS. because they seem to be the oldest and most accurate. Other MSS. may perhaps contribute to elucidate here and there some of the proper names which I have not been able to identify, or some other minute details of a technical character, but as they all substantially agree even in the most obscure and difficult passages they undoubtedly represent the original version of Hharizi. Following closely the Arabic original, he has left a few passages somewhat obscure. I have tried to explain them as best I could in the literal translation which I have

added, by comparison with the Latin and with other translations, notably the old English versions published by Steele.

This publication claims to be no more than a small contribution from a new quarter to one of the most interesting and fascinating chapters in the literary history and civilisation of the Middle Ages.
1. Northern pillar and lion-capital.

2. Bull-capital from southern pillar.

3. View of southern pillar with bull-capital.
XXVII.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN INDIA, 1907-8.

By J. H. MARSHALL.

Râmpurvâ.

LAST winter's campaign of exploration opened in November with a small excavation near the village of Râmpurvâ, in the Champâran District of Bengal, well known for the Aśoka pillar discovered by Mr. Carlleyle in 1877. When Mr. Carlleyle first visited the spot, this pillar was lying in marshy ground, with its top and the bell-shaped capital attached, protruding a few feet above the surface; but the lion crowning the capital had disappeared. Proceeding to excavate around it, Mr. Carlleyle appears to have gone to a depth of some 8 feet, to have exposed most of the shaft, and to have copied the inscription on it. Nothing, however, was done either by him, or by Mr. Garrick who went to Râmpurvâ a year or two later, towards preserving the column, and the site remained undisturbed until last autumn, when I deputed my Personal Assistant, Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, to carry out some trial digging there. I was induced to do this in view of a proposal made by Dr. Bloch to re-erect the pillar; for I was anxious, before the work was taken in hand, to ascertain precisely, if possible, its original position, and also whether any other remains existed round about.

The results of Pandit Daya Ram's investigations may be briefly summed up as follows. After trenching for a depth of 7 feet he came upon water, and at the depth of 12 feet the inrush of water from two springs was so great
that he could only go on with the excavation by the aid of continuous pumping and other expedients. In spite of great difficulties, however, he managed to reach the base of the pillar at a depth of 16 feet below the surface. Underneath the pillar was a massive stone slab, nearly 2 feet thick, originally secured in position by heavy stakes of sāl wood, which the water had wonderfully preserved. The shaft at the base has a diameter of 4 feet, and for the first 8 ft. 9 ins. its sides are left rough-dressed, this portion having been buried in the ground. The length of the shaft is 44 ft. 9½ ins., its diameter at the summit being 3 feet. When Mr. Carliyle first found the pillar, the Persepolitan capital was still attached to it, but the crowning figure above the capital had been broken off. This figure has now been found buried some 7 feet below the surface, not very far from the top of the pillar (Plate I, Fig. 1). It is a single lion sejant, much like the lions on the Lauriya Nandangarh and Basārh pillars. The upper jaw is broken, but the rest of the sculpture is singularly well preserved, retaining its polish as fresh as when it was first set up. The muscles and thews of the beast are vigorously modelled, and, though conventionalized in certain particulars, it is endowed with a vitality and strength which rank it among the finest sculptures of the Mauryan period.

The inscription of Aśoka on the shaft is engraved in two columns, starting at a depth of 22 ft. 3 ins. from the top and extending down for 3 ft. 7 ins. A complete estampage of it was secured by dint of much exertion, and will be published anon in the Epigraphia Indica. It is almost identical with the two other Aśoka pillar inscriptions in the Champāran District, and it is manifest that the inscriptions on all three pillars were written by the same man, from the same draft copy. Thus, the peculiar spelling mokhya-mute in edict 6 for the Sanskrit mokṣya-mataḥ is repeated at Rāmpurvā again, as in the two Lauriya pillars. Dr. Bloch, who has examined the estampage, could
find not more than eight *varietates lectionis* in the Rāmpurvā inscription, when compared with the Lauriya versions of Asoka's six pillar edicts. In two particulars, he says, the new facsimile settles doubtful points in Bühler's transcript (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 245 ff.). In line 18 in edict 4, Bühler read *ki-ti (?)*; it is now evident that what he mistook for the second vertical stroke marking the long *i* is merely the *anusvāra*, placed inside the angle of *i*. In the following line we may now cancel the brackets, between which Bühler placed the *o* of *yote*. There is only one palæographical point which deserves being noticed. In line 6 of edict 5 there are two curves, somewhat resembling the usual Kharoṣṭhī form of *da*, placed on each side of the letter *na*, in the words *tisvam puṇṇamāsiyam*, thus: ध. It is evident that these two marks must have conveyed some meaning, for they are certainly not later scribblings: but, what their signification was, is not apparent.

At the point of division between the rough and smooth surfaces of the pillar, which, there was reason to assume, marked the ground level in the Asoka period, Pandit Daya Ram enlarged the digging in several directions, and discovered remains of a brick pavement, an earthenware well, and a small number of potsherds; but he found no buildings of any sort in the vicinity of the pillar, nor could he discover anything of a structural nature in the two mounds hard by. Excavation showed that these mounds are composed of yellow clay, much like that in the mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh, but they yielded no deposits such as Dr. Bloch found there.

A further discovery of importance, however, was made at a distance of some 300 yards to the south of the pillar. Here Messrs. Carlleyle and Garrick had noticed the stump of a second column protruding a few feet above the ground, but neither of them had opened up the ground to any appreciable extent around it. This stump has now been
exposed to a depth of 12½ feet, and a brick platform, on a level with the pavement above referred to, has been brought to light, with the remains of a pavement around it. The stump itself, as will be seen from the photograph (Plate I, Fig. 3), is badly fractured, and appears to have been wilfully mutilated, perhaps with the purpose of destroying some inscription on it. The upper part of the shaft, measuring 18 feet long and 2 ft. 2 ins. in diameter at the top, was found lying a few feet from the stump on the brick pavement, and a little further away a Persepolitan capital surmounted by a bull (Plate I, Fig. 2). The capital is similar to the one belonging to the northern pillar, except as regards the necking, which is decorated with palmettes instead of a row of geese. The bull is, however, by no means so well executed as the lion, and fails to harmonise with the proportions of the capital on which it stands. Nevertheless, it has considerable value, as being the first portrayal of a bull in the round which has come down to us from the Mauryan period.¹ I am inclined to regard this pillar as somewhat later in date than the lion pillar to the north.

Sārnāth.

At Sārnāth, where I again had the valuable co-operation of Dr. Konow in the work of excavation, some very striking developments took place this season. The whole of the ground along the north side of the site, which we had tentatively designated the "monastery area" in the previous season, has turned out, as we had surmised, to be exclusively taken up with monastic buildings, erected one on the ruins of another at different intervals of time, and representing, so far as can be judged at present, all the most important building epochs at Sārnāth. The latest of these, belonging approximately to the

¹ A bull, it will be remembered, is mentioned by Hiuen Thsang as having surmounted an Aśoka pillar at the Jetavana at Śrāvasti.
1. Upper monastery: bastion and gatekeeper's lodge of inner gateway, from north.

2. Lintel stone of late Gupta period, 16 feet long.

3. Avalokiteśvara.
eleventh century A.D., was described in part in the résumé of our excavations of 1906–7 which I contributed to this Journal;¹ and the work of the past season, which has been rapidly pushed on, enables us now nearly to complete the plan of the building and its precincts. These prove to have been on an exceptionally grand scale. The main building, containing the halls and apartments of the monks, must have formed a particularly imposing block. In plan it is a rectangle, with double projections apparently on each of the outer faces,² resembling, in this respect, many of the stūpas of the Gupta and earlier periods found at Sārṇāth. Its measurement from north to south is nearly 170 feet. The centre of the building is taken up by a large open courtyard, but here again there are wide offsets on each of the three sides that have been exposed, while, on the other hand, there are no verandahs such as we are familiar with in other monasteries. The lower part of the building consists of a high basement of brick, most elegantly moulded and carved on both its exterior and interior faces. The superstructure, which was of stone and brick combined, has almost entirely fallen, but it may confidently be asserted that there were not less than two storeys above the basement, and a fair idea of the details and decoration can be got from the multitude of fallen cornices, eaves, lintels, and other architectural members.

In front of the east entrance of this massive building was a courtyard, 114 feet from east to west, flanked by a smaller court on the south and by one apparently corresponding to it on the north. This court was paved with heavy blocks of rough sandstone, once covered or intended to be covered with a floor of concrete, and no structures appear to have been built within it. The

¹ J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 998.
² The north and west outer faces have not yet been excavated.
entrance to it from the east must have been singularly attractive, having been flanked with handsome bastions on the outside and provided with a gatekeeper's lodge on the inside. What remains of the northern bastion and of the gatekeeper's lodge are shown on Plate II, Fig. 1,—the bastion on the left of the wall, the gatekeeper's lodge on the right. Both structures are faced with finely chiselled brick, and the bastion is enriched with a variety of carvings.

Passing through the gateway from the first court, we come to an outer and more spacious court, measuring 290 feet from east to west, on the eastern side of which is another gateway, not quite in a line with the one above described, nor with the same orientation. The plan of this second gateway is more elaborate, and the proportions are much more massive than those of the first, but the design of both must have harmonised well together. On the outside are bastions of the same sort (now, unfortunately, all but level with the ground), and on the inside there is the same kind of gatekeeper's lodge as at the inner gate, but between the bastions and the lodge we have, instead of the simple cross wall, a large gatehouse measuring 61 by 28 feet and containing several chambers. The foundations of this gatehouse go down to a depth of 8 ft. 2 ins., and were manifestly intended to carry a high superstructure.

Beyond this second gateway, to the east, as proved by the walls continuing in that direction, still one other courtyard, if not more, can be traced out, and it may be that a third gateway has yet to be found of still larger proportions than the second.¹ To the west, also, of the monastery buildings, there are other extensions to be followed up. A feature of some interest in this

¹ These gateways bring to mind the gopurams of many South-Indian temples, which grow smaller and smaller as one approaches the central shrine.
1. Lower (Gupta) monastery: interior view, S.W. corner.

2. View of Jarst Singh stori from north.
direction is a great drain—a veritable cloaca—which appears to have carried off all the water from the monastery. It measures, internally, 6 feet high by 3 ft. 4 ins. wide, being thus sufficiently large for a man to clear it. The walls of the drain are of brick, but the floor and roof are constructed of heavy stone slabs.

Up to the present, then, we have traced this great monastery over a stretch of ground extending more than 760 feet from east to west, the whole south side of which is bounded by one long and almost straight wall stretching right from the larger gateway on the east almost to the western limit of the site. In earlier days this extensive area was occupied by several monasteries, which, towards the eastern end of the site, extend a little further south than the later monastery. Parts of three of these monasteries, dating back to the Gupta epoch or earlier, have been excavated this season, and have been found to be in a remarkably good state of preservation. One of these is on the west side of the later monastery buildings, and two are on the east of the same. So far as can be judged at present, all are more or less of the same character and date, and conform in general to the type with which we are familiar from examples at Kasiā and other places, though certain details in them are new to us. In the centre was a square open court, and around the four sides of it were disposed the cells and halls or common-rooms of the monks, with an open verandah in front of them facing on to the court. The outer walls vary from 6 to 11 feet in thickness. They were plainly intended to carry upper storeys. All the walls are of brick, which is left rough in the interior of the cells, but has a chiselled surface in the open corridors and other exposed parts of the building. Stone was employed for the columns, pilasters, and architraves, and also for pierced window screens, some of the designs of which are particularly interesting. Wood, however, appears
to have been used for the door lintels on the ground floor, and was no doubt employed more extensively in the upper storeys, where lightness of material was important. Some of these features can be seen in the photograph in Plate III, Fig. 1, which shows the interior of the middle monastery at its south-west corner. The doorway appearing to the left of the picture opens into one of the monk's cells. When it was excavated, the four courses of carved bricks above the lintel were found still in position, though sagging somewhat in the centre; but the old wooden lintel below them had almost completely perished. The bricks were, therefore, carefully removed course by course and replaced again over a new lintel. The central courtyard was paved over with brick, as likewise the verandah colonnades in front of the cells. A low wall, rather more than 2 feet high, into which the stone columns were built, divided the latter from the former, and covered drains were laid from the corners of the courtyard underneath the verandah and cells, to carry off the rainwater from the open quadrangle. The three monasteries, as they stand, belong in the main, we believe, to the late Gupta period, but, in the few places where trenches have been sunk to a lower level, earlier structures (going back probably to the Mauryan period) have been found beneath the walls, while various later rebuildings are also discernible. The excavation of the stratum below the Gupta buildings ought to furnish results of immense value, although the finds are likely to be less numerous than in the upper strata. A small object, but one of exceptional interest, found at a depth of some 20 feet inside the westernmost of the three monasteries, is the terra-cotta head shown in Plate IV, Fig. 6. The Western Hellenic influence in the modelling of the features is very apparent; indeed, there is nothing whatever Indian about them. For the origin of the hat and the lappets on each side we must almost certainly look to Persia.
So much for the excavations of the past season in the monastery area. In describing what we have done among the stūpas and shrines to the south of it, I will start with an interesting group of remains that have been brought to light on the north side of the Dhamekh Tower. All the ground around this monument had been excavated many years ago by Major Kittoe, and the many stūpas discovered by him had long since been destroyed. It was generally supposed, therefore, that nothing more remained to be discovered; but a trench carried northwards from the tower soon disclosed the fact that Major Kittoe's excavations had in reality only touched the uppermost stratum, and that the monuments below this stratum still remained undisturbed. Among the stūpas and other buildings which have now been cleared by us, three distinct levels and some intermediate ones can be differentiated. The lowest of these goes back to the late Gupta period, the second to the eighth or ninth century A.D., and the uppermost to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. It was to the last-mentioned level that the structures excavated by Major Kittoe appear to have belonged. No doubt other strata exist still lower down, but these have not yet been penetrated. Of the structural character of these monuments nothing need be said here, as they are almost entirely of brick and plaster, analogous to what had already been found in other parts of the site, but some of the small finds made among them are well worth mention. Most beautiful of all is a miniature figure of Avalokiteśvara, which I judge to belong to the eleventh century A.D. It is only 3½ inches high, and the carving, though of a somewhat stereotyped character, is executed with a delicacy and refinement which would do credit to a Chinese artist. In the same level was found a long and finely cut inscription of the first half of the twelfth century A.D.: it records the construction of a vihāra by Kumāradevi, the queen of Govindacandra of Kanauj.
To the second stratum belongs a series of three well-preserved stone reliefs, one of which is reproduced in Plate II, Fig. 3. They stand between 3 and 4 feet high, and are very characteristic of the sculpture of that period, which was fast losing the freshness and vitality of the Gupta work. The facts that all three were found together in one spot and were apparently from the same chisel suggest that they had probably been dedicated together in the shrine near which they were found.

Another part of the site where valuable results have been obtained, is at the Jagat Singh stūpa (Plate III, Fig. 2). In spite of the attention given to this particular monument by previous excavators, there were reasons for hoping that, with the aid of more careful and thorough excavations around its base, a good deal more might still be discovered; nor were our hopes disappointed. All the different periods of rebuilding can now be clearly distinguished, and several interesting new features have come to light. Most important of these is a circular ambulatory, or pradakṣīna, which belongs to the third rebuilding of the stūpa. This pradakṣīna is nearly 16 feet across, and is encircled by an outer wall, now standing to a height of about 4 feet, through which four doors gave access, one at each of the cardinal points. This, so far as I know, is the only example we have in India of a circular walled-in pradakṣīna. At a later date this passage was filled up, and access to the stūpa proper was then provided, by bricking up the doorways and placing flights of six steps against the outside. Each of the four flights of steps is made of a single block of stone. Outside the pradakṣīna wall only a relatively small space has yet been cleared, but it is obvious that crowds of small monuments compass it round on every side. To the north-east of the Jagat Singh stūpa further headway has also been made in clearing the long broad passage, the western end of which was opened out last
year. In the course of this work, many late statues were found: an example is shown in Plate II, Fig. 4: what figures this sculpture represents, is uncertain, but it affords a striking instance of contamination of ideas between Brahmanical and Buddhist iconography.

It remains to mention the digging to the north and north-east side of the Main Shrine, excavated by Mr. F. O. Oertel in 1905, and between it and the long wall of the late monastery on the north. This area is mainly devoted to stūpas and shrines of much the same type as those in other parts of the site. But among them two finds stand out prominent. One of these is a particularly fine lintel stone of Gupta workmanship, 16 feet long, and in an admirable state of preservation (Plate II, Fig. 2). It is decorated with figures of Jambhala, a Bodhisattva, dancing girls, and other scenes. The other is a railing in the late Mauryan style, which appears to have been brought from some other place and re-erected where we found it, probably in the Gupta period. As it now stands, it consists of twelve uprights arranged in a rectangle. A specimen of two of the posts is shown in Plate IV, Figs. 1 and 2. No structure was found within the railing, but there were signs everywhere of a conflagration, and numerous clay sealings of the Gupta period were found on the floor, and, mixed with earth and ashes, both inside and outside the railing.

Bodh-Gayā.

The mention of the railing above reminds me that the pillars belonging to the famous railing at Bodh-Gayā,¹ which were hidden away in an obscure corner of the Mahant's house, have now at last been rescued and set up again along with the others around the temple. The

¹ According to Dr. Bloch, this is the correct modern pronunciation of the name, not Bodh-Gaya as it is often spelt. The name is believed to mean "the Gayā of the Bodhi-tree incarnation of Viṣṇu."
recovery of these valuable monuments we owe directly to Lord Curzon, without the aid of whose influence and persuasion they could certainly never have been restored to their original place. A photograph of some of them as they are now set up, is shown in Plate IV, Figs. 3, 4, and 5. Dr. Bloch, who has been able to examine them carefully since their removal, draws attention to an important historical point which becomes clear from the inscriptions on two of these pillars.

"On one of them," he writes, "I read:—

Raño Brahmamitrasa pājavatiye Nāgadevaye dānaṁ;
i.e., 'this pillar is the gift of Nāgadevā, the queen of king Brahmamitra.' The queen of king Indramitra likewise is mentioned as the donor of another one of the pillars. I think there can be no doubt that these two kings, Indramitra and Brahmamitra, are identical with the two kings of the same names, of whom a number of copper coins have been found in Northern India.¹ Both of them either belonged to or were contemporaries of the Śuṅga kings, to whose time the erection of the Gateway of the Stūpa of Barāhat, now in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, must be ascribed on the strength of the inscription on it. The Bodh-Gayā railing evidently belongs to the same epoch, or, in other words, it is something like a hundred years later than Aśoka, whose name has been wrongly brought into connection with it by the modern expression 'Aśoka railing at Bodh-Gayā.' Of the sculptures, the most interesting naturally is the well-known Sūrya relief, of which Rajendralala Mitra gave an excellent photograph in plate 50 of his 'Buddha Gaya.'² The most striking point about it are the four horses, drawing the chariot of Sūrya,

¹ See Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 80 and 84.
² This photograph has been taken from a cast of the pillar made for the Indian Museum in Calcutta. It would have been impossible to procure so good a photograph of the pillar in the position in which it stood at that time.
instead of the usual number of seven. That Greek art has been responsible for this number of horses is likewise beyond dispute. The subject appears to have been a favourite one in the last centuries B.C., like the bathing of Lakṣmi by two elephants which is represented on one of the other railing pillars at Bodh-Gaya. We find Sūrya and Lakṣmi again over two of the doors leading into the interior of the Ananta Gumpa on the Khaṇḍagiri Hill in Orissa. There, too, Sūrya is represented standing on a chariot, drawn by four chargers. In later times this number is changed into seven, and nearly all likeness with the Greek prototype vanishes. However, one occasionally meets with a still more Indian type of Sūrya, of which a photograph is reproduced on Plate IV, Fig. 7. It is taken from an image placed in the back wall of a modern temple at Bilhari, the ancient Vilahari, the capital of the Chedi kings, now a large village in the Jubbulpore District of the Central Provinces. The number of the horses is seven, arranged in two rows of four and three, in the same manner as along the steps leading to the Black Pagoda at Konārak in Orissa. The figure of Sūrya is seen squatting inside a disc, placed upon a wheeled platform, upon which we observe another squatting figure, evidently Aruṇa, the personification of dawn. The most striking point in the Bilhari image, however, appears to be the disc in which Sūrya has been placed. It is highly probable, at least, that this arrangement goes back to the figure of a wheel, which in India, as elsewhere, was one of the first symbols of the divine power of the Sun that man began to worship. The subject, of course, requires a fuller treatment than can be given to it here, but, given the fact that in India, as elsewhere, the wheel was worshipped in early times as a symbol of the Sun, we at once grasp the true origin of the

1 How widespread and popular the Sun worship in India once must have been, becomes evident to us from the many small clay horses which we now find put up as offerings at most of the Muhammadan
Buddhist symbol of the 'Wheel of the Law,' the dharmacakra as they used to call it. It was an adoption by the Buddhists of one of the common symbols under which the numen divinum was at that time represented in India. But, although Buddha himself claimed to be an Āditya-bandhu, or 'descendant of the Sun,' by birth, his followers did not use the symbol of the Sun as a representation of their teacher, evidently because at that time it had not yet become the custom to glorify his person. His teaching, the Law, the dharma, was the main object to which the early Buddhists turned their attention, and the wheel was equally suitable to represent the progress of the Law, which from the beginning appears to have been likened to the victorious progress of a great conquering monarch, a cakravartin."

Another figure which strikes me as of some interest is the one below Laksñi, shown in Plate IV, Fig. 4. On the head of this figure the usñîṣa is undoubtedly portrayed. But whom, then, does the figure represent? I must confess that the answer is a riddle to me, but, whatever it may be, this figure at least proves that the usñîṣa was no new feature introduced by the Gandhāra school of art.

**Sahet-Mahet.**

Owing to serious famine in certain districts of the United Provinces, the excavations at Kasiā had to remain in abeyance this season, and Dr. Vogel's operations were transferred to the site of Sahet-Mahet, on the borders of the Bahraich and Gonda districts, in order that use might be made there of famine labour. This is the site where General Cunningham located the once celebrated

Dargāhs in North-Eastern India. The people now explain these clay horses as Pir-ki-sawāri, 'the equipage of the Pir.' In reality, however, they go back to the same class of votive offerings of which a great number has been found, e.g., in Olympia; see Sophus Møller, "Urgeschichte Europas," 1905, p. 116.
1. Mahet: Kachchh Kuti from N.E.


Sravasti, and it will be seen from the following remarks by Dr. Vogel, and from a special note contributed on the subject to this Journal by him (page 971 above), that the discovery of a copperplate in one of the monasteries has now definitely proved this identification to be correct.

"It will be remembered that Cunningham identified the main site, known as Mahet, with the ancient city of Sravasti, the capital of the Kosalas, and the mound of Sahet, situated a quarter of a mile south-west of Mahet, with the famous Jetavana of Buddhist celebrity.\(^1\) Mr. V. A. Smith, however, rejected Cunningham's identification as disagreeing with the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, and believed that he had found the true site of Sravasti near the village of Balapur in Nepal territory, close to the spot where the Rapti river emerges from the Hills.\(^2\) I must mention here, also, that, subsequent to Cunningham's exploration, Dr. W. Hoey carried on excavations at Sahet-Mahet in 1884-5.\(^3\)

"The circumstances which led to the selection of this site for excavation enabled me to extend the digging over a relatively large area. I had, moreover, the benefit of the assistance of Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, whose services Mr. Marshall had kindly placed at my disposal and who did most of the supervision at the Sahet site. The nature of the work to be done was to a large extent conditioned by that of previous explorers. It soon became evident that, among the numerous buildings attacked by Cunningham and Dr. Hoey, hardly any had been wholly excavated. In consequence the published plans are incomplete, and, I must add with regard to those of Dr. Hoey, inaccurate. In these circumstances it seemed to me necessary, first of all, to continue and, if possible, finish these buildings.

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\(^1\) *A.S.R.*, vol. i, pp. 330-348, and vol. vi, pp. 78-100.


\(^3\) *J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxi (1892), pt. i, Extra No.
"The two principal monuments of Mahet, which are locally known as Pakki and Kachchhí Kuṭi, and had been partially excavated by Dr. Hoey, first claimed my attention. The Kachchhí Kuṭi proved to be the rectangular plinth of a large temple built of brick and approached from the west by means of a flight of steps (Plate V, Fig. 1). This plinth, as it stands, is a reconstruction of an earlier square plinth, the west wall of which is still extant inside the later structure. Both these buildings were once decorated with terra-cotta panels, fragments of which came to light in great numbers at the foot of both the earlier and later walls. The difference in style of these terra-cottas points also to their belonging to different periods. Their fragmentary state made it impossible in most cases to decide on the nature of the scenes represented, but none of them appear to have any connection with Buddhism. One of the few complete panels discovered shows the familiar figure of Hanumán fighting a Rākṣasa, and leaves no doubt that the edifice to which it belongs was a Brahmanical temple. Another panel, reconstructed out of various fragments, seems to refer to some legend of Krisṇa's childhood. It is a point of interest that in the foundations of the earlier temple there were found the remains of a circular structure which evidently is the remnant of a small Buddhist stūpa.

"As regards the Pakki Kuṭi, I agree with Mr. V. A. Smith that it is a solid building, and that the supposed rooms excavated by Dr. Hoey are merely spaces filled with earth for the sake of economy. The absence of doors and windows can leave no doubt on that point. Most probably it is a stūpa, though it should be noted that no staircase was found. The objects found in excavation do not give any clue as to the religion to which it belonged. At the foot of the south wall we came on three shafts consisting of rings of baked clay 4 to 5 inches high and 7½ to 8 feet in circumference. One
of these shafts was found to be continued to a depth of 6 ft. 8 ins. below the foot of the wall. The lowermost ring contained six earthenware pots, with pierced bottoms, placed upside down. Whether these shafts did duty as drains or wells, or served some other purpose, I cannot decide, but drains of similar form and construction are frequently met with on other ancient city sites, for instance, on that of Mathurā.

"Due east of the Pakkī Kuṭī is a mound adjoining the ramparts of the city. Dr. Hoey sank a shaft from its top to a depth of 30 feet through solid masonry, from which he rightly conjectures that this building is a large-sized stāpa. Another large building, west of the Pakkī Kuṭī, remains still to be explored. It is a large flat mound, rectangular in shape; its north-east corner is occupied by the tomb of Sayyid Mirān.

"It will be seen from Cunningham's account that the outline of the ancient town is clearly marked by a row of mounds enclosing the Mahet site. At several places along the south and west side I made cuttings, in order to trace the city wall and to locate the position of the gates. But no structural remains came to light; apparently these mounds are merely earthen ramparts, and the brick walls which once crowned their tops have completely disappeared. On the north-east side, however, my endeavours were successful. Not far from the group of monuments described above is a gap in the ramparts, which is known as Nausahrā Darwāza. It is named after the adjoining strip of land, called Nausahrā, which separates Mahet from the Naukhān, an ancient bed of the Rāptī. Here excavations revealed remains of a gate flanked by two bastions and a heavy wall, both built of large bricks (18 by 11 by 3 inches). These ruins, which are of undoubted antiquity, dispose of Mr. Smith's conjecture that the Old Rāptī has cut away large portions of the ancient city and reduced it to half its original size.
"The Jaina temple of Sobhnāth in the western portion of the Mahet site was further explored. In clearing the courtyard in front of the temple numerous images were unearthed, all of which betray a late date. An example of them is shown in Plate V, Fig. 3.

"At Sahet our excavations comprised a considerable number of buildings, mostly small stūpas and temples, which it will be unnecessary to describe here in detail. The Buddhist character of these remains had already been established by former explorers and was confirmed by our researches. In the northern portion of the site the three shrines Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of Cunningham, are the most prominent. In No. 3 he discovered in 1863 the colossal Bodhisattva statue¹ (now in the Calcutta Museum), which, as stated in its inscription, was erected by Friar Bala, together with a parasol post, 'at Śrāvasti, in the Kosamba-kuṭi on the Lord's Promenade.' On that account Cunningham believed this temple to be a descendent of the Kosamba-kuṭi shown on the well-known bas-relief of Barāhat. It is obviously many centuries younger than the image, which belongs to the early Kusaṇa epoch. Moreover, it follows from the inscription that the statue must originally have stood in the open, sheltered by its stone umbrella. The expression 'the Lord's Promenade' refers to a kind of structure which, from literary sources as well as actual discoveries, appears to have been common on famous Buddhist sites. Cunningham² found such a 'Buddha's walk' outside the northern wall of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā. From the existence of a row of stone pillar bases on both sides of the promenade he inferred that it had been covered by a roof.

"In connection with the mention of the Lord's Promenade in the Bodhisattva inscription, it is interesting that in

front of the supposed Kosamba-kuṭi a structure came to light which I believe to represent such a monument. It is a solid brick wall, running from east to west, decorated with moulded brickwork, and approached by a flight of steps built on against the centre of its north face. The orientation is the same as that of the 'Buddha's walk' at Bodh-Gayā. I do not pretend for a moment that the caṅkrama discovered at Sahet is the one referred to in the inscription; it was found at the surface of the mound, and obviously belonged to the latest building period. But it may be assumed that at important places of pilgrimage there existed a continuous tradition, and that monuments connected with events of the Buddha's career were always rebuilt on exactly the same spot where such an event was believed to have taken place. Our caṅkrama may, therefore, be a remote descendant of the one mentioned in the Bodhisattva inscription.

"Among the buildings unearthed in the southern portion of Sahet, the most important is the large monastery partly explored by Dr. Hoey and now completely excavated. It faces east, and contains, as usual, a central courtyard enclosed by corridors and rows of cells. In one respect it differs from the ordinary type of a Buddhist convent. In the course of my Kasia excavations I found evidence that in some Buddhist monasteries the cell facing the main entrance (i.e. the central cell of the western row, if the entrance faces east) served the purpose of a chapel. This explains why such a cell is usually larger in size than the others.

"In the Sahet Monastery we find, on the west side of the courtyard opposite the entrance, a chamber surrounded by a procession path. It has an anteroom which is entered from the east. Here we have, therefore, a distinct chapel, evidently developed out of the chapel cell of the

1 J.A.S.B., op. cit., pl. v, No. 21.
older type of monastery. To find room for it, it became necessary to project the central portion of the western wall, an arrangement not met with in any of the Kasiā monasteries. The late date of the Sahet convent is apparent from an inscribed stone slab discovered by Dr. Hoey inside the courtyard, and was further confirmed by inscribed sculptures found in the course of last winter's excavation.

"Among these I may notice a statuette, 1 ft. 10 ins. high, of Jambhala, the god of wealth (Plate V, Fig. 2), whose image, strange though it may seem, appears to have been a necessary adjunct of a Buddhist convent. It was found in the courtyard near the north-east angle of the ante-room of the chapel. The halo is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the eighth or ninth century. The image is made of the spotted red sandstone of Mathurā. Other sculptural fragments found in Sahet are made of the blue stone of Bodh-Gayā; e.g., two portions of a Tārā figure (1 ft. 5 ins. high), and a fragment of a figure of Śimhanāda Lokeśvara (1 foot high) which, judging from a votive Sanskrit inscription, belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century. A curious find made in the same building is a Buddha figurine of Persian chalk, 2½ inches high, with a Tibetan inscription on the reverse. These, and other finds made in Sahet, go far to prove that it was an important place of pilgrimage even in the expiring days of Indian Buddhism. On this point, however, there need no longer exist any doubt, as a last and most important discovery—that of a copperplate—made by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni at Sahet, has proved that, as Cunningham first proposed, this site does mark the famous Jetavana, the favourite abode of the Buddha. For further particulars I may refer to my note in this Journal (page 971 above), in which the question of the identity is treated in detail."

1 Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., vol. xvii (1888), pp. 61-64.
Takht-i-Bāhī.

In the Frontier Province Takht-i-Bāhī has again, after a space of thirty years and more, begun to yield its splendid treasures to the spade. Five years ago I urged upon the Local Government the importance of clearing up this famous site completely, and effectually conserving its valuable remains; but it was not until the end of 1906, when Dr. D. B. Spooner had been appointed Superintendent on the Frontier, that an opportunity offered itself of taking the task in hand. In the first season the work of clearance was started in the court of the main stūpa, and at the same time the two chapels, whose superstructures are still well preserved, were strengthened and repaired. This year it was continued in the monastic quadrangle to the north-east, and afterwards in the long court between it and the court of the main stūpa. It was in the latter court that a large number of stūpas and sculptures were brought to light in 1871, but it soon became apparent that the earlier excavations had been little more than surface diggings, and that there were many more treasures yet to be found in it. Dr. Spooner, who personally conducted the excavations, describes the discoveries thus:—

"The long narrow courtyard, running east and west, and connected with the court of the main stūpa by a flight of sixteen steps in admirable preservation, is crowned by a multitude of little stūpas, some of which still preserve portions of the stucco friezes with which they were originally ornamented, though none, I regret to say, are quite so admirably preserved as the one discovered last year at Sahribahlol. The plan and details of these stūpas will be published later, on the completion of the work as a whole. For the present, the most important thing to notice is the extraordinary number of the sculptures recovered. Considering the fact that Takht-i-Bāhī had been officially excavated (and, whatever
one may think of the method of the excavations, at least so thoroughly exploited as to have furnished a large proportion of the Gandhāra pieces known to scholars until recently), the extent of this year's yield seems almost incredible. The legendary scenes recovered were not especially numerous, but several among them are of interest and value, alike for the extreme delicacy of the carving and for the manner in which the subject is treated. Not a few of the most beautiful of these scenes occur on pedestals, of which a great number were recovered. One such stone shows two scenes from the legend of Kāśyapa, the right-hand one with the Buddha in the fire temple and the hermits mounting ladders on the outside with jars of water to extinguish the supposed conflagration, and the left-hand one with, curiously enough, the same fire temple standing quite empty, with a few figures beside it turned expectantly toward the right. The interior appears to have been slightly injured, and it may be that originally the serpent was here represented: if so, the scene must be chronologically prior to the other, although the order of the two would seem to be against this assumption. Another interesting pedestal shows the Buddha seated under a tree in the centre of the composition. His right hand is uplifted in the abhayamudrā posture, and he is facing directly to the front. To his right are two standing figures, holding heavy bags in their hands, which they are evidently offering to him, while behind them is a third figure standing at the head of a reclining bullock heavily laden, behind which appears a horse's head. On the Buddha's left an unusually fine bearded Vajrapāni is seated, with his vajra in the left hand and his face turned toward the Buddha, while at the extreme proper left of the whole a very large covered bullock waggon is seen, the details of which are worked out with great carefulness. Evidently an attempt is being made to stop
this waggon, or even to back it, as one man is leaning heavily against one of the bullocks in an obvious attempt to force him backwards, and another is making an effort to roll back one of the heavy wheels, while the driver is leaning forward in a very energetic manner, belabouring the bullocks with a thick stick. The heavy bags which are being presented on the right, and the sylvan nature of the scene as indicated by an occasional tree here and there, might make one think at first that this was a novel representation of the gift of the Jetavana, it being conceivable that the laden bullock and the bullock cart both bear treasure. But the fact that the scene occurs on the pedestal of a figure representing the austerities of Gautama makes this very doubtful, and I hesitate to suggest at present any interpretation for it. Unfortunately, the ascetic figure is broken and incomplete, but its general excellence and interest can be seen from the remarkable head reproduced in Plate VI, Fig. 1. So far as I am aware, no representation of this subject superior to the present piece has been found, save the exquisite sculpture recovered by the late Sir Harold Deane at Sikri and now exhibited in the Lahore Museum.

"As a class, the most interesting figures, as well as the most beautiful, are the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, of which large numbers were rescued from the débris. Several of these are not only in admirable preservation, but also of an excellence quite unsurpassed in Gandhāra art. One Bodhisattva, more than life-sized, is especially remarkable. The right side of the figure is lost, but the head and shoulders, shown in Plate VI, Fig. 2, are practically uninjured, and are of very unusual interest, as can be seen from the illustration. But the real interest and value of this collection cannot be judged by the mere sum of its sculptures. A feature of much importance is the extraordinary variety observable in it. The sculptures range from the extreme of excellence almost to the extreme of
decadence, although no figures appear to be of quite so late a date as the sculptures at Shāh-ji-ki-Dheri. A characteristic example of this decadence is shown in Plate VI, Fig. 3, where the whole composition betrays lateness in its elaboration as well as in the inferiority of the sculpture itself. A peculiarly interesting point in this sculpture is the crescent moon on the canopy above the Buddha's head. If the figure were a Bodhisattva, one would remember the contention about the connection between Śiva and Avalokitēśvara, and the interpretation would seem simple. But, with the figure an unmistakable Buddha, I confess that the crescent is as puzzling as it is interesting. Before closing, I should like to add that the theory propounded by me, in the final account of the Sahrībahil sculptures published in the Annual of the Archæological Department for 1906-7, as regards the representation of Maitreya in Gandhāra art, has now received abundant confirmation in the Takht-i-Bāhī sculptures. Wherever a figure wearing the hair in a large loop to the left is sufficiently preserved to show the left hand, the attribute is regularly the alabastron, so that, when this fact is added to the arguments advanced at the place quoted, I feel that there can be very little reasonable doubt remaining. The type I would so identify is shown in Plate VI, Fig. 4."

Another site in the Frontier Province to which Dr. Spooner has devoted some attention, is that of Shāh-ji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar, where M. Foucher proposed to locate the famous stāpa of Kaniška. Dr. Spooner writes as follows:—

"The arguments set forth by M. Foucher in his monograph Sur la Geographie Anciennne du Gandhāra, which need not be repeated here,¹ are so convincing that his

¹ One point only calls for mention. The name Shāh-ji-ki-Dheri does not, in my opinion, mean "le tumulus du grand roi," but merely "the Sayyid's mound." The land on which the mounds stand was given by
conclusions have been generally accepted, Mr. Vincent Smith going so far as to declare definitely that the foundations of Kaniska's great stūpa are still to be traced outside Peshawar city. But the results, it will be seen, of the present explorations warn us of the need for greater caution.

"In commencing my excavations, the suggestion made by M. Foucher, that search should be made in the first instance for the hundred stūpas mentioned by Huien-tsang as lying to the north and south of the pagoda, was followed, and trenches were sunk radiating from a central point at the southern edge of the main pagoda mound. But, although four out of five trenches were taken down to a considerable depth, I regret to say that no trace of any such structures was found. The remains actually met with were as follows:

"About 70 feet from the southern edge of the mound, a rough brick pavement appeared, at a depth of about 10 feet below the surface. The edge of this was cleared for a width of some 8 feet over a length of 120 feet, disclosing at the extreme west a few bricks forming the foundations or basement of certain buildings now lost, and at the extreme east, a circular structure faced with stucco, which may have been the base of a stūpa, or more probably, judging from the undecorated nature of the remains and the absence of sculptural finds in the neighbourhood, the base of a small circular tower. More important than these

Mahmūd of Ghazni to an ancestor of the present owner, according to the latter's account; and, as the members of this family are all Sayyids, and consequently addressed by the title of Shāh-ji, it would seem unsafe to see, with M. Foucher, an echo of the ancient designation in the modern name. Besides, the more natural vernacular rendering of "le tumulus du grand roi" would be Shāhī-Dheri or Pādshāhī Dheri.

This remark, as it stands, can never have been true in modern times. No remains whatever were traceable on the surface, and the majority of monuments met with were found to be buried to a depth of from 8 to 12 feet. It should be noted, further, that the mounds lie outside the Ganj gate, not outside the Lahore gate as stated.
was a massive temple building toward the centre of the trench running from the edge of the platform toward the north. Only the basement of this building remains, but this is remarkable for its strength and solidity. The construction is, in the main, of the usual Gandhāra type, but, instead of its being built of blocks of slate with the interstices filled with small pieces of the same material, we here find large dressed stones with the interstices filled with piles of bricks. This is not, however, any necessarily sure proof of a late date; for, running out from this building to the north, is a narrow platform in the typical Gandhāra style, which from its position cannot be older than the main building. That this building was a shrine or temple, furthermore, was abundantly proven by the sculptural fragments recovered in its débris. On clearing the space to the north of this building, two other basements were found in alignment with its western wall, and still further to the north, under the edge of the mound itself, another massive wall running east and west, which appears to have been the outside wall of a stūpa, or at least of the solid platform from which the stūpa plinth arose.

"These are the chief monumental remains recovered,¹ and the difficulty of forming any final judgment on their basis is obvious, for there is nothing about them to determine their date or origin. The sculptural fragments, however, afford a more satisfactory clue. They are almost without exception of extreme inferiority. The great majority are of stucco, singularly coarse and unpleasing, and the very method of their manufacture points to a late period. The pupils of the eyes are regularly indicated, which is almost never the case in true Gandhāra art, and

¹ A few undecorated brick structures were unearthed further to the east, but their apparent lack of connection with the other remains, and their much higher level, lead me to think that they are relatively modern structures of no significance, and I accordingly leave them out of consideration.
1. North-east view of Western Hill.

2. North-east view of Eastern Hill.
until such are found, the connection of the site with Kaniska must remain doubtful. In my opinion, therefore, it seems fair to assert that, in general, the results of the present exploration, however inconclusive, at least throw doubt on the identification proposed. We have not found what we expected, and, while it cannot be claimed definitely that the identification is disproved, it is undeniable that the negative evidence is strongly against it. It is hoped that further researches can be carried out in the course of the coming winter, when possibly more conclusive evidence will be found; but, until that time, the identification of Shāh-ji-ki-Dheri with the great stūpa of Kaniska must, in my opinion, be accepted with increased caution."

Sankaram.

In the Southern Presidency, fresh ground has been broken by Mr. Rea this season at Sankaram, near Anakapalli in the Vizagapatam District, and some further valuable researches have also been made by the same officer on the well-known site at Amarāvati and among the prehistoric remains at Perambair. The semi-structural, semi-rock-cut, and impressive nature of the Sankaram group of monuments invests them with a peculiar interest, and it is a matter for congratulation that there is still much scope for excavation on the site. The discovery, too, of the familiar pyriform coffins known previously at Pallāvaram and other places, is a matter of no small moment, as it affords us definite means of dating this class of coffins and, at the same time also, the elongated type on short legs which Mr. Rea's researches at Perambair show to have been contemporary with it.

"The two low rocky hills near Sankaram, known as BojjanaKonda," writes Mr. Rea, "stand east and west, and, like many of those in the neighbourhood, are formed of a series of rough black porous rocks which crop out
1. Bronze statue from Amarāvatī.

2. Sculpture from Zegu pagoda, Prome.

3. Delhi Fort: Rang Mahall.
along the ridges particularly, but sometimes on the hill sides also. Natural caves are met with in places, which have been used by ascetics as cells of retreat. These caves are sometimes left in their natural state, and in other cases the walls have been chiselled into rectangular form.

"At the western hill at Sankaram the outcrops of the rock on the summit are numerous, and practically every one has been carved into a stupa (Plate VII, Fig. 1). Two of the largest are 30 feet in diameter, and are complete in outline. These stupas are grouped in no definite plan, their position and size being determined by the outlying pinnacles of rock. They have probably been votive in character, the donors to the shrine having apparently had them cut out, instead of erecting structural ones as they did at other places. Excavation of some of their earth-covered bases has shown that they were originally covered with stucco.

"On the east hill (Plate VII, Fig. 2) the small rock stupas are less numerous, but there are several caves with pillars and rock-cut sculptures. One large stupa, on the summit there, is partly cut out of the rock, but, this being fractured and incomplete, the missing parts are made good with brickwork. There is no dome to this stupa at present, but undoubtedly there has previously been a brick one, for the lower part of the stupa has been found on excavation to be encased in a brick wall, which doubtless extended higher. Stupas are grouped around the base, and these are of rock, wherever rock exists, but on one side they are constructed of brick, and are arranged in a line with two small caityas beside them.¹ This is not the place, however, to attempt a full description of these remains; let it suffice to say that

¹ I examined the brick stupas, and in the centre of two of them found stones cut in the form of a stupa. These were undoubtedly relic-caskets. The small receptacle on the top probably contained a small bone relic.
they are certainly among the most remarkable in the Presidency.

"On the eastern ridge of the east hill was a mound containing brick débris. It appeared unpromising on a first casual examination, but, on excavation, it has proved to be a caitya, with various buildings around and in front, and surrounded by cells, some of which are structural and some, at a lower level, rock-cut. In this respect it is, as far as I know, unique. In these cells numbers of interesting objects were found, among which I may notice some rare coins of the Chalukyan king Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 663-672), clay inscribed seals, clay estampages representing stūpas, some of which are tokens and others architectural ornaments, some pottery of various classes, a small stūpa in pottery, a small liṅgam, and a neolithic celt. Much excavation work, I should add, requires yet to be done, not only to the structural but also to the rock-cut remains."

**Amarāvati.**

In respect of this locality Mr. Rea writes as follows:—

"At Amarāvati, excavation has been continued on the mound which extends for a considerable distance all around the site of the central stūpa. The previous year's digging was chiefly confined to the sites of the gates at the four cardinal points. This work has been continued during the past season, and, in addition, explorations have been undertaken at various other parts of the mound. In every place thus examined, extensive traces of walls, rectangular and circular, have been found; but, owing to the long-continued practice of the villagers of digging in the mound for bricks, the walls are seldom in a perfect condition. Everything, however, continues to show that a very extensive series of buildings existed on the site. Sculptures and columns (plain, carved, and inscribed) have been found. Perhaps the most important find was a gold relic-casket in a pottery vessel, embedded in a ball of mortar. It was found,
not in position, but in some loose earth thrown out by some of the diggers for building materials. Some bronze images of Buddha were also found (Plate VIII, Fig. 1). Another curious find was a number of pyriform funeral urns standing in a group near a circular wall which is evidently the base of a stūpa. These tombs are identical with the prehistoric tombs of that shape found at Pallāvaram and other such sites.

"As to the prehistoric remains at the Perambair hills, I may say at once that they form a most important group. In the main they consist of stone circles enclosing earthenware tombs of pyriform and elongated cist shape, the latter of which are curious in that they generally stand on three rows of short legs. Some excavations were previously conducted at this group, but a much more extensive exploration was undertaken during the past season, with valuable results. Many articles in iron, ornamental conch-shells, beads, and pottery, were found. Among the latter several are of unique form, particularly long jars on three legs, with spouts around the rim."

Prome.

Of his exploration at Prome in Burma, Mr. Taw Sein Ko sends the following summary:—

"According to the Burmese Chronicles, Prome or Śrīkṣetra was founded by King Duttabaung 101 years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, i.e. in the year 442 B.C. Its antiquity must be comparatively high, as it is often referred to in the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.) as the kingdom of the Piu, and as it was known to the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Thsang and I-tsing, who visited India in the seventh century A.D. and left trustworthy accounts of their travels. It is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodesh, and the Irrawaddy

1 [It is presumed that Mr. Taw Sein Ko is only using A.D. 543 as the "orthodox" date of the death of Buddha.—Ed.]
(Airāvatī) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. During the solar eclipse of January, 1907, and the Ardhodaya Festival of February, 1908, large numbers of Hindus flocked to Prome to bathe in its sacred river. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery, about fifteen years ago, at Lēbaw, a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza railway station, of two gold scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula Ye dhammā hetupabhavā, etc., which are incised in the Eastern Chalukyan script dating from the seventh to tenth century A.D.¹

"The site of Śrīkṣetra is now called Yathemyo, the 'City of the Hermit,' and is five miles to the east of Prome, and the railway station of Hmawza is included within its area. The ruins, consisting of earthen ramparts, walled enclosures, burial grounds, and pagodas in all stages of decay, are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of 400 square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about 10 miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the railway station as the centre. So far, there are very few data available to throw light on the history of these remains. As to epigraphical records, two inscriptions in an unknown script were found, in 1907, by General de Beylié in the Bébé pagoda and Kyaukka Thein, and a broken piece of a votive tablet, containing seventeen effigies of the Buddha with a Sanskrit legend, was found, with many others, among the débris in the core of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. Of the latter, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows:—¹ The scripts are written in Nāgārī characters which were current in Orissa and Northern India about the twelfth century A.D. I read it as follows:—ām-Anirudadevena ka(a)—. The inscription is apparently broken both at the beginning

¹ Published at pages 101-102 of the Epigraphia Indica, vol. v.
and at the end. It probably records that Anirudhadeva made a present of the tablet on which the inscription is engraved, or that he prepared the mould in which it is cast. Aniruddhadeva is the same as Anawrata, the hero-king of Pagan, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. The native chronicles relate that, while building the Shwezigon Pagoda at Pagan, he deposited in its relic-chamber a number of holy relics which he had obtained by ransacking the ancient shrines of Prome. The records are, however, silent as to whether the Bawbawgyi was one of the edifices which he robbed. The discovery of this votive tablet at least indicates that this pagoda had acquired some sanctity even during the time of that great conqueror.

"Of the pagodas themselves, the best-preserved is the Bawbawgyi; and this one is now undergoing such measures as are necessary for its permanent upkeep. It is a cylindrical structure with a slight horizontal indentation about the middle, cone-shaped above, and crowned with an iron ti. The base consists of five terraces, 26 feet in height. The body of the pagoda is 73 feet high, the conical drum 24 feet, the amflaka 5 feet, and the ti 25 feet, making a total of 153 feet over all. A peculiarity of the Bawbawgyi is that in the middle of the pagoda is a vertical hollow, 10 feet in diameter and 80 feet high, a feature which I have found in none of the pagodas at Pagan."

"From among the sculptures discovered I attach a photo of one only, which comes from the Zegu Pagoda (Plate VIII, Fig. 2). In the upper panel the Buddha is represented, with an aureoled head, and flanked by two crowned and well-draped figures, each carrying a fly-flappper. In the centre of the lower panel is a tree flanked by two deer, on either side of which are two worshippers in an attitude of adoration."

1 A parallel to this may be found in the Maniyair Math structure at Rajgir, unearthed two years ago.
This sculpture plainly derives its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It can hardly be assigned to a later date than the seventh century A.D., and may be earlier. The figures on each side of the tree (?) appear to me more like horses.

Delhi.

Muhammadan monuments, as a rule, offer little opportunity for new discoveries by the spade, but some features of much interest which the spade has brought to light in the Delhi and Agra forts during the past season well deserve to be chronicled here. The Rang Mahall at Delhi forms one of a chain of buildings along the eastern or river face of the palace, through all of which passed the waterway called Nahr-i-Bahisht by Shāh Jahān. The palace long did duty as officers’ quarters, and it was only three years ago that Lord Curzon rescued it from the misuse to which it was being put. It was then decided to remove the multitude of modern walls and other accretions by which it had been transformed, and to restore it to some semblance of its former self, excavating and laying out, at the same time, the gardens between it and the Diwān-i-‘Āmm. While engaged on this work Mr. R. F. Tucker divined that the old marble fountain channels might still be found intact beneath the modern floor of the palace, and accordingly opened up the basement of the building, with results that more than fulfilled his expectations. The chief feature brought to light was a broad marble channel, 130 feet and more in length, which forms a continuation of the waterway from the south side of the Khāss Mahāll. The bed of the channel is of white marble, inlaid with lines of black, while the sides are elegantly moulded. Traces of a bridge, too, level with the floor of the court, were revealed.

Besides this channel, there is a marble fountain basin of exceptional beauty in the centre of the palace. Below the
moulded edge of the basin are three shallow carved and inlaid borders, the lowest of which is specially attractive in design, and in its middle is an open lotus flower of twenty-four petals, with a smaller flower in its centre. From this originally sprang a lotus-bud cup, from which the water jet issued; but this has vanished. The spandrels in the four corners are carved and inlaid, but very few of the stones remain. From this basin the water once flowed to the west along a short length of channel, and fell over a double row of candle niches into a marble tank below, decorated with a cusped and moulded border. This is in a somewhat damaged state. It is said that the marble basin now standing in the Queen's Garden formerly stood in this tank; and Sayyid Ahmad Khān gives a drawing showing it in this position. A view of the Rang Maḥall, as now opened up, is shown in Plate VIII, Fig. 3.

Agra.

The discoveries in the Agra Fort are connected with the imposing palace built by Akbar, known now as the Jahāngīrī Maḥall. Thanks again to Lord Curzon's influence, the local military prison has lately been removed from the southern end of this palace, and much is now being done to preserve this part of the building along with the rest. Among the measures undertaken for this purpose was the removal of several feet of débris from the prison quadrangle, which has brought to light a spacious paved courtyard 140 feet square, together with a range of buildings and courtyards to the east of it, undoubtedly of Akbar's period. Inside, the chambers are in a good state of preservation, but the exterior has been ruthlessly mutilated. On the north and south sides the court is bordered by shallow chambers, of which, unfortunately, little remains, save the foundations. Further to the north, and abutting on the south wall of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, is a long narrow court, with a range of urinals, etc., which
served the palace. The subterranean arrangements of these are very complete, culminating in one of the capacious drains intersecting the fort almost from side to side. To the west is a confused mass of foundations not fully excavated as yet. Evidence seems to be forthcoming to prove that some of these are the remains of the earlier fort on this site, razed to the ground by Akbar.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

COLONEL TOD'S NEWSLETTERS OF THE DELHI COURT.

My attention was called to these manuscripts by a note in an article by Mr. Karkaria in East and West for March, 1902, vol. i, p. 547. The collection is thus described in Mr. Morley's "Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the R.A.S. Library":—

"No. CXXXIII.

"Akhbarat-i-Darbār Ma'ālī Akhbārs, or papers relating to the transactions of the Court of the Emperor Aurangzēb for the following years of his reign, 1–14, 17, 20–21, 24, 36–39, 42–49, together with Akhbars of the Court of Prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh (third s. Aurangzēb). A large parcel written in Shikastah, on separate slips of paper, and enclosed in a Solander case.¹ Size 8 ins. by 4½ ins."

The collection has been made up into bundles, one for each year, and each bundle contains a number of small slips of brown paper, which are frequently written on both sides. These are written by various hands, and are sometimes quite legible. But the writing is Shikastah, and vowels are not marked, and in many instances I could not read the words. Some bundles of the later years of Aurangzēb are much larger than the others. The slips are arranged according to the order of the Muhammadan months, and each bundle has a paper band inscribed with the Samvat year which corresponds to the Muhammadan

¹A Solander case is defined in Whitney's Century Dictionary, where it is described on the strength of an extract from Notes and Queries, as a box which opens both in front and at top, and as the invention of Dr. Solander, the naturalist who accompanied Captain Cook. The box in the R.A.S. only opens at the top.
one. There does not appear to be any account by Colonel Tod of where the papers had been kept and of how he got possession of them, but from the Nagari endorsements on them it would appear that they had belonged to a Hindu Serishta, and presumably to one in Rajputana. Apparently they are notes by the court agent of some Rajputana prince of the daily occurrences of the Moghul Court.

Mr. Karkaria thought that the papers would yield valuable historical matter, but, so far as I have examined them, this is not the case. The entries are very short, and the incidents recorded are very trivial. They consist mainly of notices of promotions of officers, of the grants of robes of honour, and of such occurrences as that the emperor visited the chief mosque at such and such an hour, or that he visited the shrine of some saint, or went on a hunting expedition.

In their present state the papers do not correspond altogether with Mr. Morley’s description. I could not find the records of the 1st, 2nd, and 11th years of Aurangzeb’s reign, and there are a few slips relating to the reign of Bahadur Shah (Aurangzeb’s second son, and successor). These are for a few days of the last month of the 2nd year of his reign, and do not seem to contain anything of interest. One entry records the promotion of Nizamud-daulah to the rank of 8,000 personal and 7,000 two-horsed troopers.

The first entry in the papers of Aurangzeb’s reign is dated 25th Muharram of the 3rd year, and records a short journey of the emperor in a takht-ravān. The second refers to the presentation by Rānā Amar Singh Zamindar of Udaipur of a hundred gold muhrs. In the record for the 9th year there is a notice of Roshan Ārā Begam’s having sent a collation (hāzavān) to her father, and of its being graciously received. In the 8th year two pods of musk are presented by Maharajah Jeswant Singh, and in the same year Aurangzeb went to the mosque and also
inspected the elephants. In Ramžān of the 13th year he visited his father’s tomb, and recited the ǧātiḥa. In the same month and year the faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga reports that the climate of that part of Bihar does not agree with him, and asks for a transfer, which is granted.

Doubtless the papers must contain entries of names, etc., which would be useful to anyone who was writing a history of Aurangzeb’s reign, and I suggest that the papers be carefully preserved, and placed in a larger box than that which now contains them. The early date of Colonel Tod’s Akhbārs makes them interesting. A similar collection of Akhbārs is described in Rieu, Supp. to Persian Catalogue Or. 4608 and 4909, p. 55a, but they are of the date 1795, whereas Tod’s begin with 1660.

The following account of Colonel Tod’s papers is given in the *Asiatic Journal*. It will be seen that it is not quite correct. I am afraid that the newsletters will not throw any light on the poll-tax question; but it is much to be desired that someone would make a more thorough examination of them than I have been able to accomplish.


“Col. Tod also transmitted several additional files (altogether amounting to some hundreds) of original MS. Akhbārs, or newspapers of the Mogul Court . . . The newspapers are principally of the reign of Bahadur Shah, from 1707 to 1712, a period, Col. Tod remarks, of considerable importance to Indian History, following immediately the war of succession between the sons of Aurangzeb, when the feudatories of Hydrabad, Bengal, Oudh, etc., erected their separate States, and the Jāts of the Panjāb and their brethren west of the Chumbul, those of Lahore and Bhurtpore.

“These documents will also, it is expected, throw a great light upon the real cause of the decline of the Mogul power in India, viz., the institution of the Jezeya, or
capitation tax, which for ever alienated the Rajput Princes, one of whom, Rānā Rāj Sing, resisted it, not only with his sword, but with his pen.”

H. Beveridge.

AN UNUSUAL USE OF THE NOMINATIVE.

Both in Latin and in Greek occur cases in which the nominative case is used when normally the vocative would be expected to appear. As examples may be given, for Greek, Aristophanes, *Birds*, 665, Ἡ Πρόκυη ἐσβαυε; for Latin, Horace, *Odes*, i, 2, 43, *almae filius Maiæ*, or Livy, i, 24, 7, *audi tu, populus Albanus*. The explanation of the usage must probably be syntactical; the noun in the nominative is in apposition with the subject of the imperative mood; only thus can the use of the article in the Greek example be explained, although the cases in Latin might be merely imitations of the other declensions, when nominative and vocative are alike, by the second declension.

Delbrück, who recognises the use in these languages, expressly denies that examples are found in Vedic. *A priori* this is not very probable, and, as a matter of fact, various passages exist in which either we must recognise the presence of this idiom or we must alter the text. Now it should at once be admitted that it is quite easy to put too high a value on the text tradition of Vedic works. As a matter of fact, in many cases the text is wretchedly preserved, and even in the Rgveda itself there are clearly numerous errors. On the other hand, if a construction is

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1 This refers to the letter, of which a translation by Boughton-Rouse appears in Orme’s “Historical Fragments,” p. 232. The letter is there ascribed to Jeswant Singh, see a note to Elphinstone’s “History of India,” 4th ed., p. 569. I have not seen Mr. Weston’s text and translation.

not impossible and has parallels, it is hardly justifiable to amend it out of the texts.

In Aitareya Āranyaka, ii, 7, the MSS. and editions all read śrutam me mā prāhāṣiḥ. Further, the reading has independent support in the version of the Rgveda Khila, iv, 8, 5 (ed. Scheftelowitz, p. 121), where stands śrutam me mā prā hāṣiḥ. The sense of this must be simply, “My learning, forsake me not”; it cannot be as Scheftelowitz suggests (p. 123), “das von mir Gehörte möge man nicht verspotten.” That would require hāṣit, and the only v.l. is a very badly supported hāṣit.¹ The reading hāṣit is a mere feeble conjecture to save the grammar, and could never have become corrupted into the difficult hāṣiḥ. The only other course of emendation open is to read śruta me as a vocative, which is, of course, paleographically the easiest possible emendation, but which yet leaves it remarkable that śrutam should appear in all, or nearly all, the MSS. It may be added that the parallel mā tvam hārsiḥ śrutam mayi of the Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, iii, 17, 1, is too changed to afford assistance.²

In the more or less similar passage, Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, vii, 1, there is rtam mā mā himsiḥ, followed shortly by dikṣe mā mā himsiḥ. The manuscript evidence is unanimous, and is confirmed by the fact that in the Śāntis, prefixed and appended to the Kauśitaki Upaniṣad in the Ānandāśrama edition, the words occur precisely in that form. No doubt the commentator took them as meaning “Do not harm my Rta” (where either mā is possibly a double negative, or rtam mā accusatives of whole and part, a very rare Vedic use), but equally without doubt is the fact that the words mean, “Rta, harm me not.” Here again rtā mā is possible, but not probable.

¹ Of course, hāṣit from has is possible (cf. e.g. sākṣe, Atharvaveda, ii, 27, 5, with Whitney’s note), but it is very unlikely. Conceivably, too, hāṣiḥ might be regarded as a third person, just as Weber takes syāḥ in Atharvaveda, xviii, 1, 25, see Berl. Sitz., 1895, p. 830.

² Weber, Ind. Stud., x, 134, conjectured hāṣiḥ.
In Atharvaveda, xiv, 1, 35, occurs Āśvinā—avatam. Whitney alters to Āśvinā, calling it a “necessary correction,” but Shankar Pandit defends the traditional text. Similarly, in i, 32, 3, Whitney amends nirātaksatām for the text yād rōdasi réjamāne bhūmis ca nirātaksatam. Perhaps the right reading is nirātaksatam (for the nasalisation cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm., i, 302), but cf. iii, 22, 2, and Rgveda, iv, 49, 3. In iii, 2, 4, the MSS. and Shankar Pandit read vy ākūtaya eśām itātho cittāni mūhyata; Whitney emends to cittāni, and the question is complicated by the ākūtayaḥ being unaccented (the suggested compound vyākūṭi is unlikely). In iv, 12, 1, rōhany asī rōhany, the commentary understands rōhany at the end as vocative, and Whitney would prefer a vocative rōhini. In vi, 22, 3, the MSS. have udapṛūtas Marūtas tān iyarta, the Taittiriya Samhitā, iii, 1, 11, 8, has Marūtas, and Whitney would prefer udapṛūtas Marūtas. In iv, 2, 3, Whitney in his translation emends (with one MS. and apparently the commentator) āhva-yethām to āhvayetām, rōdasi being the subject.¹ The Rgveda prototype, x, 121, 6, has instead krāndasī—abhyaśkṣetām, but that is not conclusive. On the other hand, in iii, 1, 6, both editions concur in changing to the nominative the vocative Īndra;² and other passages, e.g. vi, 50, 1; vii, 20, 1, illustrate the confusions of reading and accent common in the Atharva.

It would be easy further to enlarge the list of possible examples, but I do not think much would be added to the weight of the evidence.³ On the whole, I think it is simpler to assume the use of the nominative as practically

² Cf. also krta in Rgveda, vi, 58, 3, where the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā, iv, 14, 16, and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, ii, 5, 5, 5, have kṛtāḥ.
³ e.g. derē in Rgveda, i, 184, 3, if we accept Pischel’s explanation (Ved. Stud., i, 18). See also Atharvaveda, ii, 14, 5; vi, 1, 1; 67, 2; vii, 89, 3; xi, 6, 23; xviii, 4, 1. 6; perhaps xviii, 3, 63, with Whitney’s notes.
a vocative in effect; and the classical parallels render it absurd to deem this use impossible, and the step from the common attributive use (as in Rigveda, viii, 24, 3, sā na(h) stāvāna ē bhava rayim citraśravastamam, or i, 69, 1, bhūvo devōnām pitā putrāḥ san; x, 89, 12, etc.) is not a long one. In vii, 88, 6, yandhi śmā vipra(h) stuvatē vārūtham, vipra would be perfectly natural. In Bloomfield's Concordance, vipra is printed, where the absence of accent leaves the form doubtful.

Further, the use furnishes a reasonable explanation of the numerous examples\(^1\) of the type Īndraś ca yāt ksāyathāḥ saūbhagasya, Rigveda, ix, 95, 5, which exchanges with the type Īndraś ca sōnam piṭataṃ Brhaspate, iv, 50, 10; cf. also ā yād ruḥāva Vārūnāś ca nāvam, vii, 88, 3.

A. Berriedale Keith.

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REPORT ON THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA, PRESENTED TO THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

The Linguistic Survey of India has made satisfactory progress since I had the honour of submitting a report to the Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists. I laid before that Congress four sections of the work, viz.:

Vol. II. Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families.
Vol. III. Part III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman family.

The following is the proposed list of volumes of the Survey:

Vol. I. Introductory.
Vol. II. Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families.

\(^1\) Haskell, J.A.O.S., xi, 66. The construction has parallels in Greek: Monro, Homeric Grammar, p. 155; Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., iv, 28.
Vol. III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of the
Himālaya and North Assam.
Part II. Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups
of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
Part III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups
of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Vol. IV. Munda and Dravidian languages.

Vol. V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
    Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
    Part II. Bihāri and Oriya.

Vol. VI. Indo-Aryan languages, mediate group
(Eastern Hindi).

Vol. VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group
(Marāṭhī).

Vol. VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western
group (Sindhi, Lahnda, Kāśmirī, and
the 'Pisāca' languages).

Vol. IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
    Part I. Western Hindi and Panjābi.
    Part II. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī.
    Part III. Bhil languages, Khāndēsī, etc.
    Part IV. Himālaya languages.

Vol. X. Eranian family.

Vol. XI. 'Gipsy' languages and supplement.

It has been found necessary to divide Vol. IX into four
instead of three parts, owing to the fact that to have
included the Bhil languages in the part devoted to
Rājasthānī and Gujarātī would have made the third part
too unwieldy in size.

As regards the progress made in these volumes—

Vol. I. Must necessarily wait till all the rest has
been finished.

Vol. II. Has been printed, and was laid before the
Fourteenth Congress.

Vol. III. Part I. This is finished and is now being
printed off.
Part II is finished and was laid before the Thirteenth Congress.
Part III is finished and was laid before the Fourteenth Congress.

Vol. IV. Has been printed.
Vol. V. Both parts have been printed and were laid before the Fourteenth Congress.
Vol. VI. Printed. Was laid before the Thirteenth Congress.
Vol. VII. Printed.
Vol. VIII. Partly finished and in type, only Sindhi and Kāśmirī remain to be dealt with.
Vol. IX. Part I. This has long been finished in MSS., but the Introduction cannot be prepared for press till the remaining parts have been printed off.
Part II. This is finished and is now being printed off.
Part III. This has been printed.
Part IV. I am at present at work on this.
About half the manuscript has been prepared, and part of this is in type.

Vol. X. All complete and in type, except Balōchi and a language spoken in Waziristān known as Ormuri.

Vol. XI. Not yet touched.

Only two complete volumes therefore remain untouched. These are:—

Vol. XI. Gipsy languages and Supplement.

Since the last Congress the following sections have been printed and issued:—

Vol. IV. Mundā and Dravidian languages.
Vol. VII. Marāṭhi.
Vol. IX. Part III. Bhil languages and Khāndēṣī.
I have the honour to-day to lay these sections, and also the final proofs of Vol. III, Part I, and Vol. IX, Part II, before the present Congress.

I take the opportunity now presented to me of again expressing my gratitude to my friend and assistant, Dr. Sten Konow, for his invaluable help. Each one of the three complete sections presented to-day comes from his pen. Besides these he has written Parts I and III of Vol. III.

I think that, when it is published, Dr. Konow's section on the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himālaya will be found of more than ordinary interest. Following the lines originally laid down by B. H. Hodgson, he has been able to separate out a remarkable group of what he calls 'Pronominalized' Tibeto-Burman languages. These extend from Kunāwar in the Panjab in the west, along the southern face of the Himālayas, as far as Darjiling in the east, and are scattered over this area amid a number of non-pronominalized cognate languages. Their chief peculiarity lies in the great freedom—almost without limit—with which they employ pronominal suffixes in the conjugation of the verb. This peculiarity and several other remarkable facts (including the close resemblance of the forms of the earlier numerals) has enabled Dr. Konow to show that these languages, although Tibeto-Burman at the present day, are built up on a substratum of an entirely different linguistic family—the Munḍā. The Munḍā languages at present occupy the central hills of India, and traces of their influence are observable even in the Aryan languages of the Eastern Gangetic Valley. Hence there must once have been a time when they were far more widely spread than they are to-day, and have extended as far north-west as the Panjab Himālaya. This, taken in connection with Pater Schmidt's proof of the connection of the Munḍā languages with Khasi and with Môn-Khmēr, and, perhaps, ultimately
with the languages of the Pacific even as far as Easter Island, opens out questions of wide ethnological interest.

The section on the Bhil languages has offered us no surprises. Hopes were entertained that closer enquiry into these forms of speech might reveal some secrets as to the ethnological relationship of the Bhils themselves. But this hope has, I regret to say, come to nothing. The Linguistic Survey shows that all the Bhils speak various forms of an Aryan language closely akin to Gujارات. The vocabulary sometimes shows slight traces of Dravidian influence, but these few words may easily have been borrowed from neighbouring Dravidian tribes, and there is nothing to show that they belong to the original stock of the language.

The Aryan languages of the East and Central Himalaya — Khas Kūrā of Ṇēpāl, Kumauni, and Garḥwālī — the sections dealing with which are now complete in manuscript, show some interesting results from the collision between Aryan and Tibeto-Burman forms of speech. The Aryan languages we know, from history, to have been brought by immigrants from Rājputānā. The old Aryan language of the Khaśas seems to have died out. The presence of the numerous Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages in the same country has strongly influenced the Rājasthānī grammar brought by the immigrants, and, especially in Khas Kūrā, we come across several instances of an Aryan noun declined, or an Aryan verb constructed, according to the rules of Tibeto-Burman grammar.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

July 15th, 1908.
Bhojapura, near Kanauj.

The inscription at Pehevā or Pehoa, in the Karnāl district (line 9, Ep. Ind., i, 187, ed. Bühler; ante, p. 768), mentions the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu "on the bank of the Ganges in famous Bhojapura, near famous Kanyakubja," तथा श्रीक्षणकुञ्जा[क्षण] श्रीभोजपुरे गंगातोरे. When writing about Kanauj (ante, l.c.) I did not know the position of Bhojapura, and guessed that it might be a suburb of the imperial city. In reply to my enquiry, the Collector of the Farrukhābād District has kindly sent me a report by a Tahsildār, which shows that the village Bhojapura still exists in the pargana of the same name. It stands on the same side of the river, namely, the right bank, as Kanauj, and is distant from the city about 30 miles by road and 35 miles by water. The oldest building now visible is a mosque with an inscription attributed to the time of Ālamgir or Aurangzeb. But there is a local tradition that an ancient temple of Someśvarnāth, which formerly stood on the bank of the Ganges, was destroyed by a Rājā named Makrand in the days of Ālamgir. The Ganges now flows at a distance of 2 miles from the village.

The Tahsildār states that the name of the city is written in Nāgarī as कानौज, Kanauj, and in the Persian character as ٌتَرٌج. Vincent A. Smith.

August 10th, 1908.

The Coinage of Nepal: Supplementary Note.

In the present note I wish to add one or two remarks and to make one or two minor corrections which I had intended to make on receipt of the proofs of my paper, had it been possible to send them out to me for revision, I would note that none of the corrections now made in
any way affect any of the arguments or conclusions of the paper.

The Early Coinage.

1. Referring to the objects in front of the lion on the obverse of the coin of Jiśnu Gupta (Pl. I, Fig. 8), on p. 717, l. 20, I have said, "The upper one is a flower consisting of six petals round a centre, and the lower one appears to be a lotus leaf." This is a mistake. The lower object is the lion's raised paw.

2. The obverse and reverse of coin No. 6 of Aṃśu-varman (Pl. I, Fig. 6) have by mistake been transposed on the plate, and also in the description of the coin on p. 719. The reverse of this coin on p. 719 should therefore be read as obverse, and the obverse as reverse.

3. With reference to the device of the sun surrounded by rays, on the reverse of the coins of Aṃśu-varman, Professor Lévi suggests that it may be a rebus for the name Aṃśu, 'a ray' (Lévi, "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 143).

4. The reverse of coin No. 8, of Jiśnu Gupta, in the list on p. 719 has been described as "ornamental symbol" only. This symbol is an ornamental form of a "Nandipada triśula," or trident, with the two hoofs of the bull Nandi at its base. This is referred to on pp. 677 and 678, but should also have been entered in the description of this coin in the list.

The Malla Coinage.

1. The sentence in the twenty-fourth line of p. 697, with reference to the name of Vira Narasiṅha, whose name I have given as the seventh ruler of Pātañ, that "His name does not occur in the Vamśāvalī or in Wright's table," is, of course, a slip of the pen for "or in Bendall's table," to which reference is made in the case of this and the other names of rulers now added.

2. The reference to the mohar of Raṇajita Malla in the fourth line of p. 700 should be Pl. II, Fig. 8, and not Pl. I, Fig. 6, as given.
3. In referring to the mohar of Jaya Pratāpa Malla (No. 12, Pl. II, Fig. 12), which he copied from the Moghal rupee, I have said (p. 707, l. 9), "The upper line of characters on the reverse appears to be intended for the commencement and last portion of 'Shāh 'Alamgir,' from whose coins Pratāpa Malla would therefore appear to have copied them." This should be "Shāh Jahāngir," from whose coin it was copied, and is correctly given as such against this coin (No. 12) in the list on p. 724.

I would remark, in regard to this, that the introduction of floral decoration over the field of the coin by Jaya Pratāpa Malla would also appear to have been taken from the coins of Shāh Jahāngir.

4. The word "within" should be inserted before the words "the central circle" in the third line on p. 708.

5. The last figure in the dates of the following coins, which has been given as '6,' should be '5,' and their dates should therefore be as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Name of King</th>
<th>Date, Newar Sāka.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>724</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pratāpa Malla</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>1655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>728</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Vira Mahindra Malla</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Yoga Narendra Malla</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>1685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Yoga Narendra Malla</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>1685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>736</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Hṛli Narasimha</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>738</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Jaya Rājya Prakāsa Malla</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>1735</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. In the description of the reverse of coin No. 57 in the list on p. 734, the sentence "In triangles, to l. vase for offerings, to r. standard" should be "In triangles, to r. vase for offerings, to l. cakra."

7. In the description of the reverse of coin No. 58 on p. 734, the words "Light pointed figure" should be "Eight-pointed figure."
8. In the description of the reverse of coin No. 64 on p. 736 the words "and pādukā" should be omitted, as I do not, on re-examining the coin, think that the two objects which I have described as a 'pādukā' are intended for it, but are merely ornamental, and are not the shape of feet.

9. In referring to the title "Saṅgitārṇava Pāraga" assumed by Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (p. 706, l. 13), I have only referred to one of his coins (No. 55) on which this title occurs. It also occurs on his coins Nos. 58 and 59 (vide those coins in the list, pp. 734 and 735).

10. I find that in giving the list of symbols which occur on the Malla coins (pp. 699–703) I have omitted the sun and moon, which appear on most of the coins, except those of the early type, as the Malla kings claimed descent from both the Solar and Lunar races.

11. In referring to the design adopted by Prthvī Narāyana Sāha for the mohar of the Gorkhā Coinage, I have said (p. 703, l. 20) that it "was copied by his brother Dala Mardana Sāha when king of Pātan (No. 75; Pl. VI, Fig. 13)." This requires some further explanation, as Dala Mardana Sāha reigned at Pātan from 1761 to 1765 A.D., though the coin bears date 1768 A.D., and Prthvī Narāyana did not conquer Nepal until that same year. Prthvī Narāyana, however, struck coins after his first conquests, and previously to his final conquest of the three kingdoms, as shown by his coin (Pl. VII, Fig. 1), which bears date 1676 Śāka, corresponding to 1754 A.D.

12. The date A.D. of the coin of Dala Mardana Sāha, referred to above (coin No. 75, p. 739), is given in the list as 1678 A.D. This should be 1668. The Newār date (888 n.s.) is correctly given.

The date on this coin of Dala Mardana Sāha is difficult to explain. On the death of Viśvajita Malla in 1761 A.D., the Pradhāns went to Noākot and asked Prthvī Narāyana to become king of Pātan. He declined, but proposed
his brother Dala Mardana, whom they accepted, and who reigned for 4 years, from 1761 to 1765. The Vamiśāvalī says that "being a Gorkhali he did everything without consulting the Pradhāns, who were therefore displeased and expelled him. Then they brought a descendant of Viśvajīta, named Tejanarsinha Malla, and made him Rāja. He reigned for three years"¹ (1765 to 1768). It is curious that there should be no coin of Dala Mardana bearing date of the years that he is recorded to have reigned, but that a coin should have been struck by him three years after he ceased to be king, and in the year that his brother Pṛthvi Narāyana conquered the country.

E. H. Walsh.

Kṛṣṇa-datta Miśra, Keśava-dāsa, and the Prabodha-candrādaya.

Professor Hultzsch (Epigraphia Indica, i, 220) has shown that the Prabodha-candrādaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra was written between 1050 and 1116 A.D.

The celebrated Hindī poet Keśava-dāsa Miśra, of Orchā in Bundelkhand, wrote the Vijnāna-gitā in Sam. 1667 (1610 A.D.). It was dedicated to Vira-simha, brother of Indra-jīta Simha, and son of the Bundelā king Madhukara Sāhi of Orchā. The Vijnāna-gitā is a Hindī paraphrase of the Prabodha-candrādaya. In the preface Keśava-dāsa states that his father's name was Kāśi-nātha Miśra, and that his grandfather was Kṛṣṇa-datta Miśra, who was a great pāṇḍit.

Professor Hultzsch refers to the coincidence between a passage in the Prabodha-candrādaya, in which Kṛttivarman's general, Gopāla, "having crushed the ocean-like army of Karna, obtained the splendour of victory in battle, just as Madhumathana, having churned the

¹ Wright, History of Nepal, p. 251.
milk-ocean, obtained Lakṣmi,” with a corresponding passage in the Mahōbā inscription. An exactly similar statement is made in the Vijñāna-gitā about Vira-simha, who fought the Pramaras and Tōmaras,—राज-श्री जिन मध्य जलें समर चचेनक समुद्र, who churned many oceans of battle, and took therefrom the Lakṣmi (or prosperity) of the kingdom. For further information about Vira-simha see below.

It is stated by pañdits in India, and is commonly believed, that Kēśava-dāsa’s grandfather was the author of the Prabōdha-candrōdaya, but a comparison of dates shows that this is impossible. Either the two persons are quite distinct, or else Kēśava-dāsa has omitted some names from his genealogy.

The Bundēлас, under whom Kēśava-dāsa lived, were quite distinct from the Candēлас, under which dynasty the author of the Prabōdha-candrōdaya lived. In the preface to the Kavi-priyā, Kēśava-dāsa gives the following genealogy of the Bundēлас:—

(1) Vīra, of the Gaharwār clan.
(2) Karāṇa, a great conqueror.
(3) Arjuna-pāla, born at Mahōnī.
(4) Sāhana-pāla (? Sōhana-pāla).
(5) Sahaja-karaṇa.
(6) Naunika-dēva.
(7) Pṛthvirāja.
(8) Rāma-simha.
(9) Rāja-candra.
(10) Medīnī-malla.
(11) Arjuna-dēva, a conqueror and pious.
(12) Malakhāna, fearless in battle.
(13) Pratāpa-rudra. Founded the city of Orchā (1531 A.D.). Kṛṣṇa-datta Miśra was his spiritual instructor.
(14) Bhārati-candra. Fought Šēr Šāh. He had no son, and was succeeded by his brother.
(15) Madhukara Sāhi. He had many contests with Akbar. (He died in 1593 A.D.) He left nine sons—Dulaha Rāma Sāhi, Hōrila Simha, Rōdala Simha, Ratna Sēni, Indrajita, Raṇajita, Satrujita, Vira Simha, Hari Simha.

(16) Dulaha Rāma Sāhi succeeded Madhukara, and was praised for his bravery by Akbar. He left Orchā and founded the Chandērī State. Succeeded by his son.

(17) Rāma Sāhi (1612–20 A.D.). His son was

(18) Bhāratha (Bhārata) Sāhi (1620–46).

Here Kēśava-dāsa's genealogy ends. It was to Vira Simha, the son of Madhukara Sāhi, that Kēśava-dāsa dedicated the Vijñāna-gītā.

Vira Simha died in 1627 A.D. He was a great warrior, and made the name of Bundēlā a terror to the surrounding states. At the head of a troop of desperados he murdered Abūl Fazl at the instigation of Prince Salīm (afterwards Jahāngīr). Akbar, in consequence, sent troops against him, but on that monarch's death he was taken into favour by Jahāngīr.

On pp. 20 ff. of the Bundelkhand Gazetteer there is a genealogy of the same family, based on Lāl Kavi's Chattrā-prakāśa, which differs slightly from the above.

G. A. GRIERSON.

September 3rd, 1908.

THE PĀÑDAVAS AND THE KAURAVAS.

The great importance of the questions raised by Dr. GRIERSON in his note on pp. 837 seq. of the Journal will perhaps justify a very brief reply.

The point I made was simply that in the Vedic literature there is no trace of any distinction, either (a) racial or
(b) religious, between Kuru and Pañcāla, and that that literature lends no support to any theory which makes the Pañcālas earlier immigrants or anti-Brāhmaṇical, by which term I alluded to what appears still (p. 843) to be Dr. Grierson's view, viz. that the Pañcālas were guided by Kṣatriyas who introduced and held unorthodox views. I took exception to the view that, assuming that the Pañcālas were Bhāgavatas,¹ that fact showed that they were under Kṣatriya guidance, on the ground that there was no substantial evidence that Bhāgavatism is not due to the Brāhmaṇas, just as much as the Brahman doctrine known to some of the older Upaniṣads.

Against the argument from the main body of the Vedic texts for the connection of Kurus and Pañcālas, a connection asserted by all Vedic scholars, including Professor Macdonell, Dr. Grierson can only set the theory that the compound Kuru-Pañcāla does not prove relation any more than "the frequent use of similar compounds at the present day does so in similar cases," and he even suggests that the compound may refer to the country inhabited by two sets of opposing tribes. This argument can be left to its own merits; more substantial are the references to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (pp. 841, 842), but I am unable to find in them a single hint of opposition between Kuru and Pañcāla—they help to confirm my view that the Vedic literature has no trace of the alleged split—and Drupada's actions have no bearing on Vedic times when he was not known, and do not distinguish Kuru from Pañcāla. The Epic shows clearly that later Kuru and Pañcāla might and did fight, but it never hints that they fought on religious or racial grounds; the Vedic literature shows us the two tribes united—probably originally called by one name (Kuru-Krīvi)—and living in close union. Any theory which at

¹ For which there is no specially decisive evidence.
² In the sense that the Pañcālas were earlier immigrants than the Kurus, and might almost be called different nationalities (p. 838).
the present day claims that the war has its roots in differences of race or religion is certainly revolutionary.

For even in the Epic the war is Kauravas versus Pândavas, not Kuru versus Pañcála. The theory that it is Kuru versus Pañcála is due to Lassen and was accepted by Weber, and Holtzmann later invented the famous ‘inversion’ theory which von Schroeder adopted. Both theories, however, belong to pre-scientific study of the Epic, and Dr. Grierson must have strangely misread the foremost authority on the Epics, Professor Hopkins, if he does not see that he rejects either view, for reasons to my mind absolutely convincing. To Lassen, too, we owe the theory of the armed strife of Bráhmaṇa and Kṣatriya, but he wrote when Vedic studies were yet young, and I hardly fancy that Dr. Grierson will find any Vedic scholar to accept the theory of Viśvāmitra as a Kṣatriya in the Veda, which flatly contradicts all the evidence, nor do I hesitate to hold that all Vedic Rṣis were Bráhmaṇas. In a sense there was in India a long struggle between Kṣatriya and Bráhmaṇa, but it was not waged by weapons, nor is it reflected in the struggle of Kaurava and Pândava, Kṣatriyas equally.

The first of Dr. Grierson’s statements on p. 843 is answered by the preceding remark. The second rests on the unproved hypothesis of the Kuru land alone being Madhyadeśa, and the equally unproved theory that Kuru and Pañcála were opposed. Against (3) the theory of learned and unorthodox Kṣatriyas, I can now quote—if I may for the moment share Dr. Grierson’s reverence for authority—the great weight of Professor Bloomfield’s opinion (see above, p. 883). As regards (4), if there were no unorthodox Kṣatriyas—and the tasks assigned to

1 Correct 400 A.D. on p. 838 of Dr. Grierson’s article to 400 B.C., which is evidently meant.
2 See J.A.O.S., xiii, 61 seq.; Great Epic of India, p. 397.
3 The true relation of Bráhmaṇa and Kṣatriya is well laid down by Hopkins, J.A.O.S., xiii, 72.
them in the Epic preclude their having given much time to speculation—they could hardly exist among the Pañcālas. As regards (5), the Pañcālas no doubt lived east and south of the Kurus, but not of Madhyadeśa, which even in Varāhamihira’s time included Pañcāla (above, p. 787). As regards (6), the evidence for polyandry in Pañcāla is confined to Drupada’s consent to the marriage of his daughter with the Pāṇḍavas; the amount of explaining away it receives in the Epic forbids our assuming that it was a common practice in Pañcāla; it may have been forced on the king by his allies, who evidently controlled his actions. For replies to (7) and (8) see above.

Of the other remarks in Dr. Grierson’s note, I must take especial exception to the view that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa does not place the Kuru-Pañcālas in the Madhyadeśa, and that there was a usage which reckoned the Kurus as the Madhyadeśa par excellence. It is perfectly true that in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 14, the word Madhyadeśa does not occur, but there occurs the phrase asyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ madhyamāyāṁ pratiṣṭhāyāṁ diśi, which is with all deference, I submit, better Vedic Sanskrit than Madhyadeśa, and, indeed, I am not aware of any passage in the Brāhmaṇas where Madhyadeśa occurs. When it is found, in Manu, ii, 21, it extends to all the country between Himavant and Vindhya, east of Vinaśana and west of Prayāga, and in the Pāli books the expression means, according to Rhys Davids, the whole of Aryan North India; at any rate, it does not denote the land of the Kurses, and so an attempt to identify the land of the Kurses and Madhyadeśa lacks any foundation.

For the close connection of Kuru and Pañcāla may be adduced the significant fact that Ārūni, the great figure of Brāhmaṇism, was a Kurupañcāla (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi, 4, 1, 2). The Pañcālas, indeed, must be regarded as

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1 See Bühler, S.B.E., xiv, 2.
2 J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 91.
a Kuru stem amalgamated with other Aryan elements; the name no doubt is due to the fact of union, and when we find in the older books, the Pañcavīṃśa Brāhmaṇa and the Maitrāyani Samhitā, Kurukṣetra alone mentioned, we can draw no argument from that fact to the barbarous or un-Brāhmaṇical character of the Pañcālas.

As for the relation of Sāmkhya-Yoga and Bhakti, it is surely impossible to assert that an atheistic faith, like the Sāmkhya, or a faith with an external and inorganic deity, like the Yoga, is essentially connected with a faith which has meaning only because of the existence of a true deity. That it is possible to graft much of the detail of Sāmkhya and Yoga into the system of the strict Vedānta is seen in the Vedāntasāra; the same process is still easier with the Bhakti doctrine, and, moreover, all Indian philosophy is based on a common set of doctrines which preclude much originality in details. But in this case the fundamental doctrines of Sāmkhya and Yoga alike, so far as they are original, are quite inconsistent with Bhakti.

I must conclude with a mild protest against the use of evidence of relationships derived from the Purāṇas and the pseudo-Epic, as on pp. 841, 842 of Dr. Grierson’s note. It belongs to an antiquated theory of method, is utterly unsound in principle, and can lead to no useful result.  

A. Berriedale Keith.

1 Mactonell, Sanskrit Literature, pp. 213 seq.; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 404 seq.
3 To obviate misunderstanding it should be noted that I have never doubted the obvious fact that there are earlier and later immigrants into India, but only that the Pañcālas and Kursus respectively represent these different strata. If (as mentioned on p. 836 of my note) the Mahabhārata had given us a war of Kuru-Pañcāla against Kosala-Videha-Magadha, the ethnological and linguistic evidence would have come in very satisfactorily, as explaining the ultimate basis of the war. But the Epic does not give us this, nor does it lend any support to the strange theory adopted in the new edition of the Indian Empire of the ‘ring fence’ (cf. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 882).
NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

Mr. Keith will forgive me for not carrying on the controversy. I have said what I had to say in my last note, and I confess that after reading what he now says I remain impenitent and unconvinced. I cannot quite make out whether my theory is revolutionary because it is new and startling or because it is based on old and effete arguments, but, at any rate, I am grateful to him for giving me an opportunity of acknowledging that in my last note I omitted to state that Professor Hopkins did not accept the 'inversion' theory. That theory, however, does not affect my argument one way or the other.

I should like to add one thing which was accidentally omitted in copying out my last note for the press. It is about the Krivis. Sāyana (Rg-veda, II, xvii, 6) says that they were Asuras. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says that 'Kriv' is an old name of the Pañcālas. Therefore, Mr. Keith's orthodox Pañcālas of the Madhyadēśa were Asuras. Somebody—I, or Sāyana, or Mr. Keith, or the author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa—must be wrong here, and I leave the problem for others to solve as best they can if the Pañcālas in those early times did live in the Madhyadēśa.

G. A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.
September 11th, 1908.

ON THE SAMARITAN BOOK OF JOSHUA.

Dr. Gaster, on the 16th June, read a paper before the Society on his new discovery, of which he gave an admirable synopsis in the last number of the Journal. This appeared almost simultaneously with his Introduction and Text in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for July (vol. lxii, part ii). I ventured, at the conclusion of his paper, to question the
critical value of the book, and submitted that the learned lecturer had not made out an even *prima facie* case for its antiquity. His claim for the independence and age of his book was, in his paper, based upon general grounds, which scarcely warranted the assumption, and now that the text has appeared we can but feel the more convinced that we are dealing with a quite modern compilation borrowed by the Samaritans from the Jews, and not even borrowed without acknowledgment!

The book consists of twenty-four chapters, of which nearly half correspond, almost verbatim, with the Massoretic text of about half our Biblical Joshua. It will be remembered that Joshua is naturally and almost equally divided into a historical and geographical part. The historical portion is reproduced in half of the Samaritan book. The other half contains Midrashic stories about Joshua and his legendary war with Shobach and alliance with Nobach, king of the two and a half tribes on the other side of the Jordan. Dr. Gaster admits that the legends here incorporated, "which seem to have been in circulation as early as the second century B.C., were readily taken up by the Jewish Midrash and by the Samaritan adaptors of the Book of Joshua," but claims that as to the part parallel to the Hebrew Massoretic text, "it must be an old Hebrew text taken over by the Samaritans, and handled by them in the same way as they handled the text of the Pentateuch, and even with greater freedom."

In 1902, a well-known Hebraist, A. M. Luncz, published in his Hebrew annual *Jerusalem* (vol. vi, part ii) "The Book of Joshua of the Samaritans in Hebrew." In a short introduction he pointed out, quoting Kirchheim, that previously only an Arabic version had been known, but that "one of the learned Samaritans in Nablous" had given him a Hebrew version written in Hebrew and Samaritan characters in parallel columns, which differed greatly from the Arabic. Its resemblance to the Biblical
text, apart from intentional alterations and additions, was so great that it would have seemed to have been derived therefrom, except that he doubted whether present-day Samaritans had sufficient mastery of Hebrew to have been able to compile a book of which the first chapters were taken from the Biblical text, incorporating alterations contained in their Arabic Joshua, and the last were translations from the Arabic. Such a task would not have been easy for Jews, and, besides, the Samaritan who sold him the book only charged him the price of a copy. And so, without committing himself to a definite opinion, Lunez admits the possibility that it might have been composed by one of the Samaritan scribes in ancient times, and leaves it to the critics to decide. Lunez's text occupies 16 pages 8vo, and ends at xxiii, 3 of Dr. Gaster's edition, with an editorial note promising the continuation as soon as it reaches the editor's hands.

In the following number of Jerusalem (part iii) the learned and well-known scholar David Yellin gives a short review, entitled "Book of Joshua or Chronicle?" in which he says that the published text is not a version of the Samaritan Book of Joshua translated by Kirchheim, nor a contemporary Samaritan forgery, but simply a Hebrew version of Abu'l-Fath's Chronicle, which he composed in both Arabic and Hebrew in 856 Heg., but that where borrowed from the Biblical Joshua the Arabic version greatly condenses the narrative. Yellin then points out that the Hebrew is full of gross Arabisms, and he gives seventeen prominent instances, which are, he adds, characteristic of Samaritan literature and liturgy throughout Moslem times down to the present day.

Dr. Gaster is therefore hardly justified in saying that Lunez "printed a bare transcript of [a similar copy] in the Jerusalem periodical. It shared, evidently, the fate of the Samaritan original, it has remained unknown and unrecognized." Dr. Gaster's view is rather that which at
first sight commended itself to Lunez. But so far the consensus of authority is on the side of Yellin. Professor Harnack, in an interview with the correspondent of the *Standard*, Baron von Gall, in a letter to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Rev. M. H. Segal, of Oxford, in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Professor Sigmund Frankel, of Breslau, in the *Tag*¹ (Berlin), have given various arguments against the authenticity of the Hebrew text of the Samaritan Joshua. Finally, Dr. A. S. Yahuda, of Berlin, in a paper read before the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences on the 30th July,² and in another read before the Orientalist Congress at Copenhagen on the 16th August, has given the weightiest grounds for rejecting the work as a late compilation, and in its present Hebrew form perhaps not twenty years old. For technical criticism the Arabist is referred to Dr. Yahuda’s paper, but he makes one or two historical points which are outside “the philological aspects of the book,” with which Dr. Gaster did not deal in the précis of his paper which appeared in the last number of the *Journal*.

The reference in chapter 24 to the scroll of the law, written by Abisha, son of Phineas, “in the 13th year since the entry of the children of Israel to Palestine,” could not possibly have been written before the fourteenth century. This scroll is first mentioned by Abu'l-Fath in 1355, and, as Yahuda claims, the real writer was Abisha, the son of Phineas, High Priest of the Samaritans between 1304 and 1358, of whom great wonders are related in the Samaritan Chronicles. Perhaps he was regarded as a sort of reincarnation of his illustrious ancestor (?) and namesake.

Yahuda also mentions the Hebrew translations of the

¹ And the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of 15th August; see also the *Jewish World* of 26th June, and Dr. Gaster’s reply in that of 3rd July.
² Published in *Sonderabdruck, Über die Unechheit des Samaritanischen Josuabuches*, Berlin, Reimer, 1 Mark.
Shobach episode, published by Samuel Shallum in the *Juchasin* of 1566, in which, as I pointed out in the discussion after Dr. Gaster’s paper, he says, “I have found and seen it in a book of the Chronicles of the Samaritans, and they record that they saw it in a Midrash of the Jews.” That is surely a Samaritan admission that their book was based on Jewish sources and not an independent text.

At the Orientalist Congress, Yahuda drew attention to the correspondence between the Samaritans and Scaliger and Marshall, published by Juynboll in the introduction to his edition of the Arabic text of Joshua, from which it appears that the Samaritans at that date possessed the Book of Joshua in Arabic only, and that they asked for and obtained in 1687 the Hebrew text of the Book of Joshua from England!

The Samaritans even of to-day are not absolutely devoid of culture and literary ability. Jacob ben Aaron,¹ their High Priest, not only speaks Hebrew, but has written in Arabic a book on the History and Religion of the Samaritans. Nine chapters of this have been translated by Dr. Barton into English (Bibl. Sacra, lxiii, pp. 385–426). Jacob himself could have been capable of this Samaritan mystification.

All these considerations make it almost impossible to credit that this Hebrew text now published is in any way independent of the Massoretic text. Anyhow, the Samaritan Joshua is interesting enough to have attention called to it once again, and we are grateful to Dr. Gaster for having made it popular.

E. N. Adler.

*September 15th.*

¹ For his genealogy, etc., see Cowley in Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1904, p. 73.
**My Reply.**

Mr. E. N. Adler enters again the list of protagonists against the authenticity and antiquity of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, which he now describes as being possibly a compilation of the last twenty years. He has fortified himself with the apparent testimony of some Continental writers, contained in short notices in daily papers, and with the paper read by Dr. Yahuda in Berlin and at the last Congress of Orientalists. He is leaning on a broken reed and must not be surprised if he finds his hand pierced. For the time being I will limit myself to some of the points which he raises, guided by his new-found masters and being thereby misled.

Until I published the text, no one in Europe or America knew of the edition of Luncz, not even Mr. Adler. And what I said in my paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society on July 16th stands absolutely uncontradicted. I am not dealing here with the so-called Arabisms; they belong to the philological part of the investigation, which will be carried on in another place. But Mr. Yellin as well as Mr. Luncz, who know the Samaritans thoroughly, are of one opinion, that there is not a man living among them who could write such a Hebrew book. The fact that the actual High Priest can write Arabic treatises, which on examination may be found to be unacknowledged copies from older Arabic Samaritan writings, is surely not quite so valid an argument for his Hebrew scholarship as Mr. Adler would like us to infer.

There are, however, the so-called historical points, which Mr. Adler evidently adopts unreservedly from Yahuda, and with these I must deal in detail. It is a pity that Mr. Adler should pin his faith on Yahuda, and should not have taken the trouble of verifying the statements made somewhat rashly by the former. There is first the question of the Scroll of Abisha, which is mentioned at the end of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, and in reality
belongs to the 'Chronicle,' and not to the Book itself, which finishes with the death of the High Priest Eleazar. According to Yahuda—Adler, Abul-Fath was the first to mention this Scroll, and therefore the Book of Joshua must have been composed after 1354, the time of Abul-Fath. Yahuda evidently does not know anything about Samaritan literature. As I had stated in my Introduction to the edition of the Book of Joshua that I could not trace that Scroll in any older book than Abul-Fath, he was satisfied to copy my statement, and to draw from it quite an erroneous conclusion. It would take too long to repeat the entire history of the Scroll as given by Abul-Fath. Vilmar, in his Introduction to the Arabic edition of that Chronicle, has already drawn attention to the 'solemn exhibition' (not the finding as Yahuda wrongly translates) of that Scroll on the eighth day of Tabernacles by the then High Priest, Pinehas, amidst the rejoicings of the people. From this notice Yahuda (and Adler) have drawn the conclusion that the 'exhibition' was really a 'find,' and that the 'find' was nothing else than a pious fraud perpetrated by that High Priest, who showed the people suddenly a copy of the Law written in the thirteenth year after the entry of the Israelites into Canaan. For what purpose such a fraud should have been committed just then no one knows, and none of these writers venture even to suggest. But the whole incident bears a different meaning. I do not expect Yahuda to know anything about the Samaritan Chronicle which Mr. Adler has published, but one might expect that Mr. Adler at least should know it. If he looks up pp. 99, 100 of his edition he will find that in the middle of the thirteenth century, circa 1250, the Temple of the Samaritans was destroyed by some invading hordes, very likely the invasion of Babekan; that most of the Samaritans were carried away into captivity, that they were rescued by the Samaritans in Damascus, and that only a few ventured to return to
Sichem; furthermore, that shortly afterwards another calamity befell them in that place, in that they were dispossessed of another important site. It was only in the time of Pinehas that they enjoyed again some peace, and then, in sign of the settled condition, the old Scroll, which evidently had been hidden, was again shown publicly to the people on the day in which it was customary to show it regularly every year; so it has been the custom ever since, and no doubt so also in the time before those calamities had overtaken them. Mr. Adler in looking further at his Chronicle would find (p. 101) that Pinehas had two sons, of whom Abisha was the younger, and did not succeed his father in the position and dignity of High Priest, the place being rightly taken by his elder brother Eleazar. Nothing remarkable is mentioned of him, except that he was an inspired poet. In which chronicles has Mr. Adler found that "great wonders are related of him"? I have found none in his Chronicle, nor in my copy, nor in the older "Tolidoth," ed. Neubauer. Is it then likely that Pinehas the High Priest would attempt to palm off on a credulous multitude a brand-new copy of the Law written by a boy, for Abisha could not have been very old in 1355, when that event is related to have happened? And how can anyone believe that a man like Abul-Fath, versed in the lore of his people, could have been deceived by such a palpable forgery? He had seen the Scroll, he copied the inscription, and speaks of it with great veneration and respect. This alone ought to suffice to prove the higher antiquity of that Scroll.

Again, I ask of those who with an air of dogmatic infallibility put forth such an extraordinary theory, that they should have searched the Scriptures a little more carefully and try and see whether the Scroll has really not been mentioned in any earlier writings prior to the date of Abul-Fath. If they had done so they would have found what I have found since, that this Scroll of Abisha is
actually mentioned in the old chronicle, "the Tolidoth," ed. Neubauer, composed in the first instance in Damascus in the year 544 Heg. (1149 a.d.). This book is, moreover, one of the avowed sources of Abul-Fath, who mentions it distinctly and borrows largely from it. We find then (p.11) the following words:—"In that year (i.e. the thirteenth year after the entry of the children of Israel into the land of Canaan) wrote Abisha the son of Pinehas the son of Eleazar the son of Ahron the priest—the peace of the Lord be upon them—the holy Scroll which is found in the town of Sichem—may the Lord protect it—and is preserved in the house of the High Priest unto this very day." Thus the Scroll of Abisha was known in Damascus already in the year 1149 to be in existence and preserved in Sichem, at least two hundred years previous to the time of Abul-Fath and the 'invention' of it by the High Priest Pinehas, who, by the way, was not the son of Eleazar, as given in the Scroll, but the son of Joseph. But what is still more preposterous is the assertion that the Scroll in question, which none of them had seen, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. I have seen it, and I possess portions of a scroll dated 544 Heg. (1149); I have also minutely examined and partly photographed the dated scroll of 562 Heg. (1166); and I state that the Abisha is at least some centuries older than either of these, or of any other scroll which I have seen in Nablus.

Dr. Yahuda, and after him Mr. Adler, refer to Juynboll, and say that the letters which passed between the Samaritans, Scaliger, Huntington, and Marshall are reprinted there. It is passing strange that Yahuda, who avers in his paper mentioned by Mr. Adler that he could not obtain the book of Juynboll, should now suddenly be able to refer to it. He may have since discovered the book, which is not so scarce at all. But then he ought to have owned that he had committed a grave error in his assertions, and to have pointed out the fundamental fact,
which governs the whole problem, viz. that the author of this Arabic chronicle, known also as the Book of Joshua, states clearly that he "had translated this Book from the Hebrew into Arabic." Why is this not mentioned? The answer is obvious. It would have destroyed at once the whole edifice erected by the disingenuousness of Yahuda. But let this pass. Juynboll has not "published that correspondence" at all; he merely refers to two or three points in that correspondence. It is incomprehensible, not to use a stronger expression, to find that Yahuda, with whom Mr. Adler evidently identifies himself, should have suppressed the sequel of that sending out of a Book of Joshua. Juynboll gives the passage in full, both in Arabic and in Latin translation, p. 7, in the note overflowing from p. 6. They write in reply that they have compared the book sent to them, and it appears not to be a Samaritan book at all, but that it must be one of the Jews'. It contained the passage that the twelve stones taken out of the Jordan were placed on Mount Ebal, and they write—"Nos enim in nostra Lege legitimus, his (lapidibus) illos (Patres) edificasse (aram) in monte Gerizim." As they speak of the twelve stones having been built upon Mount Gerizim, they evidently refer to the Book of Joshua, and not to the Pentateuch. They evidently rejected it as spurious. It must be pointed out, what has hitherto been overlooked or quite misunderstood, that they had asked for the Book of Joshua not because they had none, as Yahuda and his spokesman here seem to imply. They had asked also in every letter sent from the East for a copy of the Pentateuch. Surely they did not stand in need of another copy from Europe. They asked for such books as would be a proof positive, an irrefutable evidence, and a token from their brothers beyond the seas with whom they entered into correspondence that they were real Samaritans, and not members of any other sect, Jews or Karaïtes. If they
did not possess a Book of Joshua distinctive and different from that of the Jews, representing their own dogmatic views and favouring their claims, they would not have asked for a similar copy as a token of recognition of religious unity. The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were the only Biblical books which would carry more or less weight, and these alone would be considered as valid tokens. Hence the demand for a copy of the Book of Joshua in addition to the Pentateuch.

I fail to understand the repeated reference by Mr. Adler to the Yuhassin and the Shobach legend inserted there by the Constantinople editor Shallum. Since Scaliger no scholar has written on the Book of Joshua without referring to it. The reference is therefore somewhat stale. But why does Mr. Adler harp on it? It was not I who wished to prove that it was not of a Jewish origin. On the contrary, all my arguments tended in the direction to prove that all the interpolations into the old text were of a purely Jewish-Aggadic or legendary origin, and that I had found in the Aramaic Targum a striking parallel to it. It is Yahuda, on the contrary, who asserts that this legend is of a late Arabic origin. Reland, whose knowledge of Arabic literature was unrivalled, and even greater than that of Yahuda, places it in the third century, long before any Arabic literature existed. The words of Shallum fully bear out my contention even more than my opponents imagine. I contend that the Book of Joshua has been incorporated at an early period into the 'Chronicle' of the Samaritans (vide my letter in the Times and the paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society), that ancient Jewish materials had been used by the old compiler, and that these legends had been inserted into the text like the other legends known as Apocrypha into the books of Daniel, Esther, etc. Shallum says exactly the same thing: "He found this legend in the Chronicle of the Samaritans." And what
is more valuable still: "that the Samaritans stated that they had seen it also in a Jewish Midrash." So it must have existed in a Jewish book of Biblical legends. I have not the slightest doubt of the accuracy of that statement, for I have found not only in the Targum mentioned above another episode of the Shobach legend missing in the Hebrew recension of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, but also in other old Jewish books of Biblical legends, one going as far back as to the Chronicle of Jerahmeel and the Latin Pseudo-Philo. When I published the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (1899) I intuitively referred to them as Hebrew Samaritan legends. I refer notably to the Kenaz legend, ch. lvii, § 35, p. 171, and Introd. p. xcviii, Yahuda concludes from Shallum's note that the Samaritan Book of Joshua must have been originally composed in Arabic and not Hebrew, for Shallum does not know the Hebrew (where does he say so?), which therefore could not have yet existed in 1566. Accordingly the Samaritan author of the Arabic original of the Book of Joshua copied a Jewish Midrash, consequently also written in Arabic. This is certainly a startling discovery. It would be unique in Hebrew literature. It is for the first time that we hear of the Jews writing their legends in Arabic. No such Arabic Hebrew Midrash has hitherto been known. Equally serious is the other argument advanced by Mr. Yellin and endorsed by Mr. Adler. Mr. Yellin maintains that the book is not a forgery, but "simply the Hebrew version of Abul-Fath's Chronicle which he composed in both Arabic and Hebrew in 856 Heg. (1355), but that where borrowed from the Biblical Joshua the Arabic version greatly condenses the narrative." The Hebrew Samaritan Book of Joshua is then no longer a modern composition, but dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century, 1355 being the date of the Arabic Chronicle. It is somewhat fatal to the theory that Abul-Fath is the author of the Arabic and Hebrew version, that in
giving the list of his authorities Abul-Fath should mention expressly the Book of Joshua as one among them. A comparison with the Chronicle ed. Juynboll proves beyond doubt his absolute dependence upon that source. De Sacy already has noticed this literal dependence. It is a vicious circle in which my critics move. They start with Abul-Fath. Nothing anterior could have existed, and here we find Abul-Fath copying calmly an older Chronicle and the author of that Chronicle affirming at the very beginning of his work that he had translated it from the Hebrew. He lived at least 150–200 years before Abul-Fath, the reputed author of the Arabic and Hebrew versions of the Book of Joshua.

I must stop now. Mr. Adler has succeeded in condensing into his short note so many of the 'striking' proofs against the antiquity of the Book of Joshua that I might feel tempted to follow him into all the dark nooks and corners and to show up all the contradictions and impossibilities which he has gathered unto himself. But the day has not yet set on the Book of Joshua, and opportunity will still present itself to supplement these very brief remarks by which I hope to have gauged properly the standard of Yahuda’s erudition and the flimsiness of his boasted arguments. They rest on a complete ignorance of Samaritan language and literature and on the suppression of facts fatal to his theories. I greatly regret that my friend Mr. Adler should have placed confidence in the superficiality of those who have hitherto not yet proved worthy of that confidence. In one respect Mr. Adler has changed his opinion since he spoke on the occasion of my paper. He believes now in the scholarship of the modern Samaritans. I do not. I have not changed my opinion. I differentiate between the persons and the books. My faith rests only on internal evidence, and whether the Samaritans would have declared the book to be old or to be new, I would
not have taken their word for it. It is difficult to fathom the workings of the Samaritan mind.

I reserve to myself the discussion of the so-called Arabisms and the linguistic proofs, which, as I may state already now, do not stand on a higher scientific level than the literary proofs and historical evidences adduced hitherto. Other arguments will have to be advanced and stronger proofs shown if the true character of the Book of Joshua and the claim for its antiquity are to be successfully assailed.

M. GASTER.

September 22nd, 1908.

DHAMEK AT SĀRNĀTH.

In the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1904–5, Mr. Oertel informs us, on p. 60, that in a Jain manuscript of the seventeenth century "Benares is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage, and, near it, at a locality called Dharmekṣā, is said to have been a famous Bodhisattva sanctuary. This can only refer to the locality of Sārnāth, where the great Buddhist stūpa is still known as Dhamek. Mr. A. Venis, who kindly verified this reference for me, renders the Dharmekṣā as 'the pondering of the law,' a very appropriate name for the place where the wheel of the law was first turned."

I am not in a position to state what were the components into which Mr. Venis resolved the compound Dharmekṣā when he rendered it 'the pondering of the law.' The words used to translate it do not correspond in meaning to any technical expression adopted in Buddhist terminology, as far as I can at present remember; and it is in terms of Buddhist metaphor that a figurative expression of special significance, and obviously Buddhist, should, where possible, be explained.

As students of Buddhism are aware, the term dhamma-cakkhū is frequently used to denote the eye which
apprehends the dhamma, Skt. dharma, the fundamental truth of Buddha's system summed up in the formula (manto or mantra): Ye dhamma hetuppabbavā, etc. This suggests the obvious derivation of the word dharmekṣā—dharma + īkṣā, 'beholding or seeing the dharma,' the state of one possessed of the dhammacakkhu. When we turn to the narrative of the First Sermon delivered by Buddha at Benares, we find that, when he had propounded the Four Truths, he announced to his hearers that, when he had understood these Truths, his eyes were opened. His hearers were by the sermon enabled to apprehend the dhamma. This gives a clear and plausible explanation of the name Dhamek as applied to the stūpa erected on the spot where Buddha's first disciples, the five young men who had preceded him to Benares, heard and apprehended the Truth, becoming possessed of the dhammacakkhu.

The Sanscrit dharmekṣā (dharma + īkṣā) would in Pāli be represented by dhamma + īkkha = dhammakkha, and this would by normal detrition become Dhamek.

W. HOEY.

September 16th, 1908.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.


The appearance of this well-printed and attractive little volume, in which Professor Hirth has published a course of lectures, "addressed," he tells us in the Preface, "to such university students as did not intend to become specialists in the language and literature of China," is an encouraging sign of the interest taken by the United States in the ancient history of the Far East, which recent political events have brought so much to the front. The author gives two quotations from Goethe on the flyleaf, describing how, in 1813, about the time of the battle of Leipzig, when patriotic cares preyed upon his soul, Germany's great poet took refuge in the history of China, and suggests that the novelty of the study and the very diversity of the subject may have a like salutary effect on the minds of some of his readers. Should this appeal be successful, we have before us an ideal sketch of its early history and development, based more or less on modern lines of research, and generally free from the vagaries that have attracted other writers on the subject.

The human mind seems to work much alike all over the world, and the earliest mythological speculations of the Chinese extend from the creation of the world out of chaos through a long fabulous period, during which the useful arts of life were severally discovered, till at last we come to historical times. The Chinese themselves have no traditions of any immigration from abroad, and they
appear, from native accounts, to have been living in the north-western part of what is now called China from the earliest times, and to have gradually evolved their peculiar civilisation as an agricultural community. The various stages are marked by them, as with us, by a Palæolithic time, when beams were shaped for houses and boats were hollowed out by rough stone axes; and a Neolithic time, when tools and weapons were more carefully fashioned out of jade and other hard stones; until copper, bronze, and iron in their turn replaced stone in the usual order.

Professor Hirth sagely concludes that the wisest view we can, therefore, take of the origin of the Chinese is the agnostic. He criticises the ingenious, but hopeless, attempts of Terrien de Lacouperie to explain the early cultural developments as offshoots of Babylonian civilisation, and dooms his bulky tome on the subject to share the fate of De Guignes' attempt, before the French Academy in 1758, to prove that the Chinese had grown out of an Egyptian colony.

Having cleared the ground so far, and adopting for the nonce the dates of the native scheme of chronology, he proceeds to divide the period covered by his lectures under the following four headings:—

3. The Shang, or Yin, Dynasty (1766–1122 B.C.).

The Chou Dynasty is further subdivided into five characteristic and well-defined periods:—

1. Period of Imperial Authority (1122–1053 B.C.).
5. Contending States (475–221 B.C.).

Reference must be made to the pages of the book to follow the pleasing way in which the outlines of the
sketch are filled in. The latest and best authorities are constantly consulted, such as Professor Chavannes in his translation of the Shi-ki annals, and Professor Legge in his edition of the Chinese classics; a lecture of the latter, indeed, is transferred bodily from the *China Review* into the present book, occupying over ten pages (207–217) in small type. Many interesting questions crop up incidentally: that of the Hiung-nu, for example, whom Professor Hirth thinks identical with the Huns of Europe and of Turkish extraction, and fairly proves his case; and that of the fairy divinity Si-wang-mu, whose recent identification, by Professor Forke of Berlin, with the Queen of Sheba is not, by the way, accepted; while the arts of writing and painting, of bronze-casting, pottery, and silk-weaving, the invention of the mariner’s compass, and of its forerunner, the geomancer’s south-pointing needle, all these come in for an illuminating word of notice.

It is the fashion nowadays to decry Confucius, and Professor Hirth is not quite free from the tendency when he cites (p. 41) a missionary’s gibe against the sage, suggesting that he may have altered the cyclical date of an eclipse—“to bring it into conformity with his imperfect astronomical knowledge, and especially with his prejudices against the possible reading of his original, caused by his ignorance of the precession of the equinoxes”—a gratuitous supposition, which is as unlikely as it is cumbersome. It seems rather a pity that Professor Hirth should have been moved to propose a new system of transliteration for Chinese words, when we are just getting used to the Wade orthography followed in Giles’s and Goodrich’s dictionaries, but there is no time to labour the field here. It is explained at length in the introduction of the book, and there is besides an appendix full of chronological tables, and a useful outline map of China during the Chou dynasty at the end. The *mise en scène* is, in fact, unusually complete, and the story is well worthy of perusal. S. W. B.

This is a preliminary sketch of the history of our relations with China in their bearing on the interests of commerce by a skilled statistician, who has taken the trouble to study the subject thoroughly, and presents it to his readers in a masterly and instructive manner. Originally intended as a historical introduction, and delivered in the form of a few lectures some years ago in Manchester, it has, as not infrequently happens, we are told in the Preface, expanded into a volume, so that the ultimate aim of the history—the analysis and explanation of the commercial conditions of the present—is necessarily postponed. We shall look for its appearance, as the subject is of no small interest at the present moment.

The present volume is generally based on first-hand authorities, a list of which is given in an annotated bibliography, including treaties, British and foreign, official accounts of embassies, British consular reports, and reports of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. A long string of parliamentary papers is cited, and reference is made to parliamentary debates, but in the last case with a notable proviso—"China bulks considerably in Hansard, but the debates are not worth the expenditure of much time; with a few exceptions, the qualifications of the speakers seem to consist in a sufficient ignorance of the real nature of the problems with which they attempt to deal."

Mr. Sargent opens his account of the course of trade with a passage from a letter of Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of China, dated July 16th, 1596, the sentiments expressed in which, he says, would not be entirely out
of place in a diplomatic communication to Peking in the twentieth century. But this letter was not fated to reach its destination: the bearers, her faithful subjects, Richard Allen and Thomas Bromfield, met an unknown end on their long journey through hostile seas. Next come the difficulties of the early efforts to open up trade relations through the Dutch and Portuguese, until the East India Company succeeded in establishing a privileged monopoly at Canton with the Hong merchants, which lasted until 1834. The succeeding chapters develop the trade from the Treaty of Nanking to the Treaty of Tientsin, and so onwards, with an account of the massacre at Tientsin and its causes, the Taiping rebellion and its bearings, and the development of 'Spheres of Influence,' until we come, finally, to the renewal of the anti-foreign movement, and recent economic changes.

The author is gifted with the power of seeing both sides of a question, and writes with fair impartiality, indicating the Chinese as well as the British point of view in the many difficulties that have arisen at different times to obstruct the flow of commodities. He seems to deprecate too much diplomatic interference with the natural course of trade, and rallies the merchant, as well as the missionary, for their too frequent appeals to the gunboat. He emphasizes the fact that China is economically self-sufficient, but sees signs that, like Japan, she is realizing the necessity of moving with the times, the result of which would be a vast increase in material power by China becoming a nation instead of a loose federation of provinces.

"At present," he concludes, "she is in tutelage, with her financial and economic policy laid down in treaties forced on her by foreign Powers; such conditions would not be tolerated for a moment by a sovereign State possessing the power to remove them. The Chinese may be coerced into restraining their resentment for a time;"
the history of their relations with European Powers proves amply that they neither forgive nor forget. Once they obtain sufficient material force, they are likely to assert, in no uncertain fashion, the claim to that right enjoyed even by minor Western nations, the right to determine for themselves the conditions of intercourse with foreigners."

S. W. B.


This book is a valuable record, and is a very creditable production of the Intelligence Department of the Indian Army. It is especially noteworthy on account of the plans and photographs which it contains. Originally compiled under the direction of Sir Charles Macgregor,¹ it has been revised and completed by Major Cardew of the 10th Bengal Lancers. The style of the book is simple and straightforward, and it is only here and there that we meet with an awkward expression. The meaning of the word "consistently" at p. 2 in the clause which says that the Amir consistently denied to the British the sign of intimate friendship (viz. the reception of an embassy), is obscure, and perhaps it is a misprint for "constantly."
There is little or no trace of animus in the book, though perhaps the remark at p. 467 that the independence of the political officer was possibly a contributory cause to the disaster of Maiwand, and the remarks at p. 183, etc., about Sir Louis Cavagnari's mistaken belief in Ya'qūb Khān are indications that the old antagonism between political and soldiers has not died out. Probably Sir Charles Macgregor's

¹ Macgregor's exploit of recovering the guns abandoned at Chardeh is only briefly referred to at p. 257, and his personal share in the matter is veiled under the vague expression of "under the direction of Colonel Macgregor."
notes contained much more on the subject and have been severely edited.

No account of a campaign can be altogether pleasant reading, and several painful incidents are recorded in this volume. Even those who approve of Lord Lytton's policy, and think that his resolution to despatch a Mission to Kabul "at all costs" was right, must regret the appalling losses of men and animals. At p. 88 we have a vivid account by Surgeon-General Ker-Innes of the sufferings of the men on the march from Gandamuk to India. "Their countenances betokened great nervous exhaustion, combined with a wild expression difficult to describe; the eyes injected, and even sunken; a burning skin, black with the effects of sun and dirt; dry tongue; a weak voice, and a thirst which no amount of fluids seemed to relieve. Many of the men staggered rather than marched into their tents, and threw themselves down, utterly incapable of further exertion until refreshed by sleep and food. This was very marked in the 51st Light Infantry. Nor did the officers appear to be in any better plight. But if there was one class worse than another, it was certainly the medical officers and subordinates." At p. 165 we are told in a note that during the advance of the Southern Afghan Field Force, 11,912 dead camels were counted on the road between Chaman and Qandahar. At p. 183 there is a very striking account by Rasaldâr-Major Naqshband Khan of the attack on the Residency, though he only witnessed the beginning of the fray. At p. 244 we are told that 89 men were tried for their share in the attack, and that 49 of these were executed. But if Ya'qûb Khan were really responsible it would have been more to the purpose to have hanged him, and to have spared his soldiers, who perhaps only obeyed orders. At p. 468 we have an account of the gallant defence of his post by Major Waudby and his garrison of five men—a feat which is now commemorated at Bombay by an inscription, etc. There was an incident
in this affair which was a sort of parallel to the release of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse who could recite Euripides. The only person uninjured was a servant of Major Waudby, who could speak Pushtu, and saved himself by reciting the *Kalma*.

There is a very full account of the Maiwând disaster, and it is accompanied by a plan. Here the reticence observed in the rest of the book is to some extent abandoned, and the misbehaviour of the Bombay Grenadiers is not slurred over, though no allusion is made to the subsequent court-martials.

H. BEVERIDGE.


This book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Deccan. Major Haig has studied the native authorities in the original, and he has resided in Haidarabad, so that he has local knowledge which enables him to give many interesting details about buildings and battlefields. Most part of the book has already appeared in the *Pioneer* and in *East and West*, and it is a pity that when Major Haig republished the articles he did not strike out or alter some passages, for there are occasional repetitions. Though the work only contains 231 pages, it covers a great deal of ground, and is crammed full of dates and other facts. The necessary brevity of the narrative detracts from its charm, for picturesqueness largely consists, as someone has said, in the accumulation of minute touches, and Major Haig's space did not allow of the use of much detail. As he truly says in his preface, the history of the Deccan is not useless or tedious, but is full of interest and romance. But then the romance has to be brought out, as Meadows-Taylor brought it out in the one or two episodes touched on by
him. Perhaps Major Haig will some day give us a larger book, and make fuller use of the advances in epigraphy and numismatics, and of the manuscript histories, which, according to him, furnish ample materials for a detailed and critical history of the Deccan. The most valuable part of the book seems to me to be the descriptions of the cities and forts, such as Daulatabad, Golconda, Haidarabad, and Mahur. In the historical part there are one or two slips which it may be useful to point out. Thus at p. 40 mention is made of Khan A'zam as holding the chief command, and as being slothful. But Khan A'zam is the title of 'Aziz Koka, the foster-brother of Akbar, and the person meant is the Khan Khanan 'Abdu-r-Rahim, the son of Bairam Khan. At p. 43 reference is made to the death of Malik 'Ambar, and it is stated that Jahangir, who never mentioned him when living without undignified abuse, did justice to his memory, and then follows what purports to be a quotation of Jahangir's words. The statement is repeated at p. 58, but we are sorry to say that the words quoted are not Jahangir's, and there is no evidence that he ever had the magnanimity to acknowledge Malik 'Ambar's merits. Indeed, it was hardly to be expected that he should, seeing that he not only abused Malik 'Ambar while living, but that he also seems to have plotted to have him assassinated, and expressed in the Tuzuk his chagrin at the failure of the attempt. It is true that the passage which Major Haig has translated occurs in Saiyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, p. 409, but this is in the continuation by Muhammad Hadi, and it has been borrowed by that author from the Iqbalnama, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 271. See also the translation of the passage of the Iqbalnama in Elliot's "History of India," vol. vi, p. 428. At p. 215 it is stated that Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, predeceased 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, but this was not so, for 'Abdullah died in 1672 and Muhammad Sultan in 1676. He had, however, been civilly dead for several years,
having been imprisoned by his father in Gwalior. At p. 44 there is a reference to Khān Jahān Lodi, and he is described as being henceforward known as Pīra the Afghan, and as having been captured and executed. This is an incorrect description of the fate of Jahangir’s farzand. But mistakes such as these are almost inevitable in a work extending over a period from 1294 to 1803. In no other book that I am acquainted with is there such a full and accurate account of Aurangzeb’s siege of Golconda. But I would deprecate the praise given to Abūl Ḥasan at p. 205. Major Haig here seems to be following the view taken by the Shīāh author of the Siyār-Mutākhārin. But surely Abūl Ḥasan was “a captive void of noble rage,” and his taking his breakfast at the crisis of his fate was of a piece with his abandonment of his people and his flight from Haidarabad to Golconda. The only hero of the siege was ‘Abdur Razzāq Lārī, and in his conduct towards this man Aurangzeb showed himself in his best light.

H. Beveridge.


It is gratifying that Col. Jacob has been able to bring out a second edition of his LaukiKanyāyānjaliḥ. The field of work he has made his own is one of great value to students of Indian literature. No uninstructed diligence can pierce through the obstacle raised by such a phrase as uṣṭra kantaḥ bhaṣaṇa, or kaphoniguda, or perceive that the “camiel eating thorns” may illustrate “what is one man’s meat is another man’s poison,” or that “treacle on the elbow” suggests the trials of Tantalus; and it is only through such help as Col. Jacob gives that many a passage of philosophy and poetry shows its full beauty and meaning.
These phrases belong to the inner life of the nation, and only one familiar with that can bring out their significance. The maxims are of three kinds, though one often melts into the other. There is the purely popular allusion, common in different forms to all lands, sometimes merely depending on common experience, such as *astram astrena śāmyute*; sometimes on a familiar tale or idea, such as *kākāksi golaka*, which, on the supposition that a crow has only one eye, and has therefore to move it on occasion from one cavity to another, illustrates a word or a thing or person appearing once, but serving a double purpose. The "frog in the well," representing the purely homebred man, is a fable in itself. Besides these there is the more artificial appeal to natural objects, made by the philosopher or the poet, such as *kūrmānga*, the limbs of the tortoise, which in their appearing and retiring illustrate production and destruction which are not real, as the non-existent cannot be produced, nor the existent destroyed; and the rose on the crystal, used to show that consciousness only appears to colour the Ātmā, but does not really affect it. The *kṛtvā cintā*, which Mr. Venis takes to mean granting your adversary a point you will afterwards disprove, belongs to the third or purely technical kind of *nyāya*. Col. Jacob in his first edition did not include technical maxims, but in the second edition he admits them, as equally needing explanation. A very characteristic maxim is *Paṇka-pruksālana*, "the washing off of mud," which is used to point out that it is better not to desire riches, even for a good purpose, since better than the washing off of mud is the keeping clear of it, even for a good end. The maxim of "the pots attached to the water-wheel" represents the varieties of fortune, but Tarānātha's explanation does not seem to me so nonsensical as it does to Col. Jacob, i.e. that it teaches that by instruction the essence of Śāstras, deep as it is, is brought up for human use. All will remember how the image was
used by S. Teresa to represent the growth of prayer, which
was compared to watering a garden by the man's own toil,
then by the water-wheel, then by a stream, and, lastly, by
rain from heaven, the human effort being lessened and
finally ceasing as the man trusts himself more completely
to the grace of God.

The collection is like a gallery of miniatures, and
Col. Jacob is to be congratulated on having triumphed
over difficulties, not only to make, but to increase and
perfect it, as he is now doing. May he be spared to shed
for long on these dark paths the light of his learning!

C. M. RIDDING.

THE ESSENCE OF BUDDHISM, with an Introduction by
A. H. DHARMAPĀLA. By P. L. NARASU. Madras, 1907.

Professor Narasu, in this short book, aims at "bringing
together within a small compass the leading ideas of
Buddhism, and interpreting them in the light of modern
knowledge," and follows "the dictum accepted in all
schools of Buddhism as the sole regulative principle, that
nothing can be the teaching of the master which is not in
strict accord with reason, or with what is known to be
true." Professor Narasu is, as Mr. Dharmapāla tells us,
a product of Western culture and a professor of science.
What reason tells him to be true is, therefore, probably
somewhat different from what reason would sanction in
the eyes of a Buddhist of the older times. The book is
simply and clearly written, and its chapters deal with the
historic Buddha, the rationality and morality of Buddhism,
the relation of Buddhism to caste, woman, asceticism,
pessimism, the riddle of the world, personality, the
summum bonum, and other topics. The Bodhicaryāvatāra
is the Eastern work most often quoted. Frequent reference
is made to Professor James, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Herbert
Spencer, and other Western psychologists.
The chief interest of the book is in seeing what in Buddhism appeals to the scientific mind trained in the West. The very quick adaptation to Western points of view of some of the modern Oriental teachers of religion who have been in the West suggests some doubt whether the Eastern mind is so stationary as it is often supposed to be. Probably, if we knew more, we should see under its apparent stillness that there had been many currents of alien thought. The slight and eclectic, but intelligent and sincere, treatment of Buddhism in this book will appeal to those who desire to know, but have not the gifts or opportunities for study.

C. M. Ridding.

THE JĀNAKĪHARAṆAM OF KUMĀRADĀSA (I–X), edited with notes . . . readings . . . introduction . . . a literal English translation, and with appendices, etc., by G. R. NANDARGIKAR. Bombay, 1907.

In J.R.A.S. 1901 Mr. F. W. Thomas has given an interesting account of the reconstruction during the nineteenth century of this poem from the Sinhalese sāvāna or word-for-word gloss of the first fourteen cantos and part of the fifteenth. The present edition is made from four South Indian MSS., to which Mr. Nandargikar assigns dates varying from a hundred years to recent times. Unfortunately, the introduction concerning the date of the poet, promised on the title-page, is relegated to a separate pamphlet which is to follow, and till that comes a detailed review would be out of place. The poem is artificial but pleasant, and deals with the events which led to the carrying off of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, and Mr. Nandargikar, as editor of the Raghuvamśa, is well qualified for editing it. The notes are clear, full, and simple, and the grammatical references are useful. A literal translation is given. It is impossible to agree with the theory of
Dr. Nandargikar that Sanskrit should not be translated into idiomatic English. It is only by seeking out the real values of words and expressions and the thought underlying them, and by trying to find their adequate equivalents in another language, that the training of great literature is given, and a slipshod translator himself misses many of the beauties of his author. Sanskrit poetry is not harder to translate than the choruses of Æschylus and Sophocles. Happily Dr. Nandargikar's practice is better than his theory. A good feature of the book is an index of verses arranged alphabetically, but an English edition of the same size would also have an index of the more important notes, and a list of rare words, such as Mr. Thomas has already given in the *Journal* for 1901.

C. M. Ridding.


Whereas the previous volume of this series (noticed in the *Journal* for 1907, pp. 442–9) dealt with the events of four years (1618–1621), the present volume deals with those of only two years, the number of documents extant for that period being, fortunately, exceptionally large. The occurrences here chronicled are also of considerable importance in connection with the history of the English settlements in the East, including (as Mr. Foster points out in his preface) the capture of Ormus from the Portuguese, the Anglo-Dutch blockade of Goa, the temporary abandonment of the English factories in Northern India, the rupture with the Mogul authorities at Surat, followed by the conclusion of a fresh agreement (an incident, strangely enough, hitherto unnoticed by historians), and, on the east coast, the dissolution of partnership between the Dutch and English at Pulicat. We have also in the factors'
letters a large amount of valuable information (mixed with bazar gossip) regarding the death of Prince Khusrū, the rebellion of Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), his utter rout, and the gradual reconquest of Gujarāt by the imperial forces. These and other matters are adequately dealt with by Mr. Foster in his admirable introduction to the letters, which latter, arranged, as they are, chronologically, form rather 'confused feeding,' though none the less enjoyable for that.

The action of the commanders of the English fleet in assisting the Persians to capture Kishm and Ormus from the Portuguese was regarded with anything but favour by the factors at Surat, and the English certainly gained little pecuniarily from the very dubious transaction. It is pleasant to read of Ruy Freire's refusal to sacrifice his Persian allies at Kishm, and his answer to the English besiegers that "rather than wee will doe that wee will ende our lives togeather." This reply alone would make one rejoice at the Portuguese commander's escape from the English at Surat. The story about the drugged wine, referred to by Mr. Foster in a footnote on p. xi, appears to have undergone considerable alteration in course of years, if the incident narrated by Manucci in vol. iii, pp. 222–3, of Mr. Irvine's translation be the same, the locus there being Māskat and the captors Arabs.

We have also in this volume several accounts, from the pens of English participants, of the action near Mozambique between the Anglo-Dutch 'fleet of defence' and the Portuguese outward-bound fleet carrying the new viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, in which all the Portuguese vessels were sunk or wrecked, the viceroy narrowly escaping capture. How the allies loved one another is shown by the mutual recriminations that followed. The fact is that the two great Protestant maritime powers had too many rival interests to make friendship possible, and we read of the closing of the
English establishment at Pulicat, after vain attempts on the part of the Company's servants there to get on with their Dutch partners. At Surat, Agra, etc., in like manner we find mutual bickerings, aggravated by the fact that the Mogul authorities visited the sins of each nation upon the other, the unfortunate English and Dutch factors being clapped into prison and kept in durance vile until they had paid through the nose for their release.

As in the previous volume, so in this, we find many of the writers expressing their opinions of those they disliked in unvarnished language. Thus the Ahmadābād factors speak of "our infernal foe, the mischievous Governour of this place, . . . this late returned extorting curr," and later of "our hellhound Governour"; while the Cambay factors write of "this tyrannous tigar," and the Masulipatam factors of "this damned Governour." Khurram is "that villainous Prynce," and Nūr Mahal is politely termed "that vealinous strompit." The native authorities at Surat are "these viperous rougues" and "lyinge, slanderouse rogues." The Dutch, we are told, "are growne a moste cruel and bloody people"; and they are spoken of as "the arch-theeves Hollander," "borish unbred ubstartts, whoe abound in all pryde and insolenceey," "this base nacion," etc. On the other hand, we find Matthew Duke at Masulipatam writing to the Company—"My desire is to retourne for my countrie. I am wearie of India for the intollerable vices of the English. Your servantes are wearie wicked." That the English in India at that time were fond of their liquor is proved by the many requests for and acknowledgments of wine, beer, and sack on the part of the writers of these letters; and the statement of William Hill and John Glanvill at Variao that they had no drink but water is suggestive. We read of no less than eighty Englishmen "stragling drunck in Swally, Dampkine, and the like places," all on one day, and elsewhere of "toddey pott companyons," evidently English sailors.
There is much in this volume on which one might comment, but I can refer to only a point here and there. John Johnson, whose letter is printed on pp. 51–2, must, from what he himself says, have come out in the Danish ship Christian, which was wrecked in Koṭṭiyār Bay. This is corroborated by Giedde's journal, in which he is described at first as master (skibber) and then as under-pilot of the Christian, and is called Jan Janssen and Jens Jenssen.

Robert Young, writing from Agra to Surat, says (pp. 75–6): "Eighteen rupp[ees] at once given in pane [pān = betel] to certayne banyans at the feast of Wholy. Whollie in Indiston is sastilye, but methinks it is a little to hastily given." To the word 'sastilye' Mr. Foster appends the footnote: "This is probably the Surat copyist's misreading of 'festival.'" I think, however, that Young intends a play upon words, and that 'sastilye' is a mislection for 'softely.' Thus the sentence would read, with the spelling corrected: "Haule in Hindustāni is 'softly,' but methinks it is a little too hastily given." (It is a curious coincidence that the English word 'hooly' has exactly the same meaning as the Hindustāni haule, viz. 'gently, slowly, softly, quietly.') The cloths called 'ramboetyns' were not so called owing to "some resemblance in the pattern to the red hairy fruit of the Malay 'rambutan' tree," as Mr. Foster suggests in a footnote on p. 107. The fruit in question obtains its name from the Malay word rambut, 'hair,' and from the same word is derived rambuti, 'woollen cloth,' which, with the Portuguese nasal added, gives us ramboetyn.

The man referred to by the Pulicat factors as their "good friend Mullay" (p. 122), "Mallaja, our principall marchante" (p. 141), and "Mallayo" (p. 238), was a person who figures largely in the Dutch records. His name was Astrappa Chetty (Malaya being an honorific title), and in 1633–4 he was succeeded by his brother,
Chinnanna Chetty (see Heeres, Corp. Dipl. N.I., p. 231, n. 1), whom we find spoken of in the Batavia Dagh-Register for 1640-1 as "S' [Sinjeur = Senhor] Chinanna" and "S' Maleye." The name of the Dutch ship mentioned on pp. 129, 179, 182, 184 as the Tortolle, Tortowle, Tortola, and Tortoll, was not, I think, Tortel, as Mr. Foster supposes, but Ter Tholen. At any rate, a ship of that name, with two others, sailed for Holland from Batavia under the command of Frederik Houtman on 31st January, 1625. 'Caranbrode,' the erstwhile Dutch chief at Achin (p. 129), is probably Nicolaes Casembroot. Perhaps 'Chemenique' (p. 133), 'Cemenique' (p. 139) represent Letchaman Naik (cf. Corp. Dipl. N.I., pp. 427, 428, et al.). On p. 141, l. 7, 'domine' should be 'dominus.' (In the Dutch records the ministers are always designated 'D' so-and-so.)

The derivation of the word 'cooly' from Kolī, the name of a tribe in Gujarāt, referred to in a footnote on p. 153, I consider quite untenable. There is not the least doubt, I think, that 'cooly' is a contracted form of the Tamil kulikkāran, 'hired labourer' (from kūli, 'hire, wage'). The quotations in Hobson-Jobson under this word are very unsatisfactory, the greater number having nothing to do with 'cooly.' The word 'Indaba,' in the last line on p. 171, to which Mr. Foster appends in brackets 'Mecca?' may perhaps represent 'Judda' (cf. p. 253).

On p. 223, in a letter from President Fursland and council at Batavia to the Surat factory, dated 17th April, 1623, the writers say: "Wee knowe of noe shippes sente this yeare by the Dutch Company from hence for the Redd Sea, but certaine freemen of this place [it] is supposed are gone theather with three small phinises, the comander whereof is on Brustons, sometimes Bailive of this place. These wee make account will make noe scruple to take all they meate and can master, be they Guzeratts or others." Again, on p. 228, in a letter from Francis Futter at Masulipatam to President Rastell at Surat, dated 29th April, 1623, we
read—"In the begininge of March here arived three frigattts under the comand of Signor Brusell, a freeman, who tooke near Tannasaree a Portingall frigatt of St. Thomay, worth by their owne reporte 50,000 ryalls of eight, and sente the goodes for Battavia." As Mr. Foster has not identified the commander of this freebooting expedition, I may point out that in the Batavia Dagh-Register for 1624 are several references to the subject. Thus we read:—"16 d° [January] Tuesday arrived here in the roads Commandeur Bruystens with the yachts of the free burghers named the Diamant and the Rendevous, [which] had on the way in returning from Bengale captured near Tanassery a Portuguese navett of 100 lasts coming from S. Thomee, going to Tanassery laden with salt and with some 70 to 80 packages of cloths." "18 d°. Thursday came into the roads here the aforesaid prize of Bruystens." Again, under 12th February:—"On this date also to the officers and the common seamen of the yachts Batavia, the Diamant, the Robyn, the Peerl and the frigat the Brack, equipped by some burghers of this town under the flag and command of Sr Hendrick Bruystens in the years 1622 and 1623 with commission against the common enemy, was made the donation granted per resolution of 5 February 1624, which was accepted with great gratitude and contentment by both the leaders and the common folk." Under 25th June Bruystens is referred to as "late bailiff [ballionw] and president of the aldermen of this town."

One of the most curious episodes to be found in this volume is that recorded in letters of August to October, 1623, from which we learn that a baker was employed at Broach baking a huge quantity of bread ('biscuits' it is called later), which, with a corresponding supply of butter, was sent down to Surat. This provision was evidently intended for the sustenance of the Company's agents when they had (as was intended if the Mogul authorities did not accede to the English demands) abandoned all the factories
in north-western India and put to sea. The Dutch misunderstood the object of this bread-baking, for in the Batavia Dagh-Register for 1624, under date 3rd March, among other items of intelligence brought by Dutch ships from Surat, we find—"Further it is understood from the advices of vanden Broecke that the English in Suratte gave out openly that all their ships would come there from the south this year, to which end they had caused to be baked in Broetchia over 5,000,000 mamoden [mahmüdis' worth] of bread, and that they further had bought up all other provisions that they could get; the which appears to agree with the rumour that had long ere this been current here, to wit, that the English would depart with all their people and ships for Surat." By 'the south' here is meant the Malaysian archipelago, in which the Dutch were doing their best to make the position of their English rivals intolerable.

The "Danish shipp which arrived att Plymouth," spoken of on p. 335, was Ove Giedde's ship, the Elephant, which put into Plymouth in January, 1622, on her homeward voyage. In some of the last letters in this volume we read of the sale, by Captain Hall, of a small English ship, the Primrose (which had proved "a verey bauble," and had nearly been abandoned as unseaworthy), to the Khân of Ormus, who was very desirous to have her, for a sum which Captain Hall estimates as £1,000 more than she was worth! So the English were in some measure revenged on their quondam allies. What the khân thought of his bargain perhaps the next volume will tell us.

These letters contain many quaint expressions, such as (p. 302), "At that instant entred upon the stage Achitophell Pinchgutt (Sied Alee Cassee, I mean)"; and here and there we find a proverb quoted. Of course, there is a rich fund of Hobson-Jobsonisms, one of the best being "John Collebeecke" for Jam Quli Beg (the governor of Surat castle). Other interesting words and expressions are
'paddy' (a very early instance with this spelling), 'gyllboate' (for Arab. jalba), 'cowha,' 'coha,' and 'coho seeds' (coffee), and 'keptt chuckey' (kept guard).

Mr. Foster has in nearly every case succeeded in interpreting the extraordinary words that occur here and there, some of them due to copyists' blunders. In a few instances, however, I think he is at fault. Thus, the word 'inkist' (p. 66) is, I would suggest, a variety of 'inquest,' with the meaning 'inquiry to fix price' (see New Eng. Dict. s.v.). Again, 'ransadoes' (p. 73) is Portuguese arranchados, 'associates' or 'messmates.' And surely 'bout dooa' (p. 273) represents bahut duā, and not but duā, as stated in a footnote.

In the footnote on p. 210 the name of the Portuguese ship is given as St. John in place of São João. The bay in which she was wrecked, moreover, was not Delagoa Bay, but Algoa Bay, as is evident from the details given by Faria y Sousa.

Under the able editorship of Mr. Foster these volumes should prove of the utmost value to the student of the history of India in the seventeenth century.

DONALD FERGUSON.
of Calcutta styled their great proconsul, Lord Dalhousie. Nor, again, did he draw to himself the hearts of men with the tenderness and love which Henry Lawrence inspired. No burning controversy surrounds his name, fanning into flame the party conflicts and jealousies of a past generation, which current literature will not allow to die out. His career was very remarkable rather than brilliant. He was endowed with a combination of many of the qualities which led the great men mentioned above to eminence. He possessed the nerve of Nicholson, the industry of Dalhousie, the high purpose of John Lawrence, and a gentleness which won the hearts of men if it did not succeed in attracting the full measure of love given to Henry Lawrence. But all his qualities and capacities were tempered by modesty. His claim upon the attention of his fellow-countrymen rests upon his achievement of the highest honors gained by the force of moral character without those advantages of wealth, interest, and social position by which others mount to exalted places. . . .

The son of an enterprising but not too fortunate a merchant, with no powerful relatives to advance his interests, without any special equipment as regards a liberal education—for he had not even the opportunities of study which Addiscombe College afforded—Norman at the age of seventeen, was appointed on March 1, 1844, an officer of infantry on the Bengal Establishment of the East India Company, and almost immediately began to attract the notice of his superiors and the affection of his comrades. A passionate desire to serve the Crown either in the Navy, for which he was in many ways well adapted, or in the Army, for which it was feared that his slight build might prove a disqualification, a taste for reading and acquiring knowledge which compensated for the lack of scholarly training, a remarkable memory, a winning modesty and cheerful courage that earned for him the nick-name of 'the Smiler' on the exposed and shot-riddled ridge of
Delhi, an unflinching devotion to duty, and a strong belief in spiritual power—these were the moral qualities which overcame all obstacles, and in the long run gave him assured claim to the highest offices in the gift of the Crown."

General A. Roberts, the father of Lord Roberts, under whom Norman held his first high staff office, wrote thus to him: "Your great local knowledge and talent for detail and all office duties, combined with your suavity of manner, so essential in a public officer, rendered my command one of comparative ease and confidence even in times of excitement."

And now, fifty-four years afterwards, the son, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, furnishes an estimate of his lifelong friend—"Henry Norman possessed in a remarkable degree three great qualities. The first of these, which is commonly found in eminent men of all professions, was a natural liking and aptitude for work . . . His next peculiar gift was an extraordinary memory . . . Norman possessed sound soldierly instincts. He never spared any trouble, and mastered thoroughly whatever he had to do. Whenever there was fighting or alarm [he is referring to the siege of Delhi] he was at once on the spot." Lord Roberts expresses his regret that after the Mutiny Norman's "career took him to the Military Secretariat, and the Army lost one who had given every promise of military capacity," and states his belief in Norman's "possession of many of the qualities needed in a great soldier." It is a poor business criticising, and the warmth of friendship is better than the coldness of the critical spirit. But the critic has to criticise, and to do so honestly. There is nothing to settle discussions of the might have been. There is nothing to be said about the undone but that it was not done. There is nothing certain about the mute, inglorious Miltons but the two epithets. They people the churchyards very thickly. But we have honestly to state that neither
this book nor any former knowledge induces in us the belief that Norman could ever have become a great commander, a great soldier. He had not the powers needed. He had a nature the reverse of that needed. He was not made of stern enough stuff. He does not kindle the imagination like Nicholson and John Lawrence, nor had he any of their qualities in the same measure as they. He was not so fierce and terrible. He was cast in a gentler mould. He was of a different order. He was not of their stature. Norman himself knew exactly what he wanted: he strove for it and got it and kept it. It is said that "his qualities and capacities were tempered by modesty," that is, we presume, lessened of their full force by its action. One had occasion to think a good deal about this quality of modesty in connection with public life in India. We found it of three kinds—the natural, the enforced, the assumed. Under our system of education great numbers of boys and young men are gathered together in our schools and universities, and among them any display of personal superiority, of boastfulness or hanteur, of brag or 'side' is strongly resented and forcibly repressed; modesty is enforced. Or it may be assumed as a useful and admired grace, to win good-will, to ward off the resentment ever ready to strike, the malignity ever eager for exercise. There were circumstances in the beginning of Norman's career, his entry into the service through what those who had come into it through the gate of Addiscombe would term "the back door," his lack of "social position," as pointed out by his biographer, which it might seem would make the assumption of this quality needful to him. But it continued to be Norman's most conspicuous quality all through his life, that and his gentleness. In 1859 Sir William Mansfield wrote of him—"he is as unassuming and agreeable as he is intelligent and distinguished." With reference to his Governorship of Jamaica (1883–8), it was written of him—"In Sir Henry Norman I was impressed
by his wide practical knowledge, his great memory for details, his modesty, and his never-failing good temper.”

With regard to his Governorship of Queensland (1889–95), it is remarked that his “modesty was that which served him best in Queensland.” The grace was native in him. We may be permitted, because of the importance of recognition of the fact, to step aside for a moment to point out that in India, native India, the attitude towards this quality is the very reverse of our own. There in all things, in literature, art, religion, behaviour, prevails the immodesty of the savage state, of the lower grades of civilisation. There is displayed a monstrous self-esteem, an egregious vanity, a self-sufficiency colossal, gigantic, titanic. We, who were in a position to know, hold that among the causes of the Indian Mutiny no minor place should be given to the self-sufficiency, the sense of self-importance, the braggadocio spirit of the sepoys of the Army of Bengal. In the Brahmin sepoy the arrogance of the priest and the soldier were combined and carried to a supreme height. Vanity is a chief moving force in the present unrest in India, vanity has large display in all associations for assassination and murder—there is no superiority like that of killing.

We think all biographers have a tendency not to let their thoughts dwell so much on the earliest periods in the lives of men who have risen to eminence as on the subsequent more swelling periods; the first are held derogatory. Thus we have never seen mention of the fact that Lord Wolseley began life as a civil engineer. And yet the practical knowledge he so acquired stood him in good stead in the Quarter-Master General’s Department of the Army. Civil-engineering is held of no account socially.

So here. Sir William Lee-Warner says, as above, that Norman’s “claim upon the attention of his fellow-countrymen” is that he achieved high honours without any advantages of wealth, interest, social position, or
education; it was to his credit that he did so well without "any special equipment as regards a liberal education." But a thoughtful consideration of the facts registered in the book itself show that his education in small private schools, and no doubt of the kind termed commercial, the association with his father, the trader, the man of business in Calcutta, the work done in his office, were of essential help to Norman in his career—determined the course of it.

General Roberts, in his commendation given above, makes mention of his "talent for detail and all office duties," as well as of his "suavity of manner." It was that early training, together with natural aptitude, which enabled Norman after no long experience in the department to hold with marked success the high position of Adjutant-General in the camp before Delhi. He was essentially an office man, a man of business. When he was appointed a member of the Council of India he, "with his usual accuracy of detail," recorded in his 'log' or diary that in the year he had "attended forty-one meetings of Council, 137 meetings of Committees, and spent 244 days in the office."

The biography consists of 310 pages: of these 50 contain the record of his services outside India, covering the period from 1878 to 1904, the year of his death; the period from 1862 to 1878, which was the time in which he occupied his highest posts in India and took a share in the administration of the land, occupies but 23 pages; the first period of his service, of lower-grade service, extending from 1844, the year of his joining the service, to 1857, occupies, roundly, 50 pages. The above divisions contain 123 pages and 55 years of service, and the whole service being 60 years, the total of pages 310, we have 5 years occupying 187 pages, more than half the book: that was the Indian Mutiny. And of those 187 pages 120 are occupied with the record of the events of 3½ months only: that was the siege of Delhi. The largeness of the record reflects the largeness of
the occurrence. The siege of Delhi was the supreme event in the life of Norman. Its long-drawn three months and a half, that time of dire anxiety and hardship and peril, formed the refulgent period of his existence, which he looked back to on his deathbed as his time of best service.

The reorganisation of the army broken by the Mutiny, the amalgamation of the forces of the vanished King-Company with those of the Crown, was the task which mainly occupied Norman during the time—1862 to 1878—of his connection with the supreme Government in India. It is the administrative measure with which his name is chiefly connected—advantageously or disadvantageously. Lord Roberts declared, in an eulogium, that to Norman it was due "that that army was put upon its present satisfactory footing." But the result of his measures has not been considered satisfactory by less friendly critics. Their wisdom is being challenged at this day, their evil results pointed out. They provoked the most bitter animosity and hostility. Letters, piteous or furious, from his own brother-officers poured in upon Norman. His measures and his motives were denounced in the public press. There could not but be injury to the officers and men of the derelict army, injury to their interests, injury to their feelings, never sufficiently taken into account. The working of the new system produced a clogging of the machine, and Sir William Lee-Warner himself tells us that many of those first arrangements "have been swept away." He deals with the matter in his usual calm, judicial way. He accepts and makes much of Lord Roberts' eulogy, but in view of the many proved imperfections of the scheme of reconstruction he associates others with Norman in it. Norman was a worker of great schemes, not a constructor.

"His quite unrivalled memory," "his astonishing mastery of detail," his modesty, his "cautious judgment," his "indefatigable industry," these were the qualities dwelt on
by the supreme officer of State, by the Viceroy, on the occasion of his departure from India in 1877. And one who was closely associated with him in an enquiry among the West India islands twenty years afterwards speaks of him as "high-minded, unselfish, kind-hearted."

The life of Sir Henry Norman was one of continued service, and "ever as in the great task-master's eye."

The memoir is a very good one, both in scope and construction. Both as regards what it puts in and what it keeps out it is a work of art. It is written with a high appreciation and admiration of the subject of it, and yet honestly, in a calm, judicial spirit. The style is excellent. Sir William Lee-Warner has done his work very well.

R. E. F.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

A notice of the first volume of this Catalogue, comprising the coins other than the Musalman series, was given in the Journal of last year (p. 472). These two volumes have appeared since then, and the Trustees of the Museum are to be again congratulated on the excellency of the work done by the author they were fortunate enough to secure for editing the Musalman series, and Mr. Nelson Wright himself, as well as his readers, must be pleased with the way the books have been produced.

Vol. ii deals in part 1 with the coins of the Sultans of Dehli, and in part 2 with coins of other Musalman rulers in India contemporary with them.

Part 1 begins with an Introduction containing a concise account of the coinage of the Sultans from Muhammad bin Sam (a.h. 589) to Sikandar Shah Suri (a.h. 962), followed by genealogical trees of the six dynasties of the
Sultans. The catalogue of the collection in the Museum follows, the coins, 899 specimens, being well described, with references given to former accounts of them by Thomas, Rodgers, and others, with in some cases revised readings and attributions, as, for example, it may be noted that Nos. 112–15 on p. 28, attributed by Thomas to Aram Shah, are now shown to belong to Bahram Shah, a reading which has since been confirmed by Mr. Longworth Dames, who published a coin of Aram Shah in his article on the mint of Kuraman in the Journal of this year (p. 406). Nos. 817, 818 have the correction made in the description of them which was proposed by Colonel Shepherd in the J.A.S.B. with regard to what was taken to be a blundered الديان, now accepted as الديان, as it undoubtedly should be, for the same word is on one of the Bahmani series, and unmistakable there. The mint name on No. 82 was read by Thomas as ملتان for ملتان, in this Catalogue as ملتان for ملتان, and by Mr. Longworth Dames in the above-quoted article as بنيان. Comparison with later coins of Multan corroborates the reading here given. No. 106 rev., read by Rodgers (J.A.S.B., 1894) as قطب, and attributed by him to Qutbu-d-din Aibak, is now read by Mr. Wright as رضيه in inverted letters. The mint town of the coin No. 38 of Altamsh is still left uncertain. Rodgers read it as Ghor; Hoernle suggested Lakhnauti, Mr. Wright has (؟) بالكور. By the figure on plate i it seems rather بالكور, with a dot over the first letter, and perhaps, as Von Zambaur proposes in his careful review of this volume in the Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1908, Band i, Nagor in Rajputana is the place intended.

Part 2, sec. i, gives an excellent account of the kings of Bengal and their coinage by Sir James Bourdillon. The description of the 240 specimens in the Museum is the best and fullest account we have yet had of this remarkable series, curious as it is in pattern, lettering, and titles.
it are comprised nearly, if not all, the coins previously described in the B.M. Catalogue, and in papers in the J.A.S.B. and *Journal Asiatique*. Sec. ii, contemporaries of the early Sultans; sec. iii, Kashmir; sec. iv, Bahmani; sec. v, Jaipur; sec. vi, Gujarat; sec. vii, Malwa, present nothing remarkable. Most of these series have been lately more fully described by other writers. Appendices of Hijra dates, mint towns, glossary of titles, and a good map of India illustrating the mints of the Muhammadan rulers, complete the volume, which is illustrated by 25 plates.

Vol. iii, a book of 360 pages and 22 plates, is entirely taken up with the coinage of the Mughal emperors of Dehli.

The introduction of 82 pages is an especial and commendable feature of the book, as it gives under the heading of each mint town its situation, the periods during which the mints were used, the number of coins in the collection struck at it by each emperor, the honorific epithets of the town and the peculiarities of the pieces issued at it, and the couplets upon the coins. Some additions to and variations in the list of mint towns given in "The Manual of Musalman Numismatics" are made. Ausa in Bidar district, Bahraich in Oudh, Burhanabad, probably near Ahmadnagar in the Dekhan, Bairath in Rajputana, and Purbandar in Kathiawar are added. Mirath, the author thinks, should be rather read Mirtha, a fortress near Ajmir. Mustafabad is identified as Rampur, Nusratabad as Dharwar, Gokulgarh is located in Mewar on the borders of Bikanir, Zafarabad is considered to be Bidar rather than the town of that name in the North-West Provinces, and Zafarnagar a town south of Ahmadnagar, and not a name for Fathabad. Good reasons are given for these changes. Of the couplets: the one attributed in the B.M. Catalogue to Nikusiyar, in error, as was pointed out by Mr. Irvine in 1899, is rightly altered to be one of Muhammad Shah. The couplet on the interesting coin of Shah Alam Bahadur
Shah, struck at Tatta with the name of Muazzam on it, should be noticed—

سکه مبارک در هفت کشور زد بر مهر و ماه
شاه جهان ثانی سلطان معظم باشاد

and also the ones on the half-rupee of Jahangir from the Kabul mint—

همیشه باد زدار العباد حی قدیم
روای سکه کابل بنام شاد سلیم

and on the Akbaranagar rupee of the same emperor—

سکه در اکبرانگرد زد شاه گردود بارگاه
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر بن اکبر باشاد

and an improved and probably correct rendering of Ibrahim's couplet—

سکه زد در جهان پنسل کریم
شاه شاهان محمد ابراهیم

It may be observed that throughout the book the author gives Shah Alam I as the short title of the successor of Aurangzib instead of Bahadur Shah, as he is usually styled in numismatic and other books. It may be correct to do so, but it is inconvenient, and a change which is liable to cause confusion.

Regarding the coins of Akbar, the author gives reasons for thinking that the 'Alif' coins were issued before the year 1000 of the Hijra, and began to be so about the year 987, when Akbar probably promulgated his designs for a new era.

It is often a question whether a coin struck in a native State of India during the reigns of the last three or four emperors should be included in the Imperial coinage, for many were struck of the patterns of Shah Alam and Muhammad Shah by local Rajas, both during the life of the emperor and after his death, without, in some cases, much regard to the date and regnal years. The rule usually
followed is that mentioned in the B.M. Catalogue, Mughal Emperors, p. cviii, viz. to class under Imperial all those coins having the emperor's name, which have also legible mints and consistent dates (i.e. dates in which the regnal and Hijra years are in accord). But there are always doubtful cases, such, for instance, as coins issued from the many mints under Mahratta rule, named in Mr. Ranade's paper "Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule" (Journal Bombay Branch R.A.S., vol. xx).

It may be useful to add a few notes on some of the later coins in this Catalogue, made partly from an old notebook of J. Prinsep and partly from information gathered in Western India. No. 2080 is the Nagpur rupee of Prinsep, known in the bazars as 'Bhonsle,' and was a common currency in Nagpur and Kampti fifty years ago, but the word 'Surat' in full on this specimen is a surprise. No. 2122 is the 'New Nagpur' of Prinsep's list, but the name 'Katak' on it contradicts that so far as regards the mint town, but the coin was probably issued during the time when Katak was held by the Bhonsle Rajah after capture by the Mahrattas. No. 2257 appears to be a Bikanir State coin, the top line of rev. being the coiled snake with raised head, and نير گا diam of بیکانیئر instead of (Webb, plate vi); the mint mark confirms this. It is marked 'Sardhana' by Prinsep. No. 2449 is figured in Webb (plate vii) as a coin of Khetri, but without the line containing the mint name. Was the name Muzaffagarh given to Khetri at any time? No. 2485 is marked by Prinsep as 'Fursee,' presumably from پیرس, Hind.; the place of mintage is not known. No. 2486 Prinsep figures as a coin of Kishangarh; it is probably the coin of that State described by Webb (No. 1, p. 68), but not figured by him. No. 2487 is attributed by Prinsep and also by Hoernle (J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 267) to the Orcha or Tehri State in Bandelkhand; has been read on one specimen.
There are good appendices of chronological index, note on the Ilahi era of Akbar, tables of ornaments or mint marks, and map.

The arrangement of the matter in the Catalogues is admirable, and the editing has been most carefully done. A word of praise should be added of the printing, the plates, and especially the Arabic type.

O. Codrington.

Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hemacandra's Parisiṣṭaparvan. Translated into German by Johannes Hertel. Leipzig, 1908. (Bibliothek morgenländischer Erzähler, Band i.)

In this interesting book Dr. Hertel, whose numerous writings on the Pañcatantra have established his position as one of the highest authorities on the Indian fable literature, translates the fables found in the Pariśīṣṭa-parvan of the Jaina, Hemacandra, an appendix to that remarkably dreary work, the Trīṣaṭiśalākāpurusācarita. He is to be congratulated on the choice of subject, for the fables are quite worth being made known to the student of literature. It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hertel has accomplished very satisfactorily the work of translation. He apologises for the inevitable inability of a translator of an Indian Kāvya to do justice to the form of the original, but the apology is not in place. The simplicity of his prose version is really much more appropriate to the subject-matter of the poem than the elaborate plays on words and the similes of the orthodox Kāvya style, which in the original are incongruously blended with proverbial phrases and popular expressions. Hemacandra cannot be compared as a literary artist with Phaedrus or Babrius; he does not even take the trouble to remove the most obvious inconsistencies in the narrative.
On one or two points exception may perhaps be taken to the renderings adopted by Dr. Hertel. In ii, 78, he sees a reference to the crow which dressed itself up in a peacock's feathers, a fable known to Phaedrus and Babrius, and Dr. R. Schmidt has accepted this view. The suggestion would be very interesting if correct, as the word mayūravyāmsaka, which Dr. Hertel renders as 'false peacock,' occurs in Pāṇini, ii, 1, 72, and thus we would have a striking instance of the importation into Greece of an Indian fable. But Professor Jacobi has conclusively shown that this cannot be the sense, and that the real meaning is a 'peacock used as a decoy,' or more generally 'traitor,' the sense known to Patañjali, for Hemacandra, in the commentary to his Kāvyānuśasana, recognises that the compound means mayūra eva vyāmsakah, 'the peacock is the betrayer,' and Vardhamāna (a.d. 1140) expressly explains the expression as it occurs in the Gāṇa in this sense.

Again, in ii, 317, Dr. Hertel renders arthamāteva as 'like the mother of Artha,' and refers to the fact that in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iv, 1, 51, Artha is personified as the son of Dharma and Buddhī. The suggestion is ingenious, but hardly convincing; in fact, the reference is rather far-fetched, and, at any rate, the objection he advances to Böhtlingk's rendering, 'eine Mutter mit zutreffendem Namen,' viz. that the following iva renders it impossible, is clearly inadequate, for the use of iva to qualify any quasi-metaphorical expression is common from the Vedic literature onwards, iva and eva being hardly distinguishable

1 Cf. Z.D.M.G., lxii, 113-18.
2 Z.D.M.G., lxii, 119.
3 Z.D.M.G., lxii, 113-18.
4 Z.D.M.G., lxii, 358-60.
5 Cf. also Z.D.M.G., lxii, 362.
6 In any case, it is obvious that no stress can be laid on a distinction of and ev in Sanskrit MSS.
in this sense.\textsuperscript{1} Or, again, the suggested reading in iii, 124 (p. 267) of tilaudanādibhiḥ for tilodanādibhiḥ ignores the fact that the Sandhi o in the case of odana is regularly used in the later literature, and occurs even in some Sūtra texts.\textsuperscript{2}

In connection with his translation Dr. Hertel has published in the Z.D.M.G., lxii, 361–9, contributions to the lexica from the Parisiṣṭaparvan. He points out rightly that the use of dohada in i, 246, and elsewhere, is not fully covered by the definition in Böhtlingk's Dictionary. The word, indeed, has hardly received satisfactory treatment even in the new edition of Monier-Williams' Dictionary. The sense samskārādravya attributed to it by the Śabdārṇava may well be recognised in the Meghadūta, 77; and in the Ratnāvali (p. 297, l. 32, ed. Cappeller), in the words aālakusumasaṃjayāṇadohalāṃ sikkhis, dohala cannot well mean anything but 'the mode of satisfying the craving,' which may also be the sense in the Meghadūta.

Dr. Hertel has increased the practical value of his translation by a short introduction on the Jaina religion, based on Bühler and Jacobi's writings, and by a large number of literary references to parallel versions of the fables related. It may be convenient to note that on pp. 242 seq. he gives a translation of the first of the two tales of Śakuni and Śakaṭāra, which are found in two MSS. of the Hitopadesa—one in the Bodleian (MS. Wilson, 341)—and which have been published by himself in the Z.D.M.G., lv, 489 seq.

A. Berriedale Keith.

\textsuperscript{1} For Rgvedic examples of the use, wrongly called 'late' by Schefelowitz (Die Apokryphen des Rgveda, p. 79), cf. Oldenberg, Z.D.M.G., lxi, 823. The use is very common in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the Aitareya Āranyaka, i, 2, 6, has viygrhmanam ivopodāharati, while the parallel Sānkhyāyana Āranyaka, viii, 10, has brāhmaṇam evodāharati. Both the Pet. Lexx. and Monier-Williams recognise this use.

\textsuperscript{2} See Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm., i, 320.

If we were to characterise this work in a single sentence, we should say that it is an impressionist's view of general history, and that many of the writer's impressions are not ours. Colonel Conder claims to treat his subject in a scientific manner; he is never tired of saying that modern views of history are entirely different from the ancient; and yet, if we omit those portions of the work which deal with philology or recent archaeological explorations, we are more reminded of Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle* and similar works than of anything recent. Colonel Conder has had a scientific training; he is an explorer, a philologist, and an archaeologist; and when he talks of Syria and Mesopotamia, of the Accadians Babylonians and Jews, or of the Bedouin or the Turkish Empire, he is always instructive, and usually at his best. Not that he is entirely 'according to Cocker' even here; his transliterations and his dates are not always those which Mr. King has accustomed us to; witness the date he assigns to Hammurabi (2139–2094 B.C., p. 90); but he is entitled to speak on such subjects with the authority of a master, and we must respect his opinion even if we do not agree with it. So also in his dealings with the Moslem world. His picture of the Palestinian peasants haunted by the dread of ghosts and *jinns* is drawn from the life (pp. 3 and 4), and his account of Islam as a religion is full of the sympathy born of actual contact.

On the other hand, Colonel Conder has many prejudices. He has a great objection to philosophy; the man who invented the lens did more for the world than Plato has done, and the Idealists "confuse the existence of realities with the existence of our perception of realities." He is a good Bible Christian and a hater of priestcraft. He is a philologist, and philology supplies him with the key
to the original habitat of man, which he locates in the barren mountains of Armenia; he will have nothing to do with anthropology in determining questions of race or of primitive religion. Lastly, he is an Orientalist, and everywhere exalts the great Oriental empires at the expense of the Western ones. His predilections show themselves even in little things. Thus he depreciates S. Sophia, the chef d'œuvre of Justinian, because it is Byzantine, and lauds the Dome of the Rock, a beautiful but minor Byzantine work, because it was erected by order of a Caliph. His utter failure to understand the work of Rome and of the Roman Empire would alone suffice in our opinion to put him out of court as a historian of mankind.

The author states at the outset that his object is to trace the purpose which underlies the social history of man; in other words, despite his dislike of philosophy, he starts with a metaphysical conception, the belief in final causes. With this we have no quarrel; but as Colonel Conder professes to be engaged in a scientific work, we demand that it should be treated scientifically. Many devout believers, like the late Bishop Stubbs and Professor Laurent, have held the same belief, and yet have denied that a science of history is possible. On the other hand, a recent scientific work, while discarding final causes altogether, professes to show that man is the half-way house between the perishing brute and immortality. Some men—for instance, members of the Royal Society, Professors, possibly literary men, and so forth—have a fair chance of becoming immortals; the savage certainly has none. The poets are prophets, and in this matter Browning sixty years ago anticipated the savant. However, to return, Colonel Conder, having started with his thesis, a thesis which we ourselves accept, ought at least to have referred to the difficulties which lie in the way of scientific proof; the great part
which personality and what we call chance play in the ordering of events, and the impossibility of verification or prediction. A still greater defect is that we are nowhere told what this purpose is. We are vaguely assured that "natural causes—causes over which man had no control—brought about the great changes which resulted in the spread of knowledge and in the taming of wild tribes," a statement which is only partially true. We are further told that "the Christianity fitted to 'overcome the world' cannot be that of the dark ages or of the stormy days of Reformation. It cannot even be that of the Fathers or of the Apostles, though it will be that of Saint Francis and of Penn," a statement which the opponents of the Cowper-Temple clause would dispute. The Dean of Westminster once said that every historian was of necessity an optimist; this is also Colonel Conder's opinion and the opinion of most Englishmen; but we have still to take into account the pessimism of French writers and of the fin du siècle literature. If we add two statements incidentally made, the first that differentiation is the necessary antecedent of a higher unity, an idea so magnificently treated by Hegel in his epoch-making Philosophy of History, the second that the main duty of the individual is to transmit its experience (not its personality) to its offspring, a physiological idea, we have the sum-total, so far as we can gather, of Colonel Conder's teaching regarding the main object of his book. We hardly required 350 pages to prove such vague truisms and generalities.

In truth the value of the work lies neither in its science or its philosophy. We have neither a study of institutions, or demonstration by the comparative method, or analysis of religious psychology, or a study of environment, or any of those things to which recent writers have accustomed us. We have a readable and lively, although partial, sketch of general history, occasionally illuminated by
special knowledge, but often disfigured by dogmatic pronouncements on very disputable matters. Colonel Conder's dogmatism is disconcerting even when we are inclined to agree with him, as we often are. Of course, the temptation to dogmatise must be great when one has to discuss everything in human history from neolithic skulls to Professor Cheyne's latest opinions, and that within the compass of 350 pages. We are only thankful that he did not begin his history of mankind, like a good friend of ours, with the nebular theory. We grant all this, and still—and still—we could have wished that Colonel Conder's statements were less rash, his pronouncements less dogmatic.

The general reader, however, will find in the work much that is entertaining, and some things which are probably new to him. Excluding a brief introduction, the book falls into two parts. The first part, of about 150 pages, is devoted, half of it to a study of early man, his original habitat, the origin of race, and the prehistoric migrations, the other half to a general history of civilisation from the time of Gudea of Tell Loh, say 2800 B.C., down to the present time, special attention being paid to the history of the Asiatic monarchies, ancient and mediaeval. The second part, of about 200 pages, is taken up with the history of religion, commencing with animism and magic and culminating in a history of Christianity. In this part we have an elaborate argument for the antiquity of the Pentateuch, since Colonel Conder, like a good many archaeologists, belongs to the conservative school of Biblical critics. Ranging over such a multitude of subjects, the specialist will cry halt at many a passage. For instance, since one-quarter of the work is devoted to early man, we should have thought that an account of the numerous centres of prehistoric civilisation would have formed a fitter introduction to the main business of the book than speculative questions about primitive man, of whom we
know nothing, or questions of the origin of race, which, \textit{pace} Colonel Conder, cannot be settled by philology. Some such account should certainly have been included, since the continuity of history is the theme which Colonel Conder had to illustrate, and a study of the prehistoric civilisations is the obvious starting-point. He devotes a good deal of space, it is true, to the early migrations of men, but most of what he says is founded upon philological speculations, and therefore, in our opinion, upon a very insecure basis. On the other hand, there is a mass of archaeological and ethnological evidence regarding the condition and distribution of prehistoric men in Europe, Asia, and North Africa which should have been utilised. Colonel Conder's account of the neolithic skulls and skeletons of France, Belgium, and Italy, excellent in its way, is the least part of the matter. Again, when we come to recorded history, we miss any clear conception of what civilisation means, and what we are to look for as proved. There is no attempt to show the exact value of each stage of civilisation, its special characteristics, or its contribution to the permanent possessions of mankind. Moreover, we doubt whether the religious aspect of any civilisation can be properly realised apart from its social structure in constructing any true conception of the past. But the field which Colonel Conder's work opens up is so large that it is necessary to resist temptation. Only two little trifles we would note. Why does Colonel Conder say that "Iberians from Spain were \textit{repulsed} by the Silures in Cornwall" (p. 53)? In his note he quotes Tacitus, and Tacitus says that the Silures settled in Cornwall. "Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt." Again, why does he make the English take "Delhi during the seven years' war" (p. 149)? We suppose that Colonel Conder is referring to the battle of Buxar, but it was a long step from Buxar to Delhi. A truce, however, to our criticisms and our questions. If we were attempting the same task,
we would doubtless say much that is equally questionable. We therefore end where we began. The book is the work of an impressionist, but it is one which the general reader can thoroughly enjoy.

J. Kennedy.

SEMITISCH UND INDOGERMANISCH. Von HERMANN MÖLLER, ordentlicher Professor an der Universität Kopenhagen. H. Hagerup, 1907.

This is the work of one who has tried honestly to show, and not without success, not only that there is connection between the Semitic and Indogermanic languages, but also to give a detailed exposition of the laws which govern the phonology of these two groups. The present part deals with the consonants, and whatever may be the opinion of the reader with regard to the success of the comparisons, the author will doubtless receive the thanks of all those interested in the study for placing the matter so fully before them. Even if we eliminate those comparisons which are necessarily the result of chance, we get in this section of the work, which contains nearly 400 pages, an amount of material which proves an exceedingly close connection at some early period which it is now difficult to estimate.

Under the examples for r (§ 3) we find the well-known comparisons of the Heb. ereš, Assyr. ērītu, with ‘earth,’ from an original Indogermanic er; the Latin cornu with the Heb. qerēn, as well as such things as the connection of the Arab. reduplicate tartara, the Assyr. tarānu, with the Gk. ταρταρίζω, Lat. terreō; the Heb. qereb, Assyr. kirbu (for qirbu), the Gk. βρέφος, ‘part of the body,’ ‘young,’ etc. It is also pointed out that there are roots in which the Semitic r is represented by l in Indogerm,
especially after labials, as in p-r-, 'to be full,' in which the Arab. y-f-r-, 'to be or become full,' etc., as well as the Heb. pärd, according to Barth, from p-r-ṣ-r-, 'to be numerous' (distinct from p-r-ḥ-r-, 'to bring forth fruit,' which is the Indogerm. p-l-u-, 'much'), are compared.

Another series is seen in d-r-, 'vian tarere, treten,' lengthened to d-r-k₂-, the Heb. derek, 'way, road,' with which the author compares the Latin tero, 'reiβe' > 'betrete.' Lengthened with d, it is the English tread (trudge, if that be not a secondary formation, would be nearer). Connected with the original and pre-Indogermanic p-r-ṣ₂-, the author quotes the Gk. πέλεξως, 'ax,' the Assyr. pilaqqu; and in g₃ᵲ-r-, 'to swallow,' 'throat,' he sees the Heb. garon, 'throat, neck,' whilst the reduplicate Arab. gargara, 'he swallowed,' reminds one of 'gargle,' generally derived from the Fr. gorge, but possibly imitative, and connected with the Fr. gargariser, Lat. gargarizzare. As is to be expected, other comparisons are less obvious, as the Heb. qerah, 'ice, hail, cold,' which the author compares, by a change from r to l, with gla in the Latin glacis (Lith. įl-menis, 'violent cold'). The original root is described as being ʷuᵅ-r-, lengthened from ʷuᵅ-r-, 'to be cold, to freeze.'

Though here and there the etymologies may be regarded as uncertain, and by some as even forced, there is no doubt that it adds much to our knowledge, and is in all probability as thorough a work as can at present be produced upon an exceedingly interesting branch of philology. The author knows the literature of the subject well, and often quotes his predecessor in the field, the Assyriologist, Friedrich Delitzsch.

T. G. Pinches.

The title of this work sufficiently explains its scope and contents: of the 106 pages which it amounts to in all, the first twenty-three are devoted to the exposition of the author's plan for a systematic universal scheme of grammar; the thirty-five following contain a grammar of Andamanese (with special reference to the speech of the Bëa tribe); and the remaining forty-eight comprise a grammar of Nicobarese (with special reference to the Central dialect of that language), both on the lines of the projected plan.

It would require a very intimate acquaintance with these two languages (such an acquaintance as the author possesses, but very few other Europeans share) to give an adequate estimate of the success of the application of his principles. So far as a mere outsider can judge, his exposition gives a very clear view of two difficult forms of speech, one of which (the Andamanese) is most peculiar and singularly unlike anything that we are accustomed to. So far as this goes, it would seem that the scheme has proved capable of being applied to such cases. It must also be pointed out that it was applied in outline by Mr. Sidney Ray in the Indian Antiquary for 1902 to a short text in sixteen selected languages of various types, and in that instance also (so far as the experiment went) it met the requirements of the case.

It seems to me that this is the proper way of testing such a plan; solvitur ambulando is the only practical line to follow. Sir Richard Temple starts a priori with the principle that "as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human
beings, there must be some fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be." But is speech a 'convention'? Is it not rather the outcome, to a great extent the unconscious and spontaneous outcome, of the mental nature of those who use it? And are we entitled to assume an identity of such nature throughout the human race? Unquestionably for any speech to develop and maintain itself there must be in the mind of the hearer much the same kind of way of looking at things (whether that be natural or acquired) as in the mind of the speaker, if there is to be a perfect understanding between the two. But speech has not been 'devised' (has not, I should prefer to say, developed) with an end to universal mutual intelligibility, but only for communication within a limited circle, originally probably in all cases very homogeneous from the psychological point of view. It seems to me that the principle from which the author starts is not quite a sure foundation for his system.

Everyone is agreed that writing the grammar of one language on lines derived from another is a fundamental mistake; it would be superfluous at this time of day to insist on the way in which the teaching of English grammar has been needlessly complicated and confused by following the principles of Latin. How much more has the grammar of uninflected, entirely alien languages been mangled by forcing them on to what some one has well styled the 'Procrustean bed' of Indo-European accidence and syntax. Any attempt to strike out a new and improved method of recording such fundamentally alien languages must be welcomed. The author, following a hint given by the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, has thought it necessary to devise a set of entirely new technical grammatical terms for the parts of speech; our old friends the noun, verb, etc., are replaced by such new ones as indicator, predicator, and so forth. This, it is to be
feared, will prove a stumbling-block to many; nothing is so much a matter of habit as the use of an old-established terminology, and it cannot be denied that the introduction of a completely different one puts a considerable strain on the attention and memory of the reader; like the suggested new phonetic spelling, it worries him. On the other hand, there is the advantage claimed for it that it is free from the misleading associations of the old set of terms.

Certainly that is true, so far as matters of accidence are concerned; the word 'predicador' conveys to us no suggestion of conjugation, with its complexities of voice, mood, tense, and so forth. From these it is entirely abstracted, which is no doubt a great point gained, assuming that the word 'verb' was, in fact, by reason of early associations incapable of being freed from these ideas. But I am not sure that even this is the conclusion of the matter. What about syntax? Sir Richard Temple begins his analysis of speech with the sentence: rightly, as I conceive it, and, indeed, almost necessarily. A sentence, however, may, as he justly remarks, be composed of one word or more (in either case, to be a sentence it is necessary that it should be capable of conveying a complete meaning). It is when we come to analyse the sentence that the difficulties begin. For the very next step in the argument is that when a sentence consists of more than one word, it has two parts, the subject and the predicate, the matter to be discussed or communicated and the discussion or communication of it. On the face of it, this proposition seems incontrovertible. But are we not here already getting involved in our European (or Indo-European) system of logic, the product of our particular mental idiosyncrasy arrived at by the analysis of our own languages, which themselves are products of our mental characteristics? For it very soon becomes plain that the new term 'predicador' is but the old
verb "writ large." But that assumes a system of syntax fundamentally, in its broad outlines at least, resembling ours, with the noun (or its substitutes) as subject, the verb (or its substitutes and amplifications) as predicate, and so on into the further subdivisions of the analysis.

Is this system, which is so familiar to us that we find it difficult to think at all outside the lines that it lays down, really of universal and exclusive validity? Is it not possible to conceive a language that should marshal its parts of speech (i.e. represent the mental relation of its ideas) in quite another way? Why should the verb necessarily fall into the predicative part of the sentence? Could it not just as well be the other way about? By this I do not mean anything analogous to the old Indo-European verb, in which the inflectional suffixes embody a pronominal subject; here it is open to anyone to make the analysis into subject (represented by the pronominal termination) and predicate (being what is left of the verb shortened of its pronominal termination). What I conceive as possible is the treatment of the verbal idea, the action, process, or (if one may so style it) the dynamic element of the sentence, as the subject, making the words that we should take as subject, object, etc., subordinate to it, while the real predicate (which in an affirmative sentence of this sort would be merely an affirmation that the action expressed by the verb-subject is an actuality) would either be represented by a particle of affirmation or be already implicitly involved in the form of the verb-subject itself.

To me such a syntactical system, strangely different as it is from the normal form of our own, seems quite conceivable, nay more, I believe it to exist sometimes as a fact. Take as an example the following Malay sentence (not made up by myself ad hoc, but extracted from Gerth van Wijk's "Spraakkleer der Maleische Taal," 2nd ed., p. 96, and presumably derived from a genuine Malay prose-work):

\[\text{di-chium-nya dan } \text{di-tangis-nya oleh } \text{bonda-nya akan}\]
anak-nya itu (I spell it in our English quasi-Hunterian fashion, not in the Dutch spelling of the original). Now, of course, we can render this into English simply thus: "the mother kissed and wept over her child." No question here but that the mother is the subject of the sentence. But that is not the way in which the sentence presents itself to a Malay. The verbs *di-chium* and *di-tangis* are passive in form, and the mother is the agent. Why not, then, render it (into less idiomatic English) "the child was kissed and wept over by its mother"? The objection to this is that it does not grammatically represent the original any more than the first rendering did. *Akan* anak-nya itu cannot be the subject, grammatically, because *akan* is a preposition used to connect a verb with its object. If we want to analyse the sentence literally as it stands, we must construe it thus: *di-chium*, 'was kissed' (impersonal, simply expressing the actuality of the fact that kissing occurred); *nya*, 'by her' (i.e. the mother); *dan*, 'and'; *di-tangis*, 'was wept' (impersonal, like the preceding verb); *nya*, 'by her' (i.e. the mother); *oleh*, 'by'; *bonda*, 'mother'; *nya*, 'of it' (i.e. of the child); *akan*, 'over' (literally 'to'); anak, 'child'; *nya*, 'of her' (i.e. of the mother); *itu*, 'that' (but it has not in this context much more force than our definite article 'the'). If one would render it into something like English as nearly as possible as it stands, it would be "there was kissing and weeping by its mother over that her child."

In this rendering we have been forced by the structure of our own language to analyse the passive impersonal verbs *di-chium* and *di-tangis* into (1) the verbal nouns 'kissing' and 'weeping,' plus (2) a verb of affirmation, 'there was'; but then we see that in the original the kissing and weeping really embody the subject, both grammatical and psychological, of the sentence, and that both the subject (which is further qualified by the words expressing the relations to it of the mother and child
respectively) and the predicate (the affirmation of the actual occurrence as a fact) are contained in the two verbs. I confess that I am unable to fit such a sentence into Sir Richard Temple's scheme without doing violence to its natural structure, and I suspect that similar difficulties may occur in the case of other languages, especially in such sentences as we are accustomed to call impersonal. No doubt all such expressions can, by the exercise of a certain amount of ingenuity, be twisted into any system of syntax; but does not this greatly resemble the old Procrustean treatment that we all want to have done with? I confess that this seems to me an almost inevitable consequence of any system of grammatical terminology arrived at a priori and aiming at universality of application.

What, then, can one do to get over the difficulty? Every language (or group of similar languages) has its own set of parts of speech, resembling to some extent no doubt but not exactly coinciding with those of other tongues, and uses them in its own way. The task of the student of any language is to discover what, in that particular language, the parts of speech are and how they are used. When he has collected his individual facts and tabulated them, then only can he draw up his final terminology for the parts of speech and his rules for their use, arriving at them inductively from observation of the individual phenomena of the particular language. Such, it appears to me, is the really scientific order of proceeding. But it stands to reason that while he is carrying on his investigations, the student must have some provisional general scheme in his mind of what he is looking for, and that seems to me to be where the utility of Sir Richard Temple's plan comes in. As a provisional formal system of verbal categories I conceive that it may be of great service in the nature of a general ground-plan; probably in the majority of cases it would be sufficient in itself,
though in some instances it might need to be supplemented or modified to meet special requirements. It might be necessary in the case of some languages to give somewhat different definitions of his terms, or perhaps to add to them by subdividing some of them. But the general framework of the terminology might remain.

To what extent precisely the terminology as a whole will be conveniently applicable to any particular language, can (I think) only be ascertained by experiment. No doubt it is true, as Sir Richard Temple remarks, that accidence arises properly out of syntax. But this really means that the accidence of a language arises out of its own syntax, and it is conceivable that forcing a language into a syntactical scheme that is not really its own may result in singularly complicating the rules we shall have to draw up when we come to the delineation of its accidence. Would it, to take an example given by Sir Richard Temple, be an advantage (either from the theoretical and systematic, or the practical point of view) to class the Latin form *domino* as an illustrator (adverb)? One does not feel sure that it would conduce to easier comprehension; the relations between form and function are so complex and irregular that it seems best to keep the two things as much as possible apart; but, at any rate, one must not allow the study of the one to put difficulties into the study of the other.

It is impossible, within the limited time and space available, to attempt to touch upon, let alone discuss, all the points which this highly suggestive scheme seems to raise. The reader should turn to it himself and study it with the attention it deserves and requires, for it is not by any means easy reading, as was inevitable from the nature of its subject, but it deals very thoroughly (if its initial postulates be granted) with the principles involved. There is in places a good deal of repetition, but every separate proposition deserves to be critically
considered and practically tested. This, however, is really outside the competence of a mere reviewer, who must necessarily confine his remarks to a very limited number of salient points, whereas the work ought really to be exhaustively discussed by specialists from various points of view in articles of adequate length.

I cannot part from this work without saying a few words about the two languages which are discussed in it. Both are of very special interest. The Andamanese because it is the speech of one of the most primitive, perhaps really quite the most primitive, of the races of man. The Negritos, both in their physical and mental characteristics, in their social condition and in their beliefs, have a strong claim to represent primitive man more closely and correctly than any other surviving race. It so happens that most of the Negrito communities, even such as have preserved a relative (though not unmixed) purity of blood, in other parts of their old domain have lost their own languages and adopted those of alien, more civilised neighbours. This is the case in the Malay Peninsula, where the Sêmangs speak a substantially Mon-Khmer language, and also in the Philippines, where they speak a Malayo-Polynesian one. In the Andaman Islands, on the other hand, they have preserved their own tongue, and a very curious one it is. Like most languages of 'simple savages,' it is anything but simple in its etymological structure. But the most characteristic and interesting thing about it is its intensely anthropomorphic point of view. The Andamanese refers everything (that is in anywise capable of such reference) to himself, and not merely to himself as an individual but to the several parts of the human body, divided into some half a dozen classes, under such leading ideas as 'head,' 'hand,' 'mouth,' 'eye,' etc., with which more or less closely connected ones are grouped. Each such group is represented by a prefix, which has to be prefixed for instance to
adjectives when used either with reference to any such part of the body or to other things which are conceived, by some remote analogy obscure to our modes of thought, as being connected with one or other of the groups. The result is a kind of 'concord' far more elaborate than that which results from our Indo-European genders and numbers. But what makes it so peculiarly interesting is the glimpse that it affords into the point of view of the Andamanese: if primitive man shared it with them, it would seem that to him his body and its parts were the real centre of his 'kosmos'; a somewhat more than Ptolemaic attitude of mind, one might style it.

Nicobarese is the speech of a much more advanced race. Its chief importance lies in the fact that having (like Andamanese) developed on its own ground, relatively free from disturbing foreign influences, it is a very archaic representative of the family of languages from which it sprang, and ought to be made the starting-point for a comparative study of all the allied groups, particularly the Mon-Khmer and Mundā groups, Khasi, and the Sakai and Sēmang dialects of the Malay Peninsula. Some beginning has already been made in this comparative study by Professor W. Schmidt, and it is to be regretted that Sir Richard Temple has not availed himself of it to revise the Table of Comparative Roots and Words (of Nicobarese, the Malay Peninsula dialects, and Mon-Khmer) on pp. 95-7 of his work. This is based on tentative comparisons made by myself a good many years ago, and though some of them have turned out to be right, others have been upset by newer data, and the list is by no means up to date. Subsequent investigations have added considerably to the number of words that are known to be common to these different languages. Nicobarese has, however, some points apparently peculiar to itself and not found in the allied languages. One of its marked characteristics is an extensive use of suffixes to
differentiate roots and stems with reference to differences of direction, such as northwards, downwards, inwards, towards self, towards the landing-place, and so forth. These seem to play a great part in the formation of the language.

Another point which strikes one in looking through Sir Richard Temple's grammar of the language is the section dealing with the particles which he styles 'connectors of intimate relation.' These, it must be confessed, remain somewhat of a mystery; apparently they partake of the nature of prepositions, yet in their use they sometimes perform (it seems) the functions of what we should call the copula. I am not sure that Sir Richard Temple's account of them, which is necessarily involved with his analysis of the sentences in which they occur, can always be accepted as satisfactory. For instance, he says that one of the functions of the 'connector of intimate relation,' ta, is to connect the indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective), and gives as an example, inter alia, the sentence inōat ta shong öt, literally 'knife c.i.r. sharp is' = 'the knife is sharp,' which he analyses thus: inōat ta shong = subject, öt ('is') = predicate. I should have thought that shong, 'sharp,' was an essential part of the predicate here; if not, surely the sentence would have to mean 'the sharp knife exists' or 'there is a sharp knife'? Similarly, in the sentence kenyûm tai an ta fnōwua, literally 'child by he c.i.r. beat' = 'the child was beaten by him,' I should have thought that fnōwua was performing the function of a predicative (verb), not (as Sir Richard Temple considers) of an explicator (adjective); if it were the latter, it seems to me that the words could only mean 'the child beaten by him.' However that may be, it is plain that this subject of 'connectors of intimate relation' calls for more detailed investigation, and I venture to think that a careful and comprehensive analysis of the uses of these particles will
throw a flood of light on the inner syntactical structure of
the language. In this respect they remind me of the
so-called 'ligations' of the Malayo-Polynesian languages,
the real nature of which was for a long time an absolute
mystery, and is in fact still in course of being elucidated
by patient comparative study.

I cannot here even allude to the other sections of the
Nicobarese grammar; both in it and in the Andamanese
there is a large amount of valuable matter, systematically
arranged and clearly set forth. It whets one's appetite
for more, for it must be borne in mind that only one
out of the twelve forms of Andamanese and only one
out of the six dialects of Nicobarese have as yet been
at all adequately studied and made available as material
for further studies.\(^1\) In view of the fact that these two
languages occupy such a singularly important place and
are of such special interest from the purely linguistic
point of view (for, of course, as practical media of
intercourse or as vehicles of literature they do not
count), does not the further and more comprehensive
study of them present itself as one of the most immediate
desiderata of linguistic science? The urgency of the
case is accentuated by the fact that the populations
which speak them are not only falling more and more
under foreign influence, but actually dwindling in
numbers and probably dying out, so that these languages
are in danger of becoming extinct. I venture to commend
their cause to the Linguistic Survey of India (if it has
not already extended its sphere of operations so as to
include them) as being eminently deserving of its prompt
attention.

C. O. Blagden.

\(^1\) When writing this I had for the moment forgotten Portman's and
de Roepstorff's works on some of the other Andamanese and Nicobarese
languages respectively. But even allowing for these, much still remains
to be done.
GESCHICHTE DES OSMANISCHEN REICHES. Nach den Quellen dargestellt von N. Jorga, Professor in der Universität Bukarest. Erster Band (bis 1451). Gotha, 1908. (Thirty-sixth work in the series called Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, edited by Heeren, Ukert, etc.)

The nineteenth century produced two voluminous works on Ottoman history, based on extensive research, those of von Hammer and of Zinkeisen. The latter writer thought it unlikely that any other work on the same subject would enjoy the favour which was accorded to von Hammer's history, and though its success could not be compared to that attained by Prescott's or Motley's masterpieces, it was translated into more than one language, and some volumes at least reached a second edition. The fate of this work suggests the consoling thought that all the books of the same author are not necessarily tarred with the same brush, for among Orientalists von Hammer's name was proverbial (and indeed is still so) for bad scholarship and impossible renderings. Zinkeisen, whose work bears date 1840–63, was not an Orientalist, and confines himself to the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Being cautious, he makes few mistakes in Oriental matters, and displays many of the gifts which go to make a great historian.

The author of the new history is an accomplished linguist, who not only writes in English, French, German, and Rumanian, but can quote books in Hungarian and other less known languages of Europe. Having access to materials which few Western writers can use, he has been able to record many new details of the advance whereby the Ottoman conquerors became the terror of Christian states. For these, perhaps, and in any case for his bibliographical notes, students of the subject have reason to be grateful. It seems desirable to insist on these merits because the following considerations render further commendation difficult.
The first complaint is that the author has not read his own book with sufficient care, whence "the figure of speech called self-contradiction" is exceedingly common. Page 306, Soliman is Bayazid's eldest son, but p. 309 his eldest son is Ertogrul, who dies in that capacity, p. 319; Soliman figures in the subsequent history. Page 348, Fruzin is the sole offspring of Shishman, but another son is mentioned on p. 309, whose name we learn on p. 363 was Alexander. Page 38, Alp Arslan is the son of Togrul-Beg, but p. 44 he is his nephew. Page 342, Theodoros, "the new despot," is the brother of the Emperor Manuel, but p. 374 the son. Page 279, John V is the grandfather of his nephew. Page 328, Soliman, son of Bayazid, leaves his brother Urkhan and his sister Fatma Khatun as hostages in Constantinople, but on p. 361 Kassim is substituted for Urkhan without any explanation. Sometimes this inconsistency extends beyond questions of relationship: p. 183, "as in the battle with the Servians the Unbelievers dismount from their horses"; but in the description of that battle, p. 181, we are told that the 'Unbelievers' were mere infantry (lauter Fussvolk), who had escaped from a fleet that had been 'annihilated' (vernichtet), itself no ordinary achievement.

A rather more serious charge concerns the author's treatment of the Mohammedan languages. Acquaintance with these may not be necessary for a historian of the Ottoman Empire, but no writer should satisfy himself with guesswork when knowledge is obtainable. Mr. Jorga's renderings of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words appear to be often pure divination, and his shots, though they come near the mark, frequently fail to hit it. Page 58, the Kutchhs are rendered 'the pulpits of the mosques' (die Kanzeln der Moscheen); they mean 'the sermons.' Page 35, we are told that Imam means 'mosque'; it means 'leader in prayer.' For the word
Ghazi three guesses are given: ‘hero’ (p. 135), *Triumphator* (p. 308), *tapfer* (p. 152); it means ‘one who raids the unbelievers.’ Page 152, we are twice told that *Sehieb* means ‘martyr for the faith,’ and p. 264 the same sense is given the word *Sahib*. The word intended is probably *shehid*. If Mr. Jorga could be believed, the Turkish language must be very rich in synonyms for ‘lame,’ *hinkend*, by which he renders not only *lenk* of Timurlenk, but *kutz* (p. 108), *kötürüm* (p. 307), *kutluk* (p. 142).

In the sixth century of Islam, and perhaps earlier, titles compounded with *din*, ‘religion,’ became common, e.g., Shams al-din, Najm al-din. The statement, therefore (p. 59), that the Caliph gave ‘Malekschach’ the fine Arabic name Dschelal-ed-dewlet ueddin contains no serious error, though the same cannot be said of the following clause, that he made him the first Emir-el-mumenin out of the hitherto despised Turkish race, for that name signifies Caliph, and Malikshah never was Caliph. [This statement is copied by Mr. Jorga from de Guignes, who took it from D’Herbelot, who appears to have carelessly read the real title of Malikshah *yamín amír al-Mu’mínín*, ‘right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.’] Presently Mr. Jorga changes his opinion as to the language to which these words belong: p. 145 Nasreddin is called a fine Persian name, and p. 308 someone, we are told, was called Burchaneddin (*sic*) in *persischer gelehrter Spruche*. The number of these compounds appears to be augmented by the addition of ‘Seinabeddin’ (p. 309).

It is a result of this procedure that the Oriental names are written with no attempt at consistency, and often mutilated beyond recognition. Page 35 we are told that the Oriental equivalent of Pissasirios is Nessasiri. Page 126 Dschingiz is written, p. 127 Tschingiz, and p. 130 Dschingiz; p. 26 Bochra and Bogra; p. 131 Ghajaseddin, and p. 134 Gajaseddin; p. 120 Azzeddin, but p. 119 Aseddin; the right form is Izz eddin. The name
Kásim appears as Kassim (p. 361), Kassum (p. 385), Chasim (p. 77), Khasim (p. 79). A curious distinction is made between the Turkish Sultan and the Egyptian Sudan (pp. 216, 406, etc.) or Soudan (pp. 315, 316, etc.). Perhaps the conjecture may be hazarded that the author confused the Mamluk ruler of Egypt with the country south of Egypt, where Lord Kitchener "strake the field."

The statements which deal with Moslem history and institutions can scarcely be described in courteous language. That which "takes the cake," to use Aristophanes's phrase, occurs p. 64, where we are told that the Sunnism accepted by the Turks, which denied the legitimacy of the first Caliphs, who had set aside the right of Ali to the inheritance, appeared too coarse to the followers of the Emir Hassan (Sabâh). Merely to indicate that this extraordinary misconception is not isolated, we may comment on the statement of p. 44 that Togruel-Beg "in his extreme old age enjoyed the great honour of giving his daughter in marriage to the Caliph Kaim." Now, since we are told on p. 36 that Togruel had already compelled the Caliph to marry his sister, the honour of giving the Caliph his daughter also would have been doubtful. Both statements are erroneous. The honour which Togruel coveted and finally obtained with difficulty was the hand of the Caliph's daughter for himself; Ibn al-Athir narrates the scene, in which the Caliph's daughter treats her bridegroom with lofty contempt, in a way that engraves it on the memory. On the other hand, it was not Togruel's daughter, but his niece, who was the Caliph's wife. On p. 26 Christian influence is proved by the use of such common Moslem names as Musa and Junis, the latter wrongly identified with John.

The errors which render this book generally untrustworthy are due to several causes—the employment of antiquated authorities, of unreliable authorities, careless reading, and the practice of following different sources on
different pages without examining their mutual relation. Several of the errors already noted are taken over from de Guignes, whose work bears date 1756. To illustrate the latter practice we shall take an example from pp. 38 and 61.

On the former page we read—

"Togrul was no ruler in the Byzantine style. Without reference to the head of the family, any of his relations could of his own initiative and on his own responsibility start military operations. Kutulmiz, his cousin, son of Israil, fights quite at the beginning against the Arab Koraish, the Karbesios of the Byzantines. Then he leaves the service of Togrul and betakes himself as a rebel to the Kharezanian country, in the neighbourhood of the 'black sand' of his fathers. The Emir has to make an expedition in order to attack him. At a later period we see the same Kutulmiz with his brother Abimelech again in the ranks of the soldiers of the Sultan . . . . Finally, during a fresh rebellion, Kutulmiz is killed by the soldiers of his young relative, Alp-Arslan, son of Togrul."

Page 61 gives the following information:—"In the neighbouring Syrian oasis, where rise the walls of Damascus, rules Kutulmisch, a weighty factor in Turkish history, whom we shall soon meet in another place."

Surely the reader would not suspect that Kutulmiz, whose career is recounted on p. 38, is identical with Kutulmisch, who is introduced on p. 61. Yet the fact is that they are identical.

Page 62 we are told that Soliman, founder of the Seljukid dynasty of Iconium, was the son of Kutulmisch of Damascus. The father of Soliman is identified by the historians (see e.g. Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane, iii, 231) with the personage who died in battle with Alp Arslan. And, indeed, Mr. Jorga identifies the two on p. 74. But how comes Kutulmisch to be connected with Damascus? Here Mr. Jorga is following Vámbéry and Röhricht. The latter refers (Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, p. 228) to Defrémercy (Journ. Asiat., sér. iv, vol. xi,
p. 453). The Persian chronicle which Defrémyer translates states that Damascus was assigned to Kutulmush; but the learned editor points out in his note on the same page that this is an obvious error in the Persian chronicle, and to be corrected Tutush. Hence "Kutulmisch of Damascus" should not have figured in a book bearing date 1908.

The paragraph of p. 38 is taken from de Guignes and Cedrenus. Neither of these sources accounts for the form Kutulmiz, which should mean the opposite of the other. The purpose of the paragraph is to show that any of Togrul-Beg's relations, without reference to the head of the family, could start military operations on his own account. The first example adduced is that of his cousin Kutulmiz fighting against the Arab Koraish. We look up the passage in Cedrenus, and there find that Kutulmush was sent by the Sultan to fight against Karbesius! "Then he leaves the service of Togrul"; Cedrenus says that he fled from it, fearing execution on the ground of his defeat. "At a later time we find him with his brother Abimelech again in the ranks of the Sultan's soldiers." This is attested neither by Cedrenus nor de Guignes; what they both assert is that the brother of Kutulmush, Abumelek (an impossible name in this context), commanded the Sultan's forces, not that K. was with his brother.

The reader of p. 61 who trusts the promise that he is to meet K. in another place, and there find him a weighty factor in Turkish history, will be disappointed. Kutulmisch does not appear on the scene again. For him is substituted his son Soliman (p. 62), called there "the aforementioned son of K.," although he has not been mentioned before.

The work of tracing the author's contradictory assertions to their sources and discovering how they arose is highly instructive, but if the author intended this form of exercise, it is to be regretted that he did not provide the book
with fuller and more accurate references. Thus for the statements on pp. 62, 63 reference is made to a publication cited as *Notes et Extraits*; its correct title is *Notices et Extraits*. Often, however, no references are given, and this seems to be furnishing the reader with a problem somewhat like Daniel's.

Page 149 Soliman, grandfather of Osman, is called "the modest captain of a fragment of the great Mongol army"; in the preceding paragraph we learned that he with his "some hundred dwellers in tents was uprooted from his soil of Turkestan hard by the desert by the great Mongol invasion, and left behind on the Upper Euphrates." The only way in which these statements can be reconciled is the supposition that the Mongol army compelled Soliman to join with them in their invasion, in the style of an avalanche, but in the course of their march suffered him and his followers to remain behind. The German words are *diesen bescheidenen H äuptling eines kleinen Splitters des grossen mongolischen Heeres, and um oberen Euphrates zurückgelassen*. The authority cited for these statements is the Turkish chronicle of Sa'd al-din, the same as already employed by Hammer and Zinkeisen. Of course, Sa'd al-din does not bear these statements out. What he says is that the ancestors of Osman, who lived in Mahan (a city in Kerman, not Turkestan), on the approach of Jîngiz Khan, removed to Armenia and Khilat, and that Soliman, fearing lest that country too should be conquered by the Mongols, fled to Rûm. Neshri, however, says that the family having been settled 160 years at Khilat, on the approach of Jîngiz Khan, one of its members, Soliman Shah, fled to Erzinghan. It is difficult to see how a less accurate representation of Sa'd al-din's statements could have been given than that which Mr. Jorga furnishes. He must either have misunderstood the Latin of Leunclavius or the Italian of Bratutti, or else one of those authors must have misunderstood the Turkish of Sa'd al-din.
The following is the account given of the expedient whereby the dying emperor Manuel and John VIII caused Murad to raise the siege of Constantinople (p. 381):

"Manuel and John knew of a safe expedient for getting rid of the enemy. The dead Sultan had left a second son, a fresh Mustafa, to whom the administration of the province Hamid had been entrusted. Murad had not possessed the courage or the cruelty to put him forcibly out of the way in Osmanli style at his accession. The young Mustafopoulos of the Greeks was now brought to Constantinople. He arrived September 30th. The following day he paid a ceremonial visit to his aged 'father' the Emperor, whom the Turks, owing to his great age, compared to their prophet Mohammed. Still, the new heir to the Ottoman empire came only as far as Selymbria. But, in fact, on the first intelligence that the young prince was on his way to Europe, Murad had withdrawn his forces to Adrianople."

What puzzled the reviewer in this passage was how a man could, owing to his great age, be compared to the Prophet Mohammed, when the latter died at the age of 63. Reference to the authorities not only explained this point, but (as elsewhere) showed that the paragraph was otherwise infelicitous. Phrantzes, from whom the comparison to the Prophet is taken, says the likeness was in majesty, not age. The meaning of the next sentence, "still, the new heir came only as far as Selymbria," cannot be easily ascertained. If it means that he did not get to Constantinople, then it contradicts what has preceded; if it means that, having left Constantinople, he got no further than Selymbria, it is contradicted by p. 384, where we learn that he got as far as Nicea, which he took. Apparently, however, this sentence was written by the author before he had read Phrantzes's sentence to the end. The second sentence of the paragraph should have been modified somewhat in consideration of the fact attested by all the sources that this Mustafa was a child, 6 or 13, who acted under guardians. The third sentence is against the statement of Ducas that Murad
had killed another child-brother, and this Mustafa had been stealthily rescued. For the rest of the story the critical historian is von Hammer, who omits this visit to Constantinople as a fiction. For what purpose could this Mustafa’s advisers have had in sending him into the thick of danger, when the chance of success lay in seizing Asia when Murad was absent? Moreover, the notion of Moslems comparing the dying Greek to their Prophet in any respect whatever does not commend itself to students of Moslem ways. The story of Sa’d al-din, who makes no allusion to Greek intrigue in this abortive insurrection, reads very much more like the truth.

One more example and the reviewer will have finished. Page 170 we are told that Andronikos, making a naval expedition in order to restore Chios and Phocæa (two possessions of a disobedient Genoese) to the empire, was met by the Emir of Miletus, who, as he on his side declared himself ἐκσαπονδὸς to the Emperor and offered tribute, was made to participate in the same honour by imperial gifts. Since ἐκσαπονδὸς means ‘out of treaty with’ in classical Greek, it seemed worth while looking the passage up in Cantacuzenus (i, 388) to see what it could mean in Byzantine. Reference to the original showed that the word used was not ἐκσαπονδὸς, but ἐυσαπονδὸς; that the Emir was declared ἐυσαπονδὸς by the Emperor, and not by himself, and that there was nothing about offering tribute. Further, the same page showed that these were not possessions of one Genoese, but of two.

It is evidently unnecessary to discuss the author’s ostensible preference for Greek to Turkish authorities on Ottoman history, or to examine his general opinions on the latter, which exhibit the same degree of consistency as his statements about relationships. Indeed, it is not quite clear why he calls his work a History of the Ottoman Empire, so small is the space which he devotes to Ottoman affairs; the title History of the Balkan States or of the
Byzantine Empire would have been equally appropriate. On the important institution of the Janissaries he has two lines (p. 209), the purpose of which seems to be to give the word an impossible spelling, Jeni-Schehri for بیکی چری with an improbable interpretation, neue eigent-lich auch im Sinne von jungen Soldaten. Perhaps this, too, is from Leunclavius, and a fresh illustration of this historian's method of going to "original sources."

D. S. M.


Owing to some delay for which Mr. Marshall at any rate is not responsible, this Report has come to hand so near the time for making up this number of our Journal that it can only be noticed very briefly.

Except for a statement of general progress, written by the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Konow, the epigraphic portion of the volume (pp. 126-45) is confined to two inscriptions of the time of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. (about A.D. 907-47), edited and translated by Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya, from Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district, Madras. These records were selected for publication because of the light which they throw on certain details of village-administration in Southern India in the tenth century A.D. They deal with the subject of village-committees; defining the qualifications for membership, and prescribing the method of election. Five committees are named; the 'annual committee,' the 'garden committee,' the 'tank committee,' the 'Pañchavāra committee' (perhaps a committee of general supervision over the others), and the 'gold committee' (which is
supposed to have been concerned with the regulation of the currency); and there is an incidental reference to a sixth, the 'committee for supervision of justice.' For the purposes of nomination for election, the village was divided into wards and streets; and the election was managed on the ballot-system, by written tickets, deposited in a pot, and drawn therefrom by a boy unable to read,—so that he could not possibly influence the election. The committees—at any rate the first three—were appointed annually. And the conditions attending the selection of members seem decidedly interesting: some of them were as follows. Except in the case of the 'annual committee,' membership of which seems to have been confined to persons advanced in years and wisdom and of tried service, people who had served during the preceding three years on any of the committees were not eligible for immediate re-election to either the same or any other committee: and it appears that, with the same exception, no one was eligible for re-election to any committee on which he had already once served. Close relations of retiring members were disqualified from standing for election. So, also, persons of general bad behaviour, and those committing certain stated offences and even (what we might call) mere peccadilloes. Any member of a committee found guilty of any offence, was to be removed at once. And, not only was a defaulting member of a committee—one who had failed to submit his accounts—excluded from standing for re-election, but also his misconduct barred even his father, his son, his father-in-law, his son-in-law, and a large circle of other specified relatives and connections. In the light of certain recent disclosures, it might sometimes prove difficult, under such rules, to arrange for carrying on our own system of local self-government!

In the remaining part of the volume, the most attractive articles are those by Dr. Vogel on the excavations at Kasia
(pp. 43–58; plates 6–14), by Mr. Oertel on the excavations at Sārnāth (pp. 59–104; plates 15–32), and by Mr. Marshall himself on a new type of pottery from Baluchistan (p. 105 f.; plates 33, coloured, and 34). For the substance of these, we must refer our readers to the volume itself: we confine ourselves to an incidental comment. Dr. Vogel has spoken (p. 52), and so has Mr. Oertel (p. 87), of coins of Kanishka which shew "the four-armed Ugra-Śiva": is there any basis for their use of this appellation beyond an influence of the old mistaken belief that the name Okro (supposed to represent Ugra) is to be found on coins of the Kanishka series which present, along with both the four-armed and the two-armed Śiva, a name, in Greek characters, of which the real transliteration is Oēšho, Oēsha, Oēzo?

The volume is well illustrated throughout, by numerous 'text illustrations' in addition to the forty Plates. And it fully maintains the high standard of excellence reached by its two predecessors.

J. F. Fleet.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.
(July, August, September, 1908.)

I.—GENERAL MEETING OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL.
July 1st, 1908.

LORD REAY: Lord George Hamilton, ladies, and gentlemen,—We are again assembled for this extremely pleasant function of presenting the Society's Public School Medal to the boy who has come out first in the annual competition. You are aware that the medal has been won for Harrow by Mr. H. K. Lunn for his essay on Lord Clive. We are all extremely pleased that it has been won by this great public school, and, as showing the seriousness of the competition, I need only remind you that the medal has never been won twice by the same school. I hope that by and by all the competing schools will have in their records the name of the winner of this medal.

I should like to congratulate most heartily the winner of the medal to-day, Mr. H. K. Lunn. I have read his essay, and I am bound to say that it shows not only great merit with regard to historical facts—facts which are of the greatest interest and to which the essay does full justice—but I am also struck, as I think those who sat in judgment upon the competing essays have been struck, by the literary skill it shows. I trust our young friend will continue his studies both with regard to Indian history and to the development of his literary gifts which are so conspicuous.

The study of history, as I have said many times before and may repeat to-day, has unfortunately been too much
neglected for many years in the curriculum of English education, but there has been of late a satisfactory development in this important matter. Both England and Scotland in recent years have shown a strong desire to remedy the great omission. Both in elementary and secondary schools, in public schools, too, and last, but not least, at our universities, there has been a remarkable development of historical study. Those who have read the scholarly and interesting debate yesterday in the House of Lords—one of the most interesting to which it has been my good fortune to listen—will have noticed that all who spoke were unanimous in declaring that the education system of India ought to be reformed. In any reform of our education system in India greater attention will have to be paid to the study of history. The neglect of it in high schools and in universities in India has been lamentable in many ways, and I hope that in India that fatal error will be corrected as soon as possible.

The Royal Asiatic Society has been fully alive to the importance of encouraging as far as it could the study of Indian history. We have been fortunate enough to obtain, through the good offices of Sir Arthur Wollaston, an endowment fund, generously contributed by the Raja of Cochin and other Chiefs and gentlemen of the Madras Presidency, for the promotion of a knowledge of Indian history among the educated classes of England by means of this competition among public schools. We have every reason to acknowledge that the results of the competition have been most satisfactory; not only has the competition given many boys an insight into the great and dramatic—they are nothing less—events of Indian history, but it convinces the public of the necessity of English men and women, who lay any claim to the title 'educated,' being made acquainted with the great events of India's past. No history is more interesting, more varied than
the history of England, Scotland, and India, and the treasures it contains should be made more and more accessible. At the present moment, in the gradual democratic growth of our institutions, we cannot, without peril, afford to neglect the lessons of history. I look upon it as absolutely fatal to the prosperity of the Empire if our subjects at home, in India, and in the Colonies grow up without any knowledge of its great past, and without realising how the Empire has been built up. I am sure you will all agree with me when I put in a strong claim for the further development of historical teaching in our schools and universities.

We have always had great historians, men who have increased our knowledge of the course of events, of the causes and effects of great crises, but we have not sufficiently undertaken to disseminate a general knowledge of history. I am persuaded that some of the criticisms which our institutions in India are now receiving at the hands of some of our fellow-subjects are often rash and ignorant, and I am sure that the best restraining influence will be to give those who pose as our critics fuller information about the past and its lessons.

We are fortunate on this occasion in having the presence of a most distinguished old Harrow boy, Lord George Hamilton, who will present the medal, and as I shall presently have an opportunity of thanking Lord George Hamilton for his kindness in coming here to-day, I will say no more now, but ask him to hand the medal to Mr. Lunn.

**Lord George Hamilton:** Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—I assented most readily when the request was made to me to present the medal to the fortunate recipient to-day for his essay on Lord Clive. I have spent so much of my life at the India Office that I attach the greatest importance to a knowledge of Indian history and geography. I can conceive of no better way of disseminating this
knowledge than by encouraging public schools to compete for this medal.

As an old Harrow boy and a present Harrow governor, I am most pleased to present the medal to Mr. Lunn, and I notice from reports which I have read of previous meetings that those representing the successful schools have generally indulged in a little self-advertisement. So I think I may blow the trumpet and beat the big drum on behalf of Harrow. Last year the Headmaster of Westminster, in justifying the fact that the medal went to Westminster, gave as his reason that Westminster was Warren Hastings' old school. Harrow, though it cannot boast of having educated Clive, has contributed to the building of the Empire by sending great men to India. During the last century Harrow gave to India three of its most remarkable and successful Governors-General—Lord Hastings, Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Lytton, each of whom was connected with a particular phase of Indian history. Lord Hastings consummated the work of his predecessors, Clive and Hastings, by putting down the plundering of the Pindaris and establishing the pax Britannica, which has prevailed ever since. Lord Dalhousie was a remarkable man. I had the honour of being Under Secretary at the India Office thirty-five years ago, when there were on the Council men who had served during the Mutiny—Sir George Clerk, Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Rawlinson. They were all distinguished men, too, and all told me that they placed Lord Dalhousie first among the men with whom they had come in contact. General Outram, one of the best soldiers in India at the time, Wellington, Peel, and others, spoke of the magnetic influence of Lord Dalhousie—the man who finished the work of the East India Company.

With regard to Lord Lytton, I do not think that adequate justice has been done to his administration in
India, largely because his policy was thrown into the vortex of political strife in this country by being made part of Mr. Gladstone's indictment of the Conservative Ministry of 1874–80, Lord Lytton having been appointed by Mr. Disraeli. When Mr. Gladstone succeeded Lord Lytton resigned; his frontier policy was reversed, also his internal policy, especially with regard to the Press, but, despite the severe criticism it then received, Lord Lytton's policy has been thoroughly vindicated by history. The principles for which he contended now regulate our frontier policy, and only a few days ago Lord Morley, to whose courage, sapience, moderation, and firmness I wish to pay the highest tribute, sanctioned the re-enactment of some of the leading features of the Press Act passed by Lord Lytton's Government thirty years ago, and rescinded soon after by Lord Ripon. Lord Morley's speech gave conclusive reasons for the re-enactment, but these reasons were equally conclusive against it ever having been abolished. I was a friend of Lord Lytton's, and I know that he had the courage to act upon the opinion that a free Press was almost impossible in a country more or less autocratically governed. While I was at the India Office I had the opportunity every week, as my successors no doubt also have, of wading through many thousands of extracts from the Indian Press, and I know no more depressing task. The extraordinary ingenuity and perversity with which every act of the Indian Government was twisted and distorted was little short of miraculous, and unfortunately there was no satisfactory method of answering these allegations. Towards the expiration of my term of office I saw these allegations becoming wilder and wilder, and the impunity which their authors enjoyed led to an increasing tendency, whether openly or covertly, to suggest sedition and outrage. Twenty-eight years have passed since the repeal of Lord Lytton's Act, and I can only say that if that error had
been avoided the task before the Indian Government to-day would have been much easier than it is.

I have had the pleasure of reading the essay of Mr. Lunn, and I entirely endorse what my friend Lord Reay has said; it possesses considerable literary ability and a pungent sense of human character. Mr. Lunn draws a parallel between Clive and Napoleon. He died at the age of 49, and it is wonderful how, with nothing to help him, he fought his way to the very top. Clive had the practical British intellect; big as were his schemes, he did not begin a fresh one until he had finished the one in hand.

I do not know what Mr. Lunn's future may be—perhaps the public service. If so, I hope he will select the Indian Civil Service. I would ask this audience what it is that makes this little island exercise so great, so successful, and so just an authority over other races? It is not because we are stronger or cleverer or braver than other people. I attribute it to the fact that nearly all English administrators have undergone the training of an English public school. The essential value of that training is that it teaches fair play between boy and boy. The young Englishman is imbued with the notion that if he wants to succeed he must play the game. When in a position of authority he knows that he must hold the balance even; he scorns to take an unfair advantage of his position or opportunities. This is the secret of the extraordinary success that Englishmen have achieved in the administration of the affairs of other nations. I hope Mr. Lunn will turn his thoughts towards the Oriental subjects of His Majesty, and that he will write upon them. I would beg him to try to be impartial and not exaggerate or let his pen run away with him. Lord Macaulay was a man of highest intellectual gifts associated with India; he wielded a brilliant pen; he loved antithesis; but it must be confessed that his essays on Clive and Warren Hastings
cannot be accepted as perfect specimens of judicial or historical accuracy. Such criticism of men placed in exceptional circumstances has had a pernicious effect in India, and must be considered one of the contributory causes of the present unrest. The essays on Clive and Hastings and James Mill's history have been the pabulum for tens of thousands of young spirits who wonder how one Englishman can thus speak of another.

I would urge historians and writers on Indian subjects to try to make allowances for the difficulties which a European placed in a high position of trust has daily to encounter. If you talk to an intelligent Indian who has visited any part of Europe and ask him what is the impression he has received, he will answer that he sees we are all alike, we eat the same food, wear the same clothes, and worship the same God. We, in India, on the other hand, he will tell you, will show in one town a greater variety of caste, creed, and habit than can be found in all Europe. So I would urge that this fact be borne in mind. Try to depict the feelings and aspirations of the loyal and educated Indian; do not be impatient if he wishes to weaken or throw off the parental Government. Making all allowance for the aspirations of the people, try to realise the difficulties of the young Englishman in a position of tremendous responsibility, overworked in an unsuitable climate, and if he fail, as occasionally he will, make full allowance for him.

I have great pleasure, Mr. Lunn, in presenting you with this medal, and I am sure that if you continue to prosecute your studies, and to regulate your daily actions by that shrewd common-sense which is shown in your essay, your future career will not only be advantageous to yourself, but a credit to your old school.

In the unavoidable absence of the Headmaster of Harrow, Mr. J. E. Williams, History Master at Orley Farm Preparatory School, who coached Hugh Lunn for the
Entrance History Scholarship he won at Harrow, was asked to speak. In the reminiscences he gave of his pupil's early work, special stress was laid on the boy's keen love for history and his joy in reading the best in English literature. It was under the inspiring teaching of Mr. G. Townsend Warner, Head of the Harrow Modern Side, that later on Hugh Lunn's discriminating faculty was trained, and the clear style formed that, in the judgment of Lord Reay and Lord George Hamilton, had so conspicuously marked the essay on Clive.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Lord George Hamilton, Lord Reay said: Lord George has given Mr. Lunn some advice; I have noticed that these occasions are always fruitful in advice; but I hope Mr. Lunn will allow me to express the hope that he will choose the Indian Civil Service, a most distinguished Service, for his career. My advice to him is to take up, in addition to history, the study of Oriental languages and literature at an early date. I am betraying no secret if I go so far as to say that much evidence has been submitted to the Committee over which I have the honour to preside to the effect that members of the Civil Service, since the probationary period has been altered from two years to one, have little time to give to the study of Oriental languages and literature. The only way to overcome this difficulty is for those who propose to join the Indian Civil Service to take up these studies during their University career.

There is one other thing I should like to say. The Indian Civil Service has an important feature which differentiates it from the conditions of the English Service. The most important duty of the Indian civilian is intercourse with His Majesty's Indian subjects. I attach greater importance to the personal intercourse and influence of the Indian civilian than to the most brilliant minutes ever written. The great success of our rule in former days was due to the fact that intercourse and friendly relations
were established between the officials and the people of the country. Unfortunately, such are the demands made by the bureaucratic mechanism to-day; that little time is left for the establishment of such relations. Mr. Lunn, I hope, will remember that the advice we give him is a sign of our interest in him, and I may assure him that we shall watch his career with special interest.

I now tender our sincere thanks to Lord George Hamilton for his kindness in coming here to-day. He is certainly one of the most distinguished of Harrovians, and a statesman who thoroughly understands what is involved by our rule in the East. Lord George had the good fortune to be many years at the India Office, but before he reached the position of Head he had served his apprenticeship as Under Secretary. He has, too, a special gift, which is not at all common, namely, the power to understand the Oriental character. He always did justice to those over whom he ruled. His remarks to-day have shown that he has the precious gift of sympathy with those over whom it is our duty to rule. You all know that Lord George Hamilton and I do not belong to the same party in the State, but as regards India this exercises no influence, and I hope will exercise ever less and less. It is extremely desirable that Indian questions should not drift into the arena of party passion and political divergence. It is necessary that we should understand the complexity and magnitude of the problems of India, and that we should assist each other more and more in unravelling them. I think this fact is being realised more than ever to-day.

Lord George has alluded to the great question as to how it is we have been more successful than other nations in our rule over alien races. He attributes it to the influence of public school education. I would add that I believe it is also largely due to the innate sense of justice which characterises Englishmen when the prejudices of other races have to be respected. I have recently had most remarkable
testimony as to the feeling abroad with regard to British rule. I was speaking to an eminent French statesman, who told me that he belonged to the advanced school of politicians, and he said, "What your Government has done in granting self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony no French Government could have done; Parliament would not have allowed it." At the same time, I am convinced of the truth of what was stated yesterday in both sides of the House of Lords, that Government should not be diverted from the course of reform in India by any untoward circumstances, but that it should continuously and persistently follow the course thought to be just. No other European nation would have had the courage to do this. I do not say this because I would desire to exalt ourselves, but because we have every reason to persist in making education the main feature in building up the character of those who will some day be the successors of Lord George Hamilton at the India Office, or administer with success the affairs of India.

The vote of thanks was seconded by Sir Raymond West and carried unanimously.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, replying to the vote of thanks, said: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for your kind vote, and I assure you that it has given me genuine pleasure to be present here to-day, and I shall always be glad to do anything to co-operate in any way in spreading a better knowledge of the Indian classes and masses. I consider that we are passing through a risky phase of our Indian administration; such an empire as India is always attended with some difficulty. I hope it may be possible to make beneficial changes and alterations which will satisfy the aspirations of the intelligent and loyal people in India. The present period is one requiring exceptional care and consideration. Our difficulties do not come from
the East; we ourselves have created them. We have
devoured, prematurely, I think, in some cases, to plant
Western principles and ideas in a soil not congenial to
them. We must bear that fact in mind and shape our
course accordingly.

I endorse all that has been said about Mr. Lunn, and
I hope that his happy, youthful disposition will enable
him to feel that the advice given has not been too
burdensome, but he will come to understand later that
those who have advised him have done so out of kindly
interest in his present and future welfare.

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OBITUARY NOTICES.

M. ADRIEN BARBIER DE MEYNARD.

Born February 6, 1826. Died at the end of March, 1908.

M. Barbier de Meynard, who was for forty-five years one of the best known Orientalists of France, alike by reason of his numerous and valuable contributions to Oriental learning, his close connection with the Société Asiatique, the Académie française, the Collège de France, and the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and his unfailing kindness and hospitality to all who sought his help, was born at sea, between Constantinople and Marseilles, on February 6, 1826. His family had long been domiciled in the East, and for service in the East he was destined from childhood. He was educated at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, where he held a scholarship from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as one of the 'Jeunes de langues,' as the French student-interpreters for the Near East were then called, and was one of the favourite pupils of the eminent Jules Mohl, whose chair he subsequently held at the Collège de France.

His first consular appointment was at Jerusalem, whither he was sent about 1852, and one of his earliest communications to the Journal Asiatique (an account of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī, an Arabian author of the fifth century of the Hijra) was published about the same time. In 1854 he accompanied the Comte de Gobineau to Persia, and remained for two years attached to the French Legation at Tihrān in the capacity of Dragoman, or Oriental Secretary. His first important publication, the Dictionnaire géographique, historique, et
littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes, which is essentially a translation of that portion of Yāqūt's great geography, the Mu'jamul-Buldān, which refers to Persia, supplemented from other sources, appeared in 1861, and was followed during the two succeeding years by the text and translation (in two vols.) of part of Mu'inūd-Dīn Muhammad's history of Herāt.

In December, 1863, on the death of Dubeux, Barbier de Meynard was elected Professor of Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, with which, during the remaining forty-five years of his life, he was so closely connected, and of which, on the death of the admirable M. Ch. Schefer, he became the Director. These two great scholars, who added so much to the lustre of French Orientalism, were both elected Members of the Academy on the same day—November 29, 1878—and thenceforth collaborated with Defrémery in the publication of the Oriental historians of the Crusades, of which series the fourth volume, containing the text and translation of the Kitābu'r-Rawdatayn, was Barbier de Meynard's work.

It is impossible here to give a complete list of the many and varied papers, all interesting and suggestive, communicated by Barbier de Meynard to the Journal Asiatique during his long and active career, but there is hardly a volume of that periodical which does not contain something of note from his pen. Of his independent works mention must especially be made of his translation of the Būstān of Sa'dī (1880); his great Dictionnaire turc-français (1881–6); his edition and translation of the Muwāju'dh-Dhahab of al-Mas'tūdī (1861–87), in which Pavet de Courteille collaborated with him; his Trois Comédies persans (1886–9), published in collaboration with the talented and unfortunate Stanislas Guyard; and the last volume (vol. vii) of the splendid edition and translation of Firdawsi's Shāh-nāma, which Jules Mohl did not live to complete.
Jules Mohl died in January, 1876, and Barbier de Meynard was nominated to succeed him as Professor of Persian at the Collège de France on May 9 of the same year. He opened his course with a very interesting and instructive Étude sur la Poésie en Perse, which was published at the end of the same year, and during the next eight or nine years lectured on such books as the Būstān, the Shāh-nāma, Wayṣ u Rāmīn, the Anwār-i-Suhaylī, etc. On the death of Stanislas Guyard (who held the chair of Arabic at the Collège de France) in 1884, Barbier de Meynard was nominated to replace him, and was transferred from the Persian to the Arabic professorship. As Arabic professor he lectured on such works as the Kitābul-Aghānī, the Mu'allaqāt, the Diwān of Muslim, the Maqāmāt of Naṣīf al-Yāzīji, etc.

Barbier de Meynard's life, from the time when he left the Consular Service to take up his work at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in 1863 until its close, was the quiet but active life of a teacher, scholar, and man of letters. He was the soul of the Société Asiatique; and his love for the École was such that when on his deathbed he was informed that his appointment as Director, of which the period had come to an end, had been renewed, he exclaimed with satisfaction, "Then I shall die at the École!" I cannot better conclude this brief and inadequate notice than with the words of M. Levasseur, Administrateur du Collège de France—"On calomnie souvent le caractère français hors de France en le traitant de frivole et de dissipé, et il arrive parfois que des Français contribuent à accréditer cette calomnie. À des étrangers superficiellement informés de nos mœurs j'ai souvent dit: 'Essayez d'entrer chez nous dans l'intimité des hommes d'étude et vous jugerez mieux la France.' On aurait pu les envoyer dans le cabinet de Barbier de Meynard."

Edward G. Browne.
PROFESSOR EBERHARD SCHRADER.

Professor Eberhard Schrader was born on the 5th of January, 1836, at Brunswick, and educated at the High School or Gymnasi um there. He then took up Protestant theology, and, studying Oriental languages under Heinrich Ewald, gained an academical prize in 1858. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on him in 1860. After filling the position of professor at Zurich (1862), he passed on to Giessen (Hesse) in 1869, Jena in 1872, and finally Berlin in 1876. Though he began his career as a specialist in Biblical criticism and history, it is as an Assyriologist that he is best known, and his works in that field will be quoted for many years to come. In 1872 he published an important work, Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften (Leipzig), and his oft-quoted Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, of which a second edition was issued ten years later, and an English translation, by Professor Owen C. Whitehouse, of Cheshunt College, in 1885. In this work the author traversed the whole Hebrew text of the Old Testament, quoting and commenting upon all the wedge-inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria which bore upon it. In 1874 appeared Die Höl lenfahrt der Istar (Giessen), which was also well received.

In 1876 a criticism of the results of Assyriological research was published by Alfred von Gutschmid, Professor of Classical Philology at Jena, under the title of Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients.—Die Assyriologie in Deutschland, which attracted considerable notice, and called forth Schrader's most important work, Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung, which was considered to be a complete vindication of the position taken up by Assyriologists in general, whose champion he thus became.

1 Later on he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and also became a Privy Councillor.
Professor Schrader was also an industrious contributor to the learned journals of Germany, especially the Transactions of the Prussian Royal Academy of Science, of which he was a member. In 1889 appeared the first volume of a series of texts of which he was editor, namely, the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, to the earlier portion of which he contributed. This series, which contains translations by all the most known German Assyriologists, is a work of considerable value, and it is a matter of regret that something similar does not exist in English. "The Records of the Past," under the able editorship of Professor Sayce, would have supplied, in a measure, something analogous, but the work was said not to pay, and the second series stopped at the sixth volume.

Of all the German Assyriologists, Professor Schrader was not only the most liberal-minded, but also the gentlest. Enthusiastic to defend the study which he had founded in his native land, as his replies to A. von Gutschmid show, he was never hasty to attack, and in that respect was in marked contrast to certain of the younger school of Assyriologists, and also to one older than himself, of whom it was facetiously said that, "when a new head popped up, he gave it a tap to send it down again." Schrader, who considered that he had reason to be offended with this scholar's treatment of him, happened on one occasion to be in Dr. S. Birch's room at the British Museum when he entered, and, seeing the Berlin Assyriologist, advanced with extended hand, all confident that he would take it. Schrader, it is said, was at the moment in the act of taking off his overcoat, and, instead of grasping the proffered hand, he simply bowed politely, for how could he shake hands with another when his own arms were behind him in the sleeves of the garment? Tall and broad of frame, and with a face expressing determination almost to severity, it nevertheless did not take the
stranger a moment to see that he had before him one of
great kindness of heart, combined with integrity, common-
sense, and a faculty for taking pains. At the same time,
it was the face of a simple-minded man, hence his great
popularity and the respect in which he was held.

Though history and chronology were the things which
he studied most, he also devoted himself to other branches
of Assyriology. His Höl lenfahrt der Istar contains
specimens of Assyrian poetry, and in all his books
philology occupies an important place. In addition to
the sibilants and the question of the pronunciation of aa
and ia, Schrader also discussed whether Akkadian (now
called Sumerian) was really a language or not (Zeitschr.
der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xxix, 1875),
and wrote upon the origin of Babylonian culture (Royal
Academy of Berlin, 1883). But a hard trial, not long
after he had founded the Kei linschriftliche Bibliothek,
clouded the last years of this worthy scholar, and, though
he continued to edit that work, the days of his activity
were over long before the end came. For thirteen years
he might have described himself, like Nabû-balatsu-iqbi
of old, as being "as the men who are dead and at
rest" (ummanātu ša mittu-ma pašhu), and though
wheeled out from his home in the Kronprinzen-Ufer to
take the air in the Sieges-Allee, his life must have become
as a burden to him, when, on the 3rd of July last, he
passed away, and, as the family-announcement of his death
says, "he fell softly asleep after long and severe sufferings,
borne with great patience and resignation." Assyriologists
are sorry to lose the Father of Assyriology in Germany,
but rejoice for his own sake that he is gone.

T. G. PINCHES.

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