# CONTENTS FOR 1910

## ARTICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology.</td>
<td>Pargiter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Ahuna-Vairya from Yasna XXVII, 13, with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit Translations.</td>
<td>Professor Lawrence Mills</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Gleanings from the Bhakta-māla.</td>
<td>George A. Grierson, C.I.E.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>The Bābar-nāma Description of Farghāna.</td>
<td>Beveridge</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Buddhist Notes: Vedānta and Buddhism.</td>
<td>Louis de la Vallée Poussin</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Gleanings from the Bhakta-māla.</td>
<td>George A. Grierson, C.I.E.</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Omar's Instructions to the Kaḍī.</td>
<td>D.S. Margoliouth</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>“Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves” in Arabic from a Bodleian MS.</td>
<td>Duncan B. Macdonald</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sennacherib's Campaigns on the North-West and his Work at Nineveh.</td>
<td>T.G. Pinches</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Buddhist Notes.—“The Five Points” of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu.</td>
<td>Louis de la Vallée Poussin</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>The Sibyl and the Dream of One Hundred Suns: An Old Apocryphon.</td>
<td>M. Gaster</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV.</td>
<td>The Brahmins of Malabar. By K. Ramavarma Raja</td>
<td>625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>The <em>Ahuna Vairya</em>, with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit Translations. By Professor Lawrence Mills</td>
<td>641</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>The Paramārthaśāra of Abhinava-gupta. By L. D. Barnett</td>
<td>707</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>The Source of Hindu Mathematics. By G. R. Kaye</td>
<td>749</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>The Office of Kāḍī in the Aḥkām Sulṭāniyya of Māwardi. By H. F. Amédroz</td>
<td>761</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI.</td>
<td>A Further Note on the Inscriptions of the Myazedi Pagoda, Pagan, and other Inscriptions throwing light on them. By C. O. Beagden</td>
<td>797</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII.</td>
<td>The Diwān of Abū Dahbal al-Ǧumahī. Edited by Fritz Krenkow</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII.</td>
<td>Une Inscription du Yunnan (Mission d'Ollone) traduite par M. Chavannes. Etude Critique par Fernand Farjanel</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>The Astadasa-Bhedaś, or the Eighteen Points of Doctrinal Differences between the Tengalais (Southerners) and the Vaḍagalais (Northerners) of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vaiṣṇava School, South India. By A. Govindačarya</td>
<td>1103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>Historical Notes on Khurāsān. By Major P. M. Sykes, C.M.G.</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>Hinduism in Assam. By Sir Charles N. E. Eliot</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
<td>Note on the Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian Characters. By A. H. Francke</td>
<td>1205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX.</td>
<td>The Tibetan Anatomical System. By E. H. C. Walsh</td>
<td>1215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX.</td>
<td>Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa. By L. A. Waddell, C.B., LL.D.</td>
<td>1247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI.</td>
<td>The &quot;Unknown Languages&quot; of Eastern Turkestan. By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CONTENTS

**MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Besnagar Inscription A. By J. F. Fleet</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Second Note on the Rūpnāth Edict. By E. Hultzsch</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks on the above Note. By J. F. Fleet</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Keladi Rājas of Ikāki and Bednūr. By L. D. Barnett</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on the Dynasties of Bengal and Nepal. By L. D. Barnett</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical Notes. By A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Translation of the term &quot;Bhagavat&quot;. By George A. Grierson</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Modern Indo-Aryan Polite Imperative. By George A. Grierson</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian Alphabets. By C. O. Blagden</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is the Author of the Dvānīkārikäs? By V. V. Sovani</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrāhīm b. Adham. By Vincent A. Smith</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsudēva of Pāṇini IV, iii, 98. By R. G. Bhandarkar</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsudēva of Pāṇini. By B. C. Mazumdar</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the above. By George A. Grierson</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma Society</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallels to the Legends of Candrahāsa. By M. Gaster</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Antiquity of Vedic Culture. By Hermann Jacobi</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Antiquity of Vedic Culture. By A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āpastamba Mantra Brāhmaṇa, ii, 8, 4. By A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical Notes. By A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Revised Buddhist Era in Burma. By C. O. Blagden</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks on the above Note. By J. F. Fleet</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Construction of Genitive-Accusative in Marāṭhi. By V. Lesný</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seven-headed Dragon. By E. H. Whinfield</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Keladi Rājas of Ikāki and Bednūr. By R. Sewell</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on above. By L. D. Barnett</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Po-lo-hū-mu-pu-lo and Su-fa-la-na-chū-ta-lo. By A. H. Francke</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Elephant Statues at Delhi. By R. Froude Tucker</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin of Bordeaux. By W. Foster</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tomb of John Mildenhall. By E. A. H. Blunt</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Fondation de Goeje</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Note on the Two Besnagar Inscriptions. By Arthur Venis</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Bēsnagar Inscription A. By J. F. Fleet 815
The Śaka Era. By J. F. Fleet 818
The Hāthigumphā Inscription. By J. F. Fleet 824
Max Müller Memorial Sanskrit Manuscripts. By A. A. MacDonell 829
The Bheda Sāñkhīṭā in the Bower Manuscript. By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle 830
The "Unknown Languages" of Eastern Turkestan. By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle 834
Note on Buddhist Local Worship in Muhammadan Central Asia. By M. Aurel Stein 839
The Antiquity of Vedic Culture. By Hermann Oldenberg 846
The Early Use of the Buddhist Era in Burma. By C. O. Blagden 850
Remarks on Mr. Blagden's Note. By J. F. Fleet 857
Notes on the Mahāvamsa. By Wilhelm Geiger 860
The Translation of the term "Bhagavān". By A. Govinda Cārīya Śvāmi 861
The Translation of the term "Bhagavat". By V. V. Sovani 863
Māhismati, the Kāverī, and Maheswar. By F. E. Parrot 867
The Genitive-Accusative in Indian Vernaculars. By J. D. A. "Genitive-Accusative" Construction in Marāṭhi. By T. K. Laddu 869
Bhū with the Accusative. By A. Berriedale Keith 873
Another Parallel to the Story of Candrabhaṇa. By C. H. Tawney 874
Originality in Mughal Painting. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy 874
An obscure passage in Bābar's Memoirs. By H. Beveridge 882
The Language of Egypt 883
The Study of the Chinese Classics 884
The Last Words of Asoka. By J. F. Fleet 1301
A Third Note on the Rūpṇāth Edict. By E. Hultsch 1308
Vāsiṣṭha, the Kuśana. By J. Ph. Vogel 1311
Remarks on Dr. Vogel's Note. By J. F. Fleet 1315
Peculiarities in the Use of Iti. By A. Berriedale Keith 1317
Archaisms in the Rāmāyaṇa. By A. Berriedale Keith 1321
A Note on Nārāyaṇa-Parivṛtā. By A. Govinda Cārīya Śvāmi 1326
Suggestions regarding Rig-Veda, X, 102. By F. E. Parrot 1328
Abhinava-gupta in Modern Kashmir. By G. A. Grierson 1334
NOTICES OF BOOKS

E. MARSDEN. History of India for Senior Classes. Part I: The Hindu Period. Reviewed by V. A. S. 175

STANISLAS MILLOT. Dictionnaire des Formes Cursives des Caractères chinois. By ERNEST-SATOW 176

ALEXANDER ROGERS. The Shāhnāma of Firdūsī. By H. B. 179

H. D. WATSON. Gazetteer of the Hazara District (1907). By WILLIAM IRVINE 183

A. HALE. The Adventures of John Smith in Malaya, 1600–5. By WILLIAM IRVINE 185

W. IRVINE. Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653–1708 (by Niccolao Manucci). By L. C. CASARTELLI 186

ALBERT BROCKHAUS. Netsuké, Versuch einer Geschichte der japanischen Schnitzkunst. By F. VICTOR DICKINS 188

L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN. Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS 194

ALBERT MERSIER. Conversations en Langue Malaise. By C. O. BLAGDEN 197

ALBERT MERSIER. Cinquante Histoires d'Extrême-Orient. By C. O. BLAGDEN 199

PAUL OLTRAMARE. La formule bouddhique des douze causes: son sens originel et son interprétation théologique. By LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN 201

R. R. SEN. The Triumph of Vālmīki. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON 206


MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE. The Sikh Religion: its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors. By F. E. P. 209

ERNST WINDISCH. Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von den Seelenwanderung. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH 213
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die Arischen Göttergestalten.</td>
<td>Karl Schirmeisen</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prakritarupavatara.</td>
<td>E. Hultsch</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By L. D. Barnett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryveda: Textkritische und exegetische Noten.</td>
<td>H. Oldenberg</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principe di Teano.</td>
<td>Leone Caetani</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annali dell' Islam: Vol. II.</td>
<td>By H. Hirschfeld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shramana Ekai Kawaguchii.</td>
<td>L. A. W.</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Years in Tibet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Amherst Tablets:</td>
<td>Theophilus G. Pinches, LL.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I.</td>
<td>By Samuel Daitch</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Ceylon.</td>
<td>H. Parker</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By M. Longworth Dames</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translations from Hebrew and Aramaic.</td>
<td>Professor Dr. Hermann Gollancz.</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethel B. Sainsbury. A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc.,</td>
<td>By M. G.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the East India Company, 1640-43.</td>
<td>By Donald Ferguson</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammurabi's Gesetz, Bande II, III.</td>
<td>J. Kohler and A. Ungnad</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turub Vali.</td>
<td>E. Denison Ross, Ph.D.</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A History of Gujarat, by Mir Abu</td>
<td>By William Irvine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crooke. A New Account of East India and Persia, by John Fryer.</td>
<td>William Crooke</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vol. I.</td>
<td>By W. F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kathaka Samhita, Books I and II.</td>
<td>Professor von Schroeder</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By A. Berriedale Keith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pali Literature of Burma.</td>
<td>Mabel Haynes Bode</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By E. Muller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially in its relations</td>
<td>Robert William Rogers, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S.</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with Israel.</td>
<td>By T. G. Pinches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By T. G. Pinches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Rhys Davids. Psalms of the Early Buddhists.</td>
<td>M. Psalms of the Sisters.</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By E. Muller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra.</td>
<td>Max Moszkowski</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By C. O. Blagden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONTENTS


Colonel G. E. Gerini. Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and Indo-Malay Peninsula). By C. O. Blagden 899

Renward Brandstetter. Wurzel und Wort in den Indonesischen Sprachen. By C. O. Blagden 905


E. Thurston, C.I.E. Castes and Tribes of Southern India. By R. Sewell 914

L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer. The Cochin Tribes and Castes. By R. Sewell 918

Karl F. Geldner. Der Rigveda im Auswahli. By A. Berriedale Keith 921

Meta Benfey. Theodor Benfey: Zum Andenken für seine Kinder und Enkel. By A. Berriedale Keith 930

H. Oldenberg. Aus dem Alten Indien. By A. Berriedale Keith 932

W. Caland. Das Vaitānasūtra des Athavaveda. By A. Berriedale Keith 934

Albert T. Clay, Ph.D. Amurrū, the Home of the Northern Semites. By T. G. Pinches 939

Maurice Zeitlin. Le Style Administratif chez les Assyriens. By T. G. Pinches 944


Le Marquis de la Mazelière. Le Japon, Histoire et Civilisation, By F. Victor Dickens 956


Lionel Giles. Sun Tzū on the Art of War. By J. Dyer Ball 961
CONTENTS

JOHANNES HERTEL. Tantrākhyāyika. By F. W. THOMAS . 966
WILLIAM EDGAR GEIL. The Great Wall of China. By L. C. H . 976
JOHANNES HERTEL. Tantrākhyāyika. By F. W. THOMAS . 1347
MAX WALLERER. Der ältere Vedānta: Geschichte, Kritik und Lehre. By L. D. BARNETT . 1361
E. BLOCHER. Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din. By J. DYER BALL . 1365
STEPHEN W. BUSHELL. Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain. By J. DYER BALL . 1369
H. PARMENTIER. Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Čams de l'Annam. By C. O. BLAGDEN . 1373
WILLIAM FOSTER. The English Factories in India, 1630–1633. By WILLIAM IRVINE . 1375
E. CHAVANNES. Le T'ai Chan: Essay de Monographie d'un Culte Chinois. By J. DYER BALL . 1377
WILLIAM HAYES WARD. The Seal-Cylinders of Western Asia. By T. G. PINCHES . 1382
LEONARD W. KING, F.S.A. A History of Sumer and Akkad. By T. G. PINCHES . 1386
HERM. MÖLLER. Indoeuropäisk–Semitisk Sammenlignende Glossarium. By T. G. PINCHES . 1390
ÉDOUARD NAVILLE. La découverte de la Loi sous le Roi Josias. By T. G. PINCHES . 1395

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society . 979
Anniversary Meeting . 980
Presentation of the Public School Medal . 996
Principal Contents of Oriental Journals . 251, 549, 1006, 1399
CONTENTS

OBITUARY NOTICES

Robert Needham Cust, LL.D. By T. H. Thornton 255
Wilhelm Ahlwardt. By Fritz Krenkow 553
William Henry Robinson. By A. A. S. 557

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY 263, 559, 1011, 1403

Index for 1910 1413

List of Members.

Transliteration of the Sanskrit, Arabic, and Allied Alphabets.

Title-page and Contents for First Half-year.

Title-page and Contents for Second Half-year.

Title-page and Contents for the Year.

Alphabetical List of Authors for the Year.
### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amelroz</td>
<td>The Office of Kādi in the Aḥkām Sulṭāniyya of Mawardi</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailey</td>
<td>Kānaurī Vocabulary, in two parts: English-Kānaurī and Kānaurī-English</td>
<td>659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnett</td>
<td>The Paramārthasāra of Abhinava-gupta</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beveridge (A.S.)</td>
<td>The Bābar-nāma: Description of Farghāna</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blagden</td>
<td>A Further Note on the Inscriptions of the Myazedi Pagoda, Pagan, and other Inscriptions throwing light on them</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot</td>
<td>Hinduism in Assam</td>
<td>1155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farje nel</td>
<td>Une Inscription du Yunnan (Mission d’Ollone) traduite par M. Chavannes</td>
<td>1077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleet</td>
<td>Mahishamanḍala and Māhishmati</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francke</td>
<td>Note on the Dalai Lama’s Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian Characters</td>
<td>1205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaster</td>
<td>The Sibyl and the Dream of One Hundred Suns: An Old Apocryphon</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerini</td>
<td>Chinese Riddles on Ancient Indian Toponymy</td>
<td>1187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindacarya</td>
<td>The Artha-paṇcaka of Pīḷḷai Lōkācārya</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Astadasa-Bhedas, or the Eighteen Points of Doctrinal Differences between the Teṅgalais (Southerners) and the Vaḍagalais (Northerners) of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vaiṣṇava School, South India</td>
<td>1103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grierson</td>
<td>Gleanings from the Bhakta-māla</td>
<td>87, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoernle</td>
<td>The “Unknown Languages” of Eastern Turkestan</td>
<td>1283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaye</td>
<td>The Source of Hindu Mathematics</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krenkow</td>
<td>The Diwān of Abū Dabhal al-Ġumaḥī</td>
<td>1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macdonald</td>
<td>“Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves” in Arabic from a Bodleian MS.</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margoliouth</td>
<td>Omar's Instructions to the Kāḍi</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills</td>
<td>The Ahuna-Vairya from Yasna XXVII, 13, with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit Translations</td>
<td>57, 641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pargiter</td>
<td>Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinches</td>
<td>Sennacherib's Campaigns on the North-West and his Work at Nineveh</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poussin</td>
<td>Buddhist Notes: Vedānta and Buddhism</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>The “Five Points” of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raja</td>
<td>The Brahmins of Malabar</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sykes</td>
<td>Historical Notes on Khurāsān</td>
<td>1113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waddell</td>
<td>Chinese Imperial Edict of 1808 A.D. on the Origin and Transmigrations of the Grand Lamas of Tibet</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa</td>
<td>1247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsh</td>
<td>The Tibetan Anatomical System</td>
<td>1215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE subject that I venture to discuss in this paper is one that may seem surprising and even fantastic, and yet, if any orderliness can be introduced into the earliest Indian ages, it can only be attained by examining and co-ordinating all the genealogical and quasi-historical data which have been handed down in Sanskrit books. The subject has been before my mind for many years, and it has been only after long consideration of all the relevant information, which I have been able to collect out of all those books, especially the Epics and Purāṇas, that it has seemed to me some measure of order may be educed out of the chaos of material. That information is condensed in the following pages, and no statement is made without citing the authorities that support it. I may say that the conclusions set out here were not reached from any preconceived ideas, except this one (if it merits that description), that the ancient ksatriya literature deserves to be examined from a common-sense point of view on the supposition that it may contain genuine tradition, however much distorted in the course of time. It was only after investigating the subject piecemeal, following each detail
into other details to which it led and continually rearranging them as their number and mutual relations developed, that something definite seemed at first to emerge out of the chaos, and then gradually the subject seemed to shape itself into some degree of order. Even if my views should not commend themselves to others, yet the material collected here and the method of treatment may, I hope, be of some service to others in elucidating the subject. Hitherto ancient India has appeared rather like a view in a photograph, with the various distant objects shown, it is true, yet somewhat flattened in perspective; and it has been my endeavour in this paper to apply the stereoscopic process to it, so as to make the vista of the past stand out in something like its true distances.

It is a commonplace that early history concerns itself almost entirely with celebrated men and their personal deeds. Nothing more than that can then be expected in the accounts that have come down to us about ancient India, and on the whole that is all that is offered in Sanskrit books, if we consider the matter that is primarily genealogical or quasi-historical and the stories introduced therein to explain or illustrate it.

In ancient India there were two classes of celebrated men, kings and rishis (this word may fairly be Anglicized), and early Indian chronicles deal almost wholly with them. A remarkable distinction must, however, be noted between the genealogical accounts of kings and rishis. A king's life was conditioned by his family, his capital, and his territories. The rishi's life had no such bounds; his youth was spent in the hermitage of some spiritual preceptor whose teaching he desired, and after he had finished his studies his life was passed wherever he chose to fix his hermitage, or in any capital where a king welcomed his ministrations, or in any spot where he could best carry out austerities (tapas). The kings belonged to dynasties, and were proud of and cherished the memory and fame of
their ancestors. The rishis developed no similar priestly succession; they cared little about preserving particulars of their lineage, though a patronymic or gotra name attested descent in most families. Kings hoped to transmit their realm and lineage, enhanced by their own fame, to an enduring posterity. The rishis sought eminence in sacred erudition and the power of austerities, and their successors were their spiritual rather than their natural sons. With kings the dynasty was the great idea, each king being a link in its perpetuation and exaltation. With the rishis sacred lore was the great idea, each rishi being a link in its transmission and glorification. Individual ambition existed among both classes, but the main result ultimately was this—among ksatriyas the royal dynasty formed the enduring memory, and among brahmans religious doctrine and priestly power constituted the permanent achievement.

It is clear, then, that genealogical accounts and stories of royal exploits were the essential features of the ksatriya record, while genealogies were but a collateral detail with the ancient brahmans. Royal genealogies have been handed down in many compositions; brahmanical genealogies can hardly be said to exist. The former constituted one of the main subjects which every Purana was expected to set out; the latter are nowhere mentioned as a matter that required particular attention. Marriage alliances were subjects of great moment with kings; the stories told about rishis indicate that their lineage was by no means unblemished. The three great ksatriya lines,

1 The references to the various works cited are taken from the following editions:—Mahabharata and Harivamsa, Calc., 1835; Ramayana, Bomb.; Kurma, Markandeya, and Vayu Puranas, Biblioth. Indica; Agni, Garuda, Linga, and Matsya Puranas, Jivanaanda Vidyasaagara's Calc. editions of 1882, 1890, 1885, and 1876 respectively; Bhagavata Purana, Bomb.; Brahma and Padma Puranas, Anandasaama Bomb. Series; Vayu Purana, Wilson's Translation. The chapter is quoted as well as the verse in the MBh. and Hari, because the numbering of the verses is not always correct. It is indicated throughout by italics figures.
the Solar and Lunar and Yādava dynasties, profess to exhibit more than fifty well-remembered generations; among rishi families it is rare to find a list of five continuous descents. The longest that I am aware of is this—Vasiṣṭha, Śaktri, Parāśara, Krṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, Śuka Āraṇeya and his sons—yet even in this line Vasiṣṭha is probably only a gotra name. The most copious list of brahman families of common origin is that of the sons and descendants of Viśvāmitra, and the longest line of brahmanical descent is that attributed to Vitahavya the Haihaya; and both of them were ksatriyas by birth who became brahmans. This marked difference can only be explained on the ground that royal lineages were not the concern of rishis, but of court bards and court priests. This ksatriya literature grew up in virtual independence of brahmanical literature, and only when it had developed into an imposing mass and had attained great popular appreciation was it taken over by the brahmans as a not unworthy branch of knowledge. It was then that it was arranged and augmented with stories and discourses fashioned after brahmanical ideas.

The desire of handing down their genealogies and royal exploits existed thus among kings, and they had the

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1 MBh. i, 177; 6757-60; 178; 6792-4; 60, 2208-9; xii, 351, 13642-3; 231, 8483-5; 326, 12195-7. Kūrma, i, 19, 20-7. Hariv. 18, 977-81.
3 MBh. xiii, 30, 1997-2005.
4 Vitahavya gained brahmanhood (MBh. xiii, 30, 1983-97, 2005-6) because a Bhārgava rishi falsely asserted by implication that he was a brahman, and the assertion had to stand good. Viśvāmitra's difficulty lay in the fact that he was of pure ksatriya lineage. Not a few royal ksatriyas had no difficulty in becoming brahmans, because there had been brahman paternity in their near ancestry; thus among King Vitatha's descendants (see p. 45) were Kāńva, Maudgalya, and other brahmans. Brahan paternity was sufficient in those days. See p. 37 and p. 45, n. 3. The mother might be of the lowest class, as was Vyāsa's mother, or was unnecessary according to various stories.
means of doing so in bards and court priests. There was also a strong popular interest in the traditions and ballads relating to famous kings, and a class of men existed who learnt the old stories and genealogies, for nothing less than this can be implied by the many terms used to describe them, such as *purā-vid, purāṇa-jña, paurāṇika, vaṁśa-vid, vaṁśa-purāṇa-jña;* and they were both brahmans and others, for the words *dvija, vipra,* and *jana* are often added to the description. Such men or perhaps popular traditions are referred to in other expressions, such as *ity anuśubrumah, iti śrutam, udāharanti,* etc.

These old genealogies, therefore, with their incidental stories are not to be looked upon as legends or fables devoid of basis or substance, but contain genuine historical tradition, and may well be considered and dealt with from a common-sense point of view. They give us an opportunity of viewing ancient India from the kṣatriya standpoint. The kṣatriyas played a very great part in those early days, and a consideration of the literature that they originated is essential to a right understanding of those distant times. The reproach that there was no historical faculty in ancient India is true only as regards the brahmans. The kṣatriyas did display almost as much of that faculty as could be expected in such ages in the appreciation bestowed on the dynastical genealogies and ballads of royal exploits. In Babylonia and Egypt permanent records were made in inscriptions and on clay tablets. In ancient India there was (as far as we know) no such method of perpetuation, and ancient deeds could be handed down only by memory. We have the results in the Epics and Purāṇas, together with a great quantity of brahmanical accretions.

It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that the kings on whom praise is bestowed in the brahmanical literature are by no means those who are highly extolled in the kṣatriya
literature. The *Rig-Veda* contains hymns composed during the ages that intervened between Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva\(^1\) and Devāpi, who lived about a century before the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas (see p. 53). During that long period the most famous monarchs were Arjuna, Marutta, Sagara, Bharata, Bhagiratha, Ambariṣa, Dilipa II, and Rāma,\(^2\) besides famous kings such as Hariścandra, Alarka, Ajamidha, Kuru, Brahmadatta, and others,\(^3\) yet none of these are mentioned in the hymns except Bharata,\(^4\) and apparently Ajamidha,\(^5\) and possibly Rāma.\(^6\) The accounts, as they stand now, generally extol such great rulers as munificent sacrificers, yet the rishis have preserved no hymns composed in their honour, if any were composed. It can hardly be supposed that no rishis capable of song existed during the reigns of all those monarchs. On the other hand, the kings who are lauded in the hymns, such as the Pañcāla kings, Divodāsa, Sudās, and others (see p. 21), are hardly known to ksatriya fame. It would seem, first, that the really famous kings, confident in themselves and their big battalions, cared little about the divine assistance which the rishis professed to bestow, or that the brahmanical sacrificial rites were not fully elaborated in their time; and, secondly, that the rishis established their spiritual ascedancy through the later, less powerful, but devout-minded kings of Central Madhyadeśa, such as Bharata's successors and the Pañcāla kings. Hence, probably, in great measure the special sanctity and claims asserted for that region.

It is not to be expected that precision in genealogical

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1 See pp. 30 and 31. *Rig-V. x, 134*, is attributed to him.
2 See p. 30.
3 See Table of genealogical lists, p. 26.
4 *Rig-V. vi, 16, 4*, and other passages. Bharata is, I believe, the only really great king who receives appropriate esteem in the brahmanical literature, and he reigned in Central Madhyadeśa. He appears to have been decidedly brahmānya.
5 *Rig-V. iv, 44, 6.*
6 *Rig-V. x, 93, 14.*
details can be found, and for obvious reasons. In fact, it is often frankly stated that, while the lists are given "at length" and "in correct succession", vistaraṇa and ānupūrvaṇa, yet they are not complete, and that the names of those kings only are mentioned who were famous or were specially remembered. Sometimes it is stated that a long list is only a succinct one, sanākṣepaṇa or samāsena. Admittedly, then, the lists are not exhaustive, and this conclusion is confirmed by three considerations. First, some of the lists omit even well-known names; thus, if we look at the Solar dynasty, the Agni and Padma Purāṇas omit Sudāsa, father of Mitrasaha Kalmāśapaḍa, who was famed by his patronymic Saudāsa, and the Bhāgavata and Kūrma omit Ambariṣa, who was a celebrated king. Secondly, little-known names are supplied by some of the authorities; thus, in the same dynasty the Kūrma, Liṅga, Matsya, and Padma insert Pramoda between Drdhāśva and Haryaśva, while the other authorities ignore him. There is no ground for suspecting that Pramoda has been invented; as an insignificant king he has simply been dropped out of the other lists. Thirdly, names occur which are obviously or probably patronymics; thus, in the Yādava dynasty Satvat and his son Sātvata are given only by the Garuda, Liṅga, and Vāyu, while the other Purāṇas omit one or other of these names. A king who is remembered only by his patronymic is on the verge of dropping out.

Notwithstanding such omissions, the lineage is generally given as being continuous; thus, in the Lunar dynasty some authorities give from ten to thirteen generations between

1 Brahms, 13, 2; Matsya, 43, 5; Vāyu, ii, 32, 1; 37, 115; Hariv. 31, 1653; 32, 1842.
2 Brahsm, 15, 831-2; Kūrma, i, 21, 60; Liṅga, i, 66, 43; Padma, v, 8, 161-2; Vāyu, ii, 26, 211; Viṣṇu, iv, 4; Hariv. 15, 831.
3 Liṅga, i, 68, 1; Kūrma, i, 21, 60.
4 See also p. 11, and the names in brackets in the Table of lists are further instances of omissions.
Kuru and Pratipa, while others reduce them to five or six. And it is generally said or implied that the successor after a gap was son of the predecessor before the gap. There are four ways in which the relationship between two kings is expressed, and they may be explained most easily by styling the predecessor A and the successor B; and A may be either named or referred to by the pronoun *tad*. They are these: (1) B was A’s son, the relation being defined by some word meaning son or begotten;¹ (2) B was — of A, no relationship being specified;² (3) B was from or after A, the ablative case being used or the equivalent adverbial form;³ and (4) B was heir of A.⁴ These different ways no doubt often mean only the same thing, namely, sonship; still, the first does not always mean immediate sonship; the second and fourth might cover cases where brothers, nephews, or grandsons succeeded; and the third might imply simply that one king followed another with little or no relationship between them. Such being the conditions, the additional names which some lists give may be genuine names; and, if allowance must be made for omissions, such names may show with some probability where gaps occur. Exactitude, however, in these points is not indispensable for the present purpose. All that is necessary is that the genealogies should be set out with approximate fullness, and synchronisms will introduce fixed points among them, from which the generations may be reviewed and adjusted either backwards or forwards.

As regards names, the kings who were especially

¹ e.g. *Vijayād Ruruko jajñe, Rurukāt tu Vykaḥ utaḥ*. Garuda, i, 138, 28.
² e.g. *Dṛśhāvasya Pramodā ca and Haryaśvasya Nikumbho 'bhūt.* Matsya, 12, 33.
³ e.g. *Nābhāgād Ambariṣo 'bhut, Sindhudvīpo 'mbariṣataḥ*. Garuḍa, i, 138, 31. Ways (2) and (3) become indistinguishable where the abl. and the gen. are alike, e.g. *Bāhōs tu Sagaravat saṃtaḥ*. Ibid. 28.
⁴ e.g. *Śākādasya tu dāyādah Kakutṣhaḥ nāma*. Brahma, ix, 7, 51.
celebrated are well known, and the names of the others are mainly useful as marking steps in the descent, so that as long as the steps are labelled, it is not material whether insignificant names are perfectly correct. Where a name appears in several forms, I have taken that form which is supported by most of the authorities or the best of them; and if the variations are too many to render that possible, I have adopted what seems the most likely form. Only such names are included in the lists as are found in at least two authorities.¹

In these ways, though absolute accuracy is unattainable, it may yet be possible to reach such an approximation as may be sufficient for working purposes.

The most salient feature that appears on a comparison of the genealogies is the great length of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhya. It contains some ninety-three names, whereas the two next longest lists are much shorter; namely, the Yādava line of Western India with some sixty-two names, and the Lunar or Paurava line with about fifty names. There are good reasons for holding that the Solar list is fairly complete and that the latter two are far from being so.

India has often suffered from invading hosts from the north-west, and there can be no doubt that similar invasions occurred during the earliest ages. The Aryan invasion is the first of which we have any evidence, and there are indications that other races poured into and swept over North India afterwards. The most striking instance of this is the story of the struggle of Sagara.

¹ The Brahma Purāṇa and the Hariśvāsā (which is virtually a Purāṇa) cannot generally be regarded as distinct authorities, for their lists have such close and even verbal resemblance as to indicate that they are little more than two versions of one authority. The other Purāṇas, while showing much similarity in some places, differ considerably in others, and do not readily fall into separate groups. The general exposition of the dynasties (pp. 16-25) will give some idea of the connexions which they show with one another in some, though not in all, portions of the genealogies.
king of Ayodhyā, against the Haihayas and Tālajānghas (see p. 36, etc.) and hordes of Śakas, Pahlavas, Kāmbojas, etc. All the authorities which relate the story say this. ¹ Bāhu, king of Ayodhyā,² was driven from his throne by the invaders and died afterwards in the forest; his queen gave birth to Sagara; Sagara was brought up in Aurve Bhārgava’s hermitage, and on attaining manhood fought against and finally subjugated the invaders. If there is any historical truth in this story, it can only mean that the whole of North India had been overrun by those hordes, that every kingdom in the north-west and Madhyadesa had fallen, that Kosala, the most easterly kingdom of Madhyadesa, which encountered the invaders last, went down for a time, and that Sagara subdued them and re-established the Solar dynasty. Those events imply a period of some thirty years at least in Kosala, and indicate that North-Western and Western India and Madhyadesa must have been submerged for half a century at least.³ The Kosala line remained unbroken, but all the dynasties west of it must have suffered seriously, and if we can synchronize this period with some period in the other dynasties, confusion or a material gap may

¹ MBh. iii, 106, 8831–2; Bhāgav. ix, 8, 2–7; Brhma, 8, 47–51; Vāyu, ii, 36, 121–42; Hariv. 13, 760–14, 784; Rāmāy. i, 70, 27–37; ii, 110, 15–25 (imperfectly). The map published by me in this Journal for 1908, p. 332, will help to elucidate this paper.

² The Rāmāy. calls him Asita.

³ During this period the invaders were in power and had probably begun to settle down in the countries they had conquered; and this also seems implied by their appealing to Vasiṣṭha (that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family) and his taking them under his protection, for the Vasiṣṭhas were the court-priests of Ayodhyā (as mentioned in p. 14), and he as a brahman may have maintained his position as court-priest under the Haihaya-Tālajāṅgha rule. Sagara’s repressive treatment of the different peoples (as explained in the passages cited above), therefore, means probably that the rules which he imposed on them applied to those barbarians who had settled down and remained in the territories which he ruled as cakravartin and not to the nations outside India. He marked off and degraded them from the rest of his subjects, and the distinctions naturally disappeared in the course of time.
be expected in them. That is what we do find. A great gap occurs in the Lunar line; the Kānyakubja dynasty disappeared; the Kāśi genealogy is confused; and new dynasties sprang up afterwards in Madhyadeśa.

This story shows that Kosala from its eastward position escaped various calamities that befell the more westerly kingdoms. Its dynastic list therefore remained continuous and full, while the lists of other dynasties will be found to have suffered breaks, and thus necessarily fall short of it in their numbers. Further, other dynasties were not so great and important continuously as the Solar monarchy, and their lists were not handed down with the same veneration and fullness. Their lists are manifestly far from complete, as the Table of genealogies shows. The length of the Solar line, therefore, is not to be corrected and reduced by a comparison with the other lines, but is a standard by which we may measure the deficiencies and gaps in the other lists, and the Table of genealogies will show how truly it serves this purpose.

Besides such vicissitudes, changes were also produced by internal conquests. Thus the dynasties of North and South Pañcāla sprang from the Paurava Ajamiḍha of the Lunar race. He or his sons conquered those countries and established separate thrones in them. Again, one of the near descendants of Jyāmagha's son Vidarbha of the Yādava race was Cidi or Cedi, and he originated the Caidya kings,¹ that is, the kingdom of Cedi. That dynasty, however, was conquered afterwards by the Paurava Vasu, who was fifth in descent from Kuru, and established himself as Caidya - Uparicara. He also conquered the neighbouring countries as far as Magadha, and established his five sons in five kingdoms there, two of which were Cedi and Magadha, and two others were

¹ Agni, 274, 17–18; Bhāgav. ix, 24, 1–2; Matsya, 44, 35–8; Padma, v, 13, 19–21; Vāyu, ii, 33, 36–8; Viṣṇu, iv, 13; Liṅga, i, 68, 37–40; Garuḍa, i, 139, 29–30.
probably Karuṣa and Kauśāmbi. His eldest son, Brhadhratha, obtained Magadha and founded the dynasty which flourished under Jarāsandha in the Pāṇḍavas' time.\(^1\)

In dealing with these ancient genealogies synchronisms are the most important points to be considered. The genealogies are of little practical value by themselves. It is only by co-ordinating them that they can be made to furnish any chronological results which may possess any value, and this can only be done by establishing synchronisms between the various lines. Synchronisms, therefore, are the essential facts in the present inquiry. Now, stories and allusions exist in plenty connecting various kings and rishis, but are obviously not equally worthy of credence, and it is necessary to ascertain some criteria by which their trustworthiness may be estimated. The following distinctions are put forward as likely to help, with reasonable sureness, to eliminate what cannot be genuine tradition:—

Passages which connect different kings and rishis may be divided into four broad classes: (1) allusions or comments, incidental or explanatory, in the course of a genealogy; (2) incidental allusions elsewhere; (3) stories which are primarily ksatriya stories; and (4) stories which are primarily brahmanical.

The first class occur as professedly genuine details and are introduced simply because they belong naturally to the genealogical accounts. They are most trustworthy when moderate in number and really explanatory, and they are open to doubt the more they show signs of amplification and exaggeration.\(^2\) Passages of the second class are met with by way of explanation or comparison, and are most trustworthy when they are brief and are introduced simply and naturally.

The third class comprises a great number of stories of

\(^1\) See MBh. i, 63, 2334-65, and passages cited for this dynasty, p. 22.
\(^2\) The Guruḍa contains very little explanatory matter.
various kinds, and may be broadly divided into those that describe some alleged occurrence and those that are mainly laudatory. The latter kind are generally replete with exaggeration, and often disregard conditions of time and place. As an instance may be mentioned the long fight between Bhīṣma and Rāma Jāmadagnya in MBh. v, 179, etc., which is impossible, because Rāma lived many centuries before Bhīṣma. This latter kind may be discarded as worthless, but stories of the former kind may afford useful information if they agree with other stories, and this much is in their favour, that their ksatriya features probably go back to early times, before the Epic and Paurāṇic literature was taken over and manipulated by the brahmans.

The fourth class of stories, that are principally brahmanical, bear their character unmistakably on their face. They may be roughly divided into three kinds: (1) those that exalt the dignity of some rishi, (2) those that inculcate some doctrine, and (3) those that extol the majesty of some god or the sanctity of some spot. Probably only the first kind merit any attention, yet there is always a doubt whether they represent the original story. The other two kinds are generally fabrications. As an example of a pious story blending moral delinquencies and chronological absurdities, it would be difficult to match that of Gālava in MBh. v, 113, etc.¹ It is not necessary for the present purpose to sift such stories, and this circumspection is requisite in the stories told in the Śānti-p. of the MBh., which cannot be accepted without corroboration.

In these ways some discrimination is possible among the great quantity of material, and a considerable number of synchronisms can be collected which can claim some degree of genuineness; still, in drawing inferences from them certain cautions must be borne in mind. These

¹ Strangely enough it finds an echo in MBh. iii, 197, 13301–2.
cautions are more or less obvious and well known, and yet it is well to state them so that the use made of the materials may not seem capricious. They are these.

First, patronymics do not always indicate the relation of father and son, but often designate a descendant. Putting aside such generic terms as Paurava, Yādava, Bhārata, Ātreya, Bhārgava, etc., we find Viśvāmitra called Kauśika \(^1\) after his grandfather, Rāma Dāśarathī called Rāghava \(^2\) after his great-grandfather, and Krṣṇa called Mādhava, Sātvata, Vārṣneya, and also Dāśārha \(^3\) after distant ancestors, as well as Śauri \(^4\) after a nearer ancestor. The primary inference would be that a patronymic means a son or daughter, yet we must be quite ready to take it as meaning a descendant if the context or other considerations should so indicate.

Secondly and conversely, the simple name does not always refer to the forefather of that name, but is also at times applied to his descendants. This is a common use collectively in the *Rig-Veda*. As an instance of its application singly we find Kuvalāśva of the Solar dynasty styled Ikṣvāku; \(^5\) but this use is rare as regards ksatriyas in the Epics and Purāṇas. This caution applies with special force to the names of rishis, and unless it is carefully observed we may fall into all kinds of errors. Thus the name Vasiṣṭha occurs at all periods of the Solar dynasty, \(^6\) and plainly refers to a long succession of members of the Vasiṣṭha family; in fact, that family appears to have held the office of court-priests to that dynasty, as the Kaśyapas were hereditary priests of Janamejaya Pārikaṣita. \(^7\)

In the same way must be understood the frequent

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1. *MBh.* i, 175, 6695; *Markand. 9*, 10; *Hariv. 13*, 753.
2. *MBh.* iii, 277, 16030.  
3. *MBh.* i, 222, 8078; *222, 8083–4; v, 71, 2581.
4. *MBh.* i, 221, 7089.  
5. *MBh.* iii, 200, 13486, with 201, 13515–19.
6. For instance, a Vasiṣṭha occurs with Triṣāṅku (p. 33), with Sagara (p. 10, n. 3), with Kalmāṣapāda (p. 45, n. 3), and with Dāśaratha (Rāmad. i, 7, 4, etc.). Other Vasiṣṭhas occur elsewhere, see p. 50.
mention of Bharadvāja, Kaṇva, Gotama, Bhrigu, Atri, etc., at different periods. In fact, the indifference which characterized the rishis as regards their genealogies (as already mentioned) led them to neglect the personal name of members of the great gotras, and to mention them simply by their gotra name, with the result that the personality of the original bearer of the name and that of his descendants have been often confused. This applies even to the name Viśvāmitra, as will be shown among the synchronisms, for the first and great Viśvāmitra's descendants were divided into two gotras, the Kauśikas and the Viśvāmitras.¹ The rivalry between him and the great Vasiṣṭha, who was court-priest of Ayodhya in Triśaṅku's time, was perpetuated among their descendants; and, as the brahmans were indifferent about personal particulars, the accounts, as they stand now, often show wild confusion, all the Vasiṣṭhas being described more or less closely in terms of the great Vasiṣṭha, and all the Viśvāmitras in terms of the great Viśvāmitra.² The only method of unravelling the confusion and of distinguishing the various Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras is to get the royal genealogies clear, and then assign those rishis to their several periods by attaching them to the kings with whom they were associated.

Thirdly, it often happened that the same name was borne by different individuals, so that it by no means follows that the same name in different places means the same person. It is expressly said that among kings there were scores of Dhrtarāṣṭras, Janamejayas, Brahmadattas, Bhūmas, Bhīmas, Kāśas, Kuśas, etc.,³ and that in the Lunar dynasty there were two Rkṣas, two Parikṣits, three Bhīmasenas, and two Janamejayas.⁴ In that dynasty,

¹ Bhāgav. ix, 16, 34–7.
² See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, i, 75, etc.
³ MBh. ii, 8, 333–6.
⁴ Brahma, 13, 112–13; Hariv. 32, 1817–18. Yet the lists do not show three Bhīmasenas, and two have dropped out. There were three Janamejayas, if we reckon the monarch who reigned after the great battle.
moreover, we have the strange coincidence that the two Parikṣīts and the two later Janamejayas were father and son respectively. ¹ There were more kings than one that bore the name Divodāsa, Sudāsa, or Śrījaya. This caution also must be considered in dealing with the names of rishis, because similarity of names was probably just as common among brahmins as among ksatriyas; thus there appear to have been two brahmins named Śunaka² and two named Śuka.³ This even applies to such names as Brhaspati⁴ and Uśanas,⁵ with the result that personal and mythological names have probably been confused at times. 

Such appears to be the proper nature and scope of an examination of the genealogies. The next step is to state the various dynasties, notice the authorities, and offer some general remarks on each dynasty.

All the lines are derived from Manu Vaivasvata: the Solar and Videha lines from his son Ikṣvāku, the Viśāla dynasty from his son Diṣṭa or Nediṣṭha, and all the rest from his daughter Iiśa’s son Purūravas. Purūravas’ line was Āyus, Nahuṣa, Yayaṭi, and then Yayaṭi’s five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Puru.⁶

¹ See the genealogical lists, infra. For the earlier Parikṣīt and Janamejaya see also Brahman, 12, 9–11; Vāyu, ii, 31, 21–2; Hariv. 30, 1608–9, and cf. with MBh. xii, 150, 5595–6. The later are well known, being Abhimanyu’s son and grandson.

² One, son of Grītacama, Bhāgav. ix, 17, 3; Brahman, 11, 33; Vāyu, ii, 30, 4; Hariv. 29, 1519; less clearly Garuḍa, i, 139, 9; and Viṣṇu, iv, 8; perhaps Rig-V. ii, 1. The other, MBh. xiii, 30, 2005.

³ One was father-in-law of Anuha, king of South Pāṇcāla, Bhāgav. ix, 31, 24–5; Matsya, 49, 56–7; Hariv. 18, 981; 20, 1039–40, 1065. See also Garuḍa, i, 140, 13; Vāyu, ii, 37, 174–5; Viṣṇu, iv, 19. The other was Vyāsa’s son, see p. 4.

⁴ See p. 44 infra.

⁵ There was a king Uśanas in the Yādava line; see Table of lists.

The Solar line of Ayodhya, derived from Manu's son Ikṣvāku, is given by many Purāṇas and by the Rāmāyaṇa. All the Purāṇas agree, subject to minor variations, but the Rāmāyaṇa gives a list twice over which is irreconcilable with them, though many of the names are the same. It is unquestionably erroneous, when considered as a whole or examined in detail. It is very improbable that the Rāmāyaṇa alone should be right and all the other authorities wrong, and the list is manifestly too short as compared with other dynasties. As regards details, it omits Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu, Hariścandra and his son Rohita, and Rūpārṇa, who were all well-known kings; and it contradicts itself by saying that Raghu's son was Kalmāṣapāda who was famous as Saudās (Sudāsa's son), and yet omits Sudāsa. In all these points the Purāṇas are as regards the early kings from Ikṣvāku to Drīḍhāśva the Mahābhārata corroborates them and disagrees with the Rāmāyaṇa.

Hariścandra or his son Rohita bought Śunahṣepha as a victim in Rohita's stead, so the Purāṇas say, and the Aītār. Brāhmaṇa corroborates them against the different version which the Rāmāy. narrates of King Ambariṣa. The Rāmāy. makes Ambariṣa great-grandfather of Nābhāga, but the MBh. agrees with the Purāṇas that he was Nābhāga's son. The Purāṇas make Raghu father of Aja, but the Rāmāy. makes him father of Kalmāṣapāda and places Aja twelve generations below Raghu; the

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1 Agui, 272, 18-39; Bhāgav. ix, 6, 4-12, 9; Brahma, 7, 44-8, 94; Garuḍa, i, 138, 17-44; Kārma, i, 20, 5-21, 60; Linga, i, 65, 31-66, 45; Matsya, 12, 25-57; Padma, v, 8, 130-62; Viṣṇu, ii, 26, 9-211; Viṣṇu, iv, 3-4; Hari. 10, 613; 11, 660-15, 832. I treat the Hari. as a Purāṇa, which is what it is really.
2 i, 70, 21-43; ii, 110, 6-35.
3 MBh. iii, 98, 8606-8; Rig-V. viii, 19, 36; and perhaps vii, 19, 3.
5 MBh. iii, 66, 2627-9; 70, 2766.
6 ii, 110, 29.
7 iii, 201, 13515-19; 262, 13620-1.
8 vii, 3, 14-16.
9 i, 61 and 62.
10 iii, 129, 10154; vii, 64, 2303; xii, 29, 993.
Raghuvaṃśa supports the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas give two Dilīpas, one father of Bhagiratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but the Rāmāyaṇa gives only one Dilīpa as father of Bhagiratha and great-grandfather of Raghu; the Raghuvaṃśa, so far as it states the genealogy, makes a Dilīpa father of Raghu, thus supporting the Purāṇas. Again, the Rāmāyaṇa places Kakutstha ten steps below Māndhātṛ, whereas the Purāṇas place him seventeen generations before Māndhātṛ; the Brhaddevatā corroborates them that Kakutstha was before Māndhātṛ's grandson Trasadasyu.

It appears, therefore, that, wherever it is possible to check the two lists by other authorities, they support the Purāṇas and disagree with the Rāmāyaṇa, notwithstanding its great fame. Its list, therefore, may be put aside as confused and erroneous, and the Purāṇa list must be adopted.

The Purāṇa lists are in general agreement except at two stages, namely, between Kalmāsapāda and Vṛddhasarman-Ailavila, and between Ahīnagu and the last king Śrutayus-Bṛhadbala. For the former group the Agni, Brahma, Matsya, Padma, and Harivamśa give four kings, and all the other authorities give three different kings beginning with Āsmaka. The difference is not important, and I have followed the majority, as the MBh. corroborates them about Āsmaka. For the second group, which consists of twenty kings, the Agni, Kūrma, Linga, Matsya, and Padma substitute only five different names; and they are clearly wrong for three reasons: (1) a comparison of the other dynasties and the synchronisms shows that there were a great many more generations; (2) what the MBh. says about Parikṣit and his sons agrees with Pāripātra

1 v, 35-6.  
2 iii, 13-21.  
3 vi, 56-4.  
4 MBh. i, 122, 4736-8; 177, 6777-91; xii, 234, 8604; xiii, 137, 6262. He was nicknamed Sarvakarman, xii, 49, 1792-3.  
5 iii, 192, 13145-78, 13198.
and his successors in the longer list; and (3) one of those Purāṇas, the Matsya, contradicts its own list by stating that Krta, king of Dvimiḍha’s line, was a disciple of Hiranyanābhīn Kausalya, which name occurs only in the long list.¹

The Videha line is derived from Ikṣvāku’s son Nimi. It is given in full by four Purāṇas,² and down to Siradhvaja-Janaka by the Rāmāyaṇa.³ The Vāyu omits all the kings between Śrutāyus and Suāruta. The Garuda, by the omission of a verse or two which terminated the Solar line and introduced this dynasty, tacks the latter on to the former by making the third king Udāvasu son of Prasuṣruta of the former line. Otherwise all the lists are in substantial agreement. Many of the kings bore the name Janaka,⁴ which was not a personal name, but either a gotra name⁵ or a royal title.

The Yādava race, descended from Yayāti’s son Yadu,⁶ is given by many Purāṇas. It divided into two lines, one from Yadu’s son Sahasrajit, which developed after King Haihaya into the Haihayas and after his descendant Tālajāṅgha into the branch of the Tālajāṅghas,⁷ and the other line from another son, Kroṣṭu, which formed an

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¹ Matsya, 49, 75-6; see p. 52.
³ i, 71, 3-13.
⁴ It is given in the Purāṇa lists to Mithi, Dharmadhvaja, Siradhvaja (Sitā’s father), and Khāṇḍikya; and in the MBh. to Dharmadhvaja (xii, 322, 11855), Siradhvaja (iii, 373, 15880), Janadeva (xii, 318, 7883; 321, 11839), Karāla (xii, 304, 11220), Daivarāti (xii, 312, 11545), and two others (xii, 292, 10699; 328, 12260).
⁵ The Mārkandaṭya P. says Janakāṇāṁ kule (13, 11); see also Rāmāyaṇa, i, 71, 4.
⁶ The different origin mentioned in Harīc. 94, 5142-95, 5257, appears to be an ancient calumny, for it acknowledges the descent from Yayāti and Yadu in verse 5164. See p. 46.
enduring lineage.¹ All the authorities are in substantial agreement. The most noteworthy difference is that the Kūrma makes the seven Śāsavindava kings whose names began with Prthu successive descendants instead of brothers, and the exigencies of the list appear to show that it is right. Satvat or Sātvata had several sons who gave rise to different branches, among which there is much confusion; but all the authorities agree fairly about the branch that ended in Kamsa, and that branch has been adopted, Kṛṣṇa being added at the end.

The Paurava (or Lunar) race was descended from Yayāti’s son Pūru, and is given in the MBh.² and many of the Purāṇas.³ All the latter agree fairly well, subject to considerable minor variations, but the former gives two lists which present many differences and do not even agree with each other. Both those lists leave out many of the kings between Pūru and Ahamyāti; the second then inserts between Ahamyāti and Matināra many of the kings which the Purāṇas generally place between Vidūratha and Ṛksa II; both fairly agree with the Purāṇas from Matināra to Kuru, but reduce the number of kings between Kuru and Pratipā to five. The second list is wrong in inserting the group of kings between Ahamyāti and Matināra, because it is contrary to all the other authorities, and because the synchronism of Matināra with Prasenajit of the Solar race (see p. 31) proves that the others are right. That group should be placed between

² i, 94, 3695-752; 95, 3764-827.
Vidūratha and Rksa II, as the Purāṇas place it. The majority of the authorities therefore establish the lineage down to Rksa II, and after that all are in substantial agreement.

The North Pañcabala line, which reigned in Aliehatra,1 was an offshoot from Ajamidha of the Lunar dynasty. It is given by many Purāṇas,2 and all are in substantial agreement, except that the Brahma and Hariv. mistakenly derive Srūjaya directly from Bāhyāśva (= Bhṛmyāśva). Much of this genealogy from Bhṛmyāśva to Somaka is supported by the Rig-Veda.3 From Srūjaya came the family of the Srūjayas, and from Somaka that of the Somakas,4 which play such a large part in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

The South Pañcabala line, which reigned in Kāmpilya,5 was another offshoot from the same Ajamidha. It is given by several Purāṇas,6 and all are in substantial agreement.

Another line, which reigned somewhere in Madhyadeśa (though I have not been able to find the name of its capital) was descended from the same Ajamidha's brother Dvimidha, and may be called Dvimidha's line. It is given

1 Hariv. 20, 1111-12.
3 Mudgala, son of Bhṛmyāśva, x, 102. Vadhryaśva, x, 69; vi, 61, 1. Divodāsa, vi, 61, 1; iv, 26, 3; vi, 47, 22, and many other passages. Srūjaya, who is called son of Devavāta, iv, 15, 4; vi, 27, 7. Cyavana, x, 69, 3-6. Sudās (Sudāsa), vii, 18, 22-5, and other passages. Sahadeva and his son Somaka, iv, 15, 7-10. In vii, 18, 25, Divodāsa is called father of Sudās, but “father” clearly means “ancestor”, because Sudās' patronymic was Paijavana (ibid.). This, therefore, harmonizes with the genealogy, and his father Pijavana as a king of no note has dropped out. It is said Sahadeva's original name was Suplan, Śatap. Brāh. II, iv, 3, 2-4.
4 Both families accompanied Drupada at the great battle.
5 Hariv. 20, 1062, 1065; Vāyu, ii, 37, 171; Viṣṇu, iv, 19.
6 Bhāgav. ix, 21, 22-6; Garuḍa, i, 140, 10-13; Matsya, 49, 47-59; Vāyu, ii, 37, 165-77; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 20, 1052-72.
by some Purāṇas, and all are in close agreement, except that the Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, and Viṣṇu omit the four kings between Drāhānemi and Supārśva, and the Bhāgavata derives Ugraṇyudha from Nipa of the South Paṇḍāla line. There is admittedly a gap between Sārvabhāuma and Mahat-Paurava.

Another dynasty was founded by Vasu, who was fifth in descent from Kuru. He conquered the kingdom of Cedi, which had been founded by the descendants of Vidarbha of the Yādava race, and took the name Caidya-uparicara. He extended his conquests as far as Magadha, and on his death his eldest son, Brhadhratha, took that kingdom and established a dynasty there. This line may therefore be called the Magadha line. It is given in some of the Purāṇas, and all are in substantial agreement.

The line to which Gādhi and Viśvāmitra belonged reigned in Kānyakubja. It is given in much the same form by the various authorities, but is derived from two different progenitors. All agree substantially from Jahnu downwards, but above him four Purāṇas state the descent thus—

Puruṣavas, Amāvasu (or Vijaya), Bhima, Kāṇcana, Suhotra Jahnu; while the Agni gives it thus—Vitatha (of the Lunar race), Brhat, Ajamiḍha, Jahnu. The MBh. gives two lists, of which the first leaves the question of the

1 Bhāgav. ix, 21, 21, 27-30; Garuḍa, i, 140, 8, 14-16; Matsya, 49, 70-9; Vāyu, ii, 37, 160-2, 179-88; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 20, 1075-85.
2 MBh. i, 63, 2334-65, and next note. Uparicara probably meant "he who overran", "conqueror", and afterwards was turned into "walking in the air". Cf. the later term uparika in inscriptions. See p. 11.
3 Agni, 277, 26-30; Bhāgav. ix, 22, 4-9; Garuḍa, i, 140, 25-9; Matsya, 50, 20-34; Vāyu, ii, 37, 209-22; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 52, 1790-1813.
4 MBh. iii, 115, 10144; v, 118, 4005. The Rāmāy. calls its capital Mahodaya (i, 32, 3, 6), which = Kānyakubja (see Gorr. ed., i, 35, 35).
5 Bhāgav. ix, 15, 1-16; Garuḍa, i, 139, 2-7; Vāyu, ii, 29, 48-99; Viṣṇu, iv, 7.
6 277, 16-18.
7 One in xii, 49, 1717, etc.; and the other in xiii, 4, 201, etc., with i, 94, 3719-23.
progenitor untouched (as also the Rāmāy.\footnote{1}), and the second names him as Ajāmidha, thus agreeing with the Agni. The Brahmap\footnote{2} and Harivamśa\footnote{3} each give both versions, thus supporting and neutralizing both. The majority of the authorities derive the dynasty from Purūravas' son Amāvasu, and they are right, because it will be seen from the discussion of Viśvāmitra's contemporaries (p. 32) that it is impossible to relegate this dynasty to a time subsequent to Ajāmidha. There is a conclusive argument to show that the derivation from Bharata's successor Vitatha is untenable, although the error is ancient.\footnote{4} Viśvāmitra was a descendant (by some eight steps) from Jahnu, and must, if Jahnu was descended from Bharata's line, have been many (some sixteen) generations below Bharata; but it is well known that Bharata's mother, Śakuntalā, was daughter of Viśvāmitra.\footnote{5} Viśvāmitra cannot have been both an ancestor and a descendant of Bharata. As the story of Śakuntalā is one of the best-alleged incidents in ancient Indian literature, Viśvāmitra was certainly prior to Bharata, and the genealogical versions which make his ancestor Jahnu a descendant of Bharata must be wrong. The error arose from confounding Amāvasu's descendant Suhotra with Vitatha's third successor Suhotra, and perhaps also Jahnu in both lines.\footnote{6}

\footnote{1 i, 32, 1–34, 6. \footnote{10}, 11–60 ; 13, 80–92. \footnote{13}, 1413–63; 32, 1754–69.}
\footnote{2 Viśvāmitra is called "best of the Bharatas" in Aītaṃ. Brāh. vii, 3, 17.}
\footnote{3 He was not the first Viśvāmitra, but a near descendant, see p. 43. This strengthens the antithesis.}
\footnote{4 The Brahmap (10, 63) and Hariv. (27, 1468–9; 32, 1773) call Viśvāmitra Paurava, which is a mistake (helped no doubt by the general confusion) for Paurārava, as the Vāyu shows in ii, 29, 98, where Paurāravaya should be Paurāravaya. Kuru had a son Jahnu (see authorities cited above for the Paurava line). The passage in the Aītar. Brāh. may have originated the error. The author lived after the great battle, and many centuries later than Bharata. The composers of the Brāhmaṇas were not learned in ancient kṣatriya genealogies, as indeed follows from the statement that Vyāsa's disciples divided the literature and specialized each in his own department. Sāyaṇa repeats the error in his comment on Rīg.-V. iii, 53, 24.}

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The Kāśi line reigned at Benares. All the authorities are in general agreement from Suhotra (or Sunahotra) downwards, though they vary in fullness; but they differ regarding his ancestry. Three Purāṇas make him son of Nahuṣa’s son Kṣatravrddha,1 and one makes him brother of Nahuṣa;2 but the Agni3 makes him son of Vitatha of the Lunar race. The Brahma4 and Harivamśa5 each give both versions, thus supporting and neutralizing both. Suhotra of the Lunar race, however, was not son of Vitatha, but of Bṛhatksattra. The majority are right, because, as will be seen from the discussion about Divodāsa and Pratardana of this line (p. 38), it is impossible to relegate the line to a period later than Suhotra of the Lunar race. The error arose from confounding Nahuṣa’s descendants Kṣatravrddha and Suhotra with Suhotra and Bṛhatksattra of the Lunar race.

The descendants of Yayāti’s son Anu (it is said) branched out in the north-west into the Panjab tribes of the Kekayasyas, Śvis, etc., and in the east into the Āṅga dynasty.6 All the authorities agree down to Jayadratha, king of Āṅga, and from him there were two lines of descent, one the royal line, and the other a younger branch, to which Karna belonged, who became king.7 It is not material which is taken, and I have chosen the latter as being clearer and fuller.

1 Bhāgav. ix, 17, 1–10; Garuḍa, i, 139, 7–14; Viṣṇu, iv, 8.
2 Vāyu, ii, 30, 1–76.
3 277, 9–14; but it is confused.
4 11, 1–2; 27–60; 13, 62–79.
5 29, 1517–98; 32, 1730–54.
6 Agni, 276, 5–16; Bhāgav. ix, 23, 1–14; Garuḍa, i, 139, 65–74; Matsya, 48, 10–108; Vāyu, ii, 37, 12–114; Viṣṇu, iv, 18. The Brahma (13, 4–5, 14–49) and Hariv. (31, 1658–9, 1668–1710) derive the line from Raudrāśva’s son Kakeyū of the Lunar race, but these two books are so closely alike that they constitute only one authority. I have followed the majority.
7 The former in the Agni and Brahma, the latter in the Bhāgav., Garuḍa, and Viṣṇu, and both in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Hariv.
Another line is derived from Manu's son Diśta (or Nediṣṭha), in which Viśāla and the later kings, if not the earlier also, constituted the dynasty of Viśāla or Vaiśāli. It may be called Diśta's line. All the authorities are in substantial agreement.

Having offered these general remarks it remains to set out the genealogical lists, explain the synchronisms, and show their results in the Table of lists. In the following Table the most important lines of descent are shown, and all start from Manu, because that is how the authorities begin them. The three Bhārgava rishis, Reika, Jamadagni, and Rāma, are also included in order to bring out the synchronisms at their period more clearly. The lines of descent have been placed according to geographical position as nearly as is feasible, that is, dynasties that reigned in the west are placed on the left, those of Madhyadesa in the middle, and those that reigned in the east on the right. The names of all kings whose positions are fixed by the synchronisms are printed in italics. Names added in brackets are those of kings who are not mentioned in the genealogies, but whose existence is disclosed in the discussion of the synchronisms. Some lists it will be seen are far less full than others, though they may start from a synchronism and reach a synchronism, that is, the omissions are more numerous. It is not, however, known where the omissions occur, consequently the names in those lists have been simply spaced out, and where there are no synchronisms the position of a name is not to be taken as more than the best conjecture possible.

1 Marutta, the greatest king, who preceded Viśāla, is called the Āyogava king. Satap. Brāh. XIII, v, 4, 6.
2 Bhāgav, ix, 1, 12; 2, 22-36; Garuḍa, i, 138, 2-13; Vāyu, ii, 23, 3-24, 22; Viṣṇu, iv, 1; Mārkaṇḍ. (at great length to Rājyavardhana), 113-36 and 109-10; Liṅga (the beginning), i, 66, 53; MBh. (first part partially), xiv, 4, 65-91; Rāmāyaṇa (from Viśāla to the end), i, 47, 11-18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. YĀDAVAS.</th>
<th>II. HAIHAYAS.</th>
<th>III. PAURAVAS.</th>
<th>IV. KĀNTAKURJA.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Manu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>Amāvasu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ilā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ilā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Purūravas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Purūravas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Āyus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Āyus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Nahuṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Yayāti*</td>
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<td>Yayāti*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Yadu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pūrū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Kroṣṭu</td>
<td>Sahasrajit</td>
<td>Janamejaya I</td>
<td>Bhīma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Vṛjinivat</td>
<td>Satajit</td>
<td>Prācinvat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Saumya</td>
<td>Pravīra</td>
<td>Manasyu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Svāhī</td>
<td>Haihaya</td>
<td>Abhayada</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bahuratha</td>
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THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE
Parikṣit II
Janamejaya III
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<td>Mahādhṛti</td>
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<td>Kṛtrāta</td>
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<td>Mahāroman</td>
<td>Dhūmrāśva</td>
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<td>Sṛṇjaya</td>
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**Magadhā line**

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<td>Vesu Caidya</td>
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<td>Jāraśandha</td>
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<td>Sahadeva</td>
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**Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas**

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<th>Somādhī</th>
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<td>Srutaśravas</td>
<td>Urukṣepa</td>
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The accounts say there were kings from time to time who established a supremacy over the kingdoms around them, and so were called samrāj or cakravartin. There is no improbability in that, and their conquests may have resulted in the subversion of a neighbouring dynasty, or merely in its reduction to a kind of vassalage; hence when we consider the times of those kings we may find some confusion in the lists of neighbouring dynasties. Moreover, it is highly probable, and is indeed implied, that those great monarchs had long reigns. The names of such very famous monarchs are given, namely, in the Solar race, Māndhātr Yauvanāśvi, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Ambariṣa Nābhāgi, Dilipa II Khaṭvāṅga, and Rāma Dāsarathī; in the Lunar dynasty, Bharata Dausyanti; in the Yādava line, Śaśavindu Caitraratha and Arjuna Kārtavirya; in Anu’s line, Śivi Auśinara; in Diṣṭa’s line, Marutta Āvikṣita; as well as Yayāti Nāhuṣa, and others also who belonged to side-dynasties which developed no long genealogy and which are unnecessary for the present purpose. Of these monarchs, Māndhātr, Bhagiratha, Arjuna, Bharata, and Marutta were specially called samrāj. The names of all the cakravartins who occur in the Table are marked with an asterisk.

Dealing now with the synchronisms in accordance with the principles explained above, we may find not a few which are deserving of consideration. The following are

1 MBh. vii, 55–70; xii, 8, 238; 29. The genealogies corroborate.
2 Namely, Rantideva Sāṅkrty and Suhotra Āṭithina of the Paurava race; Gaya Āmūrtarayaya; and Paurava Vīr Bhrādratha, king of Aṅga; and also Prthu Vainya, who belonged to the most ancient age. There were many Suhotras, but none that I can identify as Āṭithina; perhaps he is Suhotra, descendant of Vītatha of the Lunar dynasty. Bhrādratha may be No. 78 in Anu’s line in the table, but the epithet Paurava is perplexing.
3 MBh. ii, 14, 649–50. The remarks in Ait. Brūh. viii, 3, 3, profess to explain contemporary conditions and relate to a time later than the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.
all the important instances that I have been able to discover, and they are taken in chronological order as far as possible.

The earliest synchronism is that Yayâti’s eldest brother, Yati, married Go, daughter of Kakutstha, who can only be Kakutstha of the Solar dynasty.1 Yayâti therefore was one generation below Kakutstha.

There are clear connexions between the Solar, Lunar, and Yâdava lines about the time of Mândhâträ. Gauri, daughter of Matinâra of the Lunar dynasty, married either Prasenajit of the Solar dynasty 2 or his son Yuvanâśva II,3 and was thus grandmother or mother of Mândhâtraî. The latter connexion is the better supported, for she is called janâni, or mother, of Mândhâtraî.4 The difference is not material for the present purpose; what is material is that Matinâra was a contemporary of Prasenajit.

Mândhâtraî married Vindumati Caitrarathî, daughter of Šaśavindu,5 who can only be the famous Šaśavindu, son of Citraratha of the Yâdavas.6 And this is corroborated by the further statement that she was the eldest sister of many brothers,7 because Šaśavindu had a great number of sons, who were called the Šaśavindu or Šaśavindava kings.8 Šaśavindu, therefore, and Yuvanâśva II were contemporaries.

Śivi, son of Uśinara of Anu’s line, appears to have originated the Śivis, and is said to have had four sons who originated the Vṛṣadarbhas, Suviras, Kekayas (or

1 Brahma, 12, 3; Vāyu, ii, 31, 14; Hariv. 30, 1601.
2 Brahma, 7, 90-2; Hariv. 12, 709-11.
3 Vāyu, ii, 26, 65.
4 Matsya, 49, 8; Vāyu, ii, 37, 126; Hariv. 32, 1716.
5 Bhāgav. ix, 6, 38; Brahma, 7, 92-3; Vāyu, ii, 26, 70; Viṣṇu, iv, 2; Hariv. 12, 712-13. Also Garuda, i, 138, 22, where Vindumahya is a mistake for Vindumati.
6 M.Bh. xii, 29, 998; Agni, 374, 13-14; and other passages cited for the Yâdava genealogy.
7 Brahma, 7, 93-4; Vāyu, ii, 26, 71; Hariv. 12, 713.
8 See passages cited for the Yâdava genealogy.
Kaikeyas), and Madras in the Panjab. 1Triṣaṅku of the Solar race married a Kaikeya princess, 2hence the Kaikeya kings were established before his time, and therefore Śivi cannot be placed less than two or three generations before Triṣaṅku. 3Jyāmagha the Yādava, who was later, married a Śaivya princess. 4

The next synchronism is that Jahnu of the Kānyakubja line married Kāverī, daughter 5 or great-granddaughter 6 of Yuvanāśva. This Yuvanāśva would be Yuvanāśva II of the Solar line, because the bare mention of such a name must imply that it was sufficiently well known, and the first Yuvanāśva was not famous. It is more probable she was his daughter, because (it is said) she was cursed by him; yet perhaps as a safe medium we may take it she was his granddaughter. Jahnu would thus be placed alongside Purukutsa. Jahnu was a famous king (after whom the Ganges is said to have been named Jāhnnavi), and he could not have attained eminence till after the death of Yuvanāśva's son Māndhātr, who was a cakravartin, that is, he must be placed a generation later than Māndhātr, so that his wife was probably Yuvanāśva's granddaughter.

We may next take Viśvāmitra and his contemporaries, and here we must consider (having regard to the caution mentioned above, p. 14) only the earliest person of that name, for he had many descendants with the gotra name Viśvāmitra. The earliest and greatest Viśvāmitra was the son of Gādhi, or Gāthin, king of Kānyakubja, 7 and his

1 See passages cited for Anu's line.
2 Brahma, 8, 24; Liṅga, i, 66, 10; Vāyu, ii, 26, 116; Viṣṇu, iv, 3; Harie, 13, 754.
3 MBh. iii, 194, 13249 is an obvious brahman anachronism.
4 Agni, 274, 17; Bhāgav. ix, 25, 35; Brahma, 15, 16; Liṅga, i, 68, 37; Padma, v, 13, 15; Vāyu, ii, 33, 32; Viṣṇu, iv, 12; Harie, 37, 1984.
5 Brahma, 10, 19-21; 13, 87. Harie, 27, 1421-2; 32, 1761.
6 Vāyu, ii, 29, 55.
7 See authorities cited for this dynasty, p. 22. Bhaddevata, viii, 70; Sarnāukramani on Rīg-V. iii, hymns 7, etc. I have to thank Professor Macdonell for corrections and suggestions regarding the references to the Rīg-Veda.
ksatriya name was Viśvaratha. He was closely connected with the Solar dynasty. His father Gādhī’s mother is called Paurukutsā or Paurukutsi, and was therefore a daughter or descendant of Purukutsa, who can only be the famous king of Ayodhyā. Her patronymic would ordinarily mean she was daughter of Purukutsa, but not necessarily so, for (according to the first caution mentioned above, p. 14) it may also mean she was a descendant of even three or four generations. It is necessary to discuss these relationships at some length, and the discussion will illustrate the principles and cautions which have been laid down.

If Paurukutsā was Purukutsa’s daughter, Viśvāmitra would be three generations below him, and if she was his great-great-granddaughter Viśvāmitra would be six generations below him. One step more, however, must be added, because Viśvāmitra ranks properly two steps below Gādhī, for Gādhī had a daughter Satyavati, and Viśvāmitra was born at the same time as her son Jamadagni (see p. 35). On the above alternatives, then, Viśvāmitra would be four or seven generations below Purukutsa. What precise relationship, then, is meant by “Paurukutsā” must depend on the other circumstances. Now Viśvāmitra is closely connected in the stories with Purukutsa’s ninth successor, Satyavrata Trīṣāṅku, and his heirs. The stories may be summarized thus: Trīṣāṅku was banished by his father Trayyāruṇa, and the court-priest Vasiṣṭha (that is, the then Vasiṣṭha) approved and enforced the order with relentless severity. There was thus deep hatred between Trīṣāṅku and Vasiṣṭha. A terrible twelve-year drought occurred then, during which Viśvāmitra was away

1 Brahna, 10, 55–7; Vāyu, ii, 29, 90; Haric. 27, 1459; 32, 1766.
2 Vāyu, ii, 29, 63; Haric. 27, 1430. The Brahna makes Paurā (or Paurukutsā, as one MS. reads) wife of Gādhī.
3 Most of the authorities are cited in Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, i, 82, etc. See Rig-V. v, 2, 7, and Šadguruśisya’s Vedārthadipīkā on i, 24. It is needless to cite other passages.
performing austerities.¹ Triśaṅku supported Viśvāmitra’s wife and children through it and earned his gratitude. Viśvāmitra therefore espoused Triśaṅku’s cause, opposed Vasiṣṭha, and reinstated Triśaṅku. Triśaṅku’s son Hariścandra² was obliged to offer his own son Rohita as a victim in a sacrifice, and after long procrastination saved him by buying Ajigarta’s son Śunahśepha³ as the victim instead. Śunahśepha, though bound at the sacrifice, had his life spared, and was adopted by Viśvāmitra as his chief son with the name Devarāta.

These stories are only possible if Paurukutsa was not Purukutsa’s daughter, but was a descendant, and it follows that she must have been his descendant of some four generations, unless the eight Solar kings who intervened between Purukutsa and Triśaṅku were not descendants in regular order, but were some of them brothers. Now one or two of those kings may have been brothers, but it is not probable that the number of generations among them was less than six, because Jahnu was, as shown, contemporary with Purukutsa, and Viśvāmitra, who was contemporary with Triśaṅku, was Jahnu’s eighth successor.⁴

¹ As to Viśvāmitra’s brahmanhood, see p. 4 ante.
² The Aītar. Brāh. says Hariścandra was son of Vedihas (vi., 3, 13; and so also Śadguruśisya on Rig-V. i, 24). It is not necessary to discuss the difference, because the synchronism stands good, but it may be pointed out that the genealogies rest on the purāṇa-vaśā-vida, and the author of the Brāh. was more versed in philosophical speculation than in kṣatriya genealogical lore.
³ Sarvānukramaṇaḥ on Rig-V. i, hymns 24–50; Aītar. Brāh. vii, 3, 15; Bhāgav. ix, 7, 8–23. But the Vāgu (ii, 29, 89), Brahma (10, 54), and Harie. (27, 1457) make him son or brother of Jamadagni. The difference is not material here. Ajigarta’s father Suyavasa (Aītar. Brāh., loc. cit.) may have been a brother of Reika or Jamadagni.
⁴ The lists agree in the number of steps down to Kuṣa, and then vary as regards the next, whom they name as Kuṣāśva, Kuśamba, and Kuśika. Gāḍhi was certainly son of Kuṣika, and the only doubtful point is whether a king named Kuṣāśva, or Kuśamba, preceded him. That there was such an extra generation seems clear, because Isāratha, who is not named in the genealogies, is mentioned as Gāḍhi’s grandfather by Śadguruśisya (introduction to Rig-V. iii), and by the Sarvānukramaṇaḥ (ibid.). Hence the general result is that Viśvāmitra was eighth in descent from Jahnu.
It is not probable a number of brothers succeeded in both lines at the same time, so as to reduce the actual generations to three only, as would be necessary if Paurukutsā was Purukutsa’s own daughter; and it is quite possible, on the other hand, that nine generations in the Solar line might correspond to eight in the Kānyakubja line. For all substantial results these minor differences are hardly material, and it follows that Paurukutsā does not mean “daughter” of Purukutsa, and must mean his “descendant” in about the fourth degree.¹

Further, Gādhi’s daughter Satyavatī was married to the rishi Reța Bhārgava, and had a son Jamadagni, who was born at the same time as Viśvāmitra.² Jamadagni had several sons, of whom the youngest was Rāma.³

It thus appears that Gādhi’s father was four or five generations posterior to Purukutsa, that Viśvāmitra, Triśanku, Hariśandhra, Jamadagni, and Ajigarta were contemporaries, and that Rohita, Śunahṣepha, and Rāma Jamadagnya were contemporaries.

There are more synchronisms with Jamadagni and his son Rāma. The stories about them and the allusions, if treated as containing some truth, may be summarized thus:⁴ Kṛtvirya, king of the Haihayas, had the Bhārgavas as his priests, and endowed them with great wealth.⁵ His

¹ See a similar case, where Dāśārhi was applied to several generations: p. 42, n. 4.
³ MBh. iii, 116, 11074, 11080, and passages cited for the Kānyakubja line. Jamadagni married Renukā, daughter of King Renu of Iksvāku’s race (MBh. iii, 116, 11072; v. 116, 3972; and the above passages), and Prasenaṅjaṅ gave her to him (MBh. iii, 116, 11072), but no king Renu is mentioned in the genealogies, nor any Prasenaṅjaṅ at this period, so that they belonged probably to a junior branch of the Solar race.
⁵ MBh. i, 178, 6802–3.
son Arjuna reigned at Māhiṣmatī (the modern Mandhāta on the River Narmadā), and extended his conquests everywhere. During his time the Haihaya princes tried to recover the wealth from the Bhārgavas, and being unsuccessful killed many of them, and the Bhārgavas were scattered. In one of his expeditions Arjuna burnt up Āpava Vasiṣṭha’s hermitage and incurred Āpava’s curse. The hostility against the Bhārgavas brought him into conflict with Rāma, because he or his sons robbed Jamadagni, who was a Bhārgava. Rāma killed Arjuna, and the latter’s sons then murdered Jamadagni. Rāma swore vengeance against the kṣatriyas, and is said to have destroyed all Arjuna’s sons (except five) and thousands of Haihayas. After an interval he renewed his hostilities against all kṣatriyas, and is said to have almost exterminated them. It thus appears that Arjuna was a contemporary of Jamadagni, so that he began to reign about the same time as Hariścandra, and, as the stories imply that his reign was a long one, it probably overlapped the reigns of Rohita and Harita also.

This story carries us further. Arjuna’s grandson was Tālajaṅgha, and he is said to have had a numerous progeny, which constituted five tribes of Tālajaṅghas among the Haihayas. He would have been a younger contemporary of Rāma Jāmadagnya, and the Tālajaṅghas would have grown powerful towards the end of Rāma’s life, or soon afterwards, in what is the modern Mahrāṭṭa country. The stories say Rāma exterminated the kṣatriyas twenty-one times. This statement is too fabulous to merit any particle of credence, and is besides incompatible with the remarkable rise of the Tālajaṅgha power in the period that immediately followed, for (as already mentioned, p. 10)

1 MBh. i, 178, 6804 – 179, 6827.
2 It is said Ahamyāti of the Lunar race married Kṛtavirya’s daughter (MBh. i, 95, 3768), but if the same Kṛtavirya is meant this statement is incompatible with all the other indications.
the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas overran the whole of North India, and hordes from the countries to the north-west also invaded India during that period. Their overthrow of the kingdoms in North India and the destruction that must have befallen the kṣatriyas in the continual wars may furnish an explanation of the extermination attributed to Rāma.

Rāma is always spoken of as a great warrior highly skilled in weapons, and his successful contest with Arjuna and his sons implies that the Bhārgavas took to arms.¹ He certainly did not exterminate the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, but, on the contrary, they were rising into great power at the close of his life. Some remarks may be offered in explanation of this. Rāma had no real cause of enmity against kṣatriyas generally, but the Tālajaṅgha-Haihayas, being warlike kṣatriyas bent on conquest, would have naturally attacked every kingdom, that is, all kṣatriyas. The fact that the destruction which they wrought is ascribed to Rāma suggests that they and the Bhārgavas had composed their quarrel after Arjuna's death and were acting together; and there are some incidents which support this suggestion.² If that were so, the destruction would naturally in brahmanical mouths be attributed to Rāma. The history of the Mahārāṣṭra power offers a striking parallel. Brahmans and soldiery were combined. They did not make a permanent conquest of the countries they invaded, but made annual raids, and every year fighting was renewed.

¹ In later centuries brahmans among the descendants of Bhūmanyu and Ajamīdhā of the Lunar race took to arms, kṣatropertī dvijātayah, namely, Gargas, Saṅkrtis, Kāvyas, Maudgalyas, Maitreyas, and apparently Kāṇvas; and during that period there were two military parties among brahmans, the Āṅgirasas and Bhārgavas. Agni, 277, 21; Mātreyas, 49, 38, 41; 50, 5, 14; Vāyu, ii, 37, 160, 177, 193-4, 201-2; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Haric. 32, 1781, 1790.
² e.g. Bhṛgu, that is, a Bhṛgu or Bhārgava rishi, saved the Haihaya king Viṭhāhavya from Pratardana's vengeance by a deliberate falsehood, MĪk. xiii, 30, 1983-97 (see p. 4).
Such devastating raids continued for half a century (and the Tālajaṅgha-Haihaya dominion lasted fully that time, see p. 10) might well be described as twenty-one exterminations of the ksatriyas. The parallel goes even further, for, just as the Persians under Nādir Shāh invaded India once, and the Afghans under Ahmad Shāh made four incursions during the prevalence of the Mahārāṭṭa power, so it is said Pahlavas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, and other hordes from the north-west poured into India during the disorganization caused by the Haihaya conquests.

This leads to certain synchronisms between the kings of Kāśi (Benares) and the Haihaya kings. There was a long contest between them, which began with Bhadraśrenya and ended with Vitahavya on the Haihaya side.¹ In the accounts one king of Kāśi, named Divodāsa, is made contemporary with the former’s sons, and he or his son Pratardana² with the latter. Now this is impossible if the same king Divodāsa is meant, and for several reasons. Six generations are given from Bhadraśrenya to Tālajaṅgha, and King Vitahavya (or rather the Vitahavya king³) appears to have belonged to the Tālajaṅghas, and therefore to have been three or four steps later. The contest lasted a very long time.⁴ Such a contest and the successive Haihaya kings, six at least,⁵ cannot with any probability be compressed into the reign of a single king Divodāsa. The Purāṇa accounts say it began with Divodāsa and ended with Pratardana,

³ The name is generic rather than personal, MBh. loc. cit. Vitahavya of the MBh. probably = Vitihotra of the Purāṇas.
⁴ A thousand years. This, like most statements of time, is absurdly exaggerated, but all the references imply a long-continued struggle.
⁵ These generations cannot be condensed on the supposition that many of these kings were brothers, as the whole of the circumstances indicate the opposite.
and the MBh. account describes the contest (and that not the beginning of it, for it deals only with the Vitahavya period of the Haihayas) as occupying the reigns of four kings of Kāśi, of whom the last two were Divodāsa and Pratardana. Divodāsa was son of Bhimaratha according to the Purāṇas, and son of Sudeva according to the MBh. He was called Śatrujit according to two of the Purāṇas, and this name could not have been applied to the Divodāsa of the MBh., as will appear from the narrative following.

All these data are impossible on the supposition that there was only one Divodāsa, and are quite intelligible if we take it there were two Divodāsas, one son of Bhimaratha and the other son of Sudeva. Hence there would seem to have been two Divodāsas in the Kāśi line, separated by some six or seven kings. That there were intermediate kings is shown by the stray mention of a king Aṣṭāratha, son of Bhimaratha, during the contest, and the express insertion by the MBh. of two kings, Haryaśva and Sudeva. Confusion was easy because of the long dispossession of the Kāśi kings. Collating the various accounts the story may be stated thus: Bhadraśrenya conquered Vārānasi (Benares), and Divodāsa I (son of Bhimaratha, probably Śatrujit) recovered it from his sons. Then followed a long period, during which the city Vārānasi was abandoned and was (it is said) occupied by Rāksasas. During that time Bhadraśrenya’s successor Durdama reconquered the Kāśi territory, and it seems to have remained under the Haihayas. The six or seven Kāśi successors fought unsuccessfully with the Haihayas,

1 See passages cited in p. 38, n. 1.
2 Bhāgav. ix, 17, 6; Brahma, 13, 66–7; Märkaṇḍ. 20, 21. Since Pratardana is called Rādhvaja and Kuvalayāśva, Viṣṇu, iv, 8 (which calls him Śatrujit also; and so also Garuḍa, i, 139, 10), and Märkaṇḍ., loc. cit.; but the point is not clear, and the confusion is natural if the explanation offered is sound. The Märkaṇḍ. account is largely fable.
3 There is nothing at all improbable in this (see p. 15).
4 Brahma, 13, 71; Hariv. 32, 1744.
5 MBh. loc. cit.
and Divodāsa II (son of Sudeva) built a new capital in the extreme east of the territory at the junction of the Ganges and Gomati. His successor Pratardana (Ṛtadhvaja, Kuvalayāśva) defeated the Vīṭahavya king and finally recovered the kingdom; he also conquered the Rākṣasas and regained the capital Vārānasi.

Divodāsa I would therefore be just posterior to Bhadraśrenya, and some further particulars will enable us to fix the position of Pratardana in connexion with the kings of Vidarbha and with Sagara.

Sagara had two wives. Their names are given by the authorities, though not quite in agreement; still, all which give the parentage agree that one of them was Vaidarbhī, or a daughter of Vidarbha, who must be Vidarbha, son of Jyāmagha of the Vādava race. He was therefore just prior to Sagara. In support of this it may be noted further that Vidarbha’s descendants reigned in Vidarbha and Cedi, and that Bhima, king of Vidarbha, and Vīrabhū’s son Subāhu, king of Cedi, were contemporaries of Sagara’s tenth successor, Rtuṇāra, in the story of Nala. That Bhima is no doubt Vidarbha’s tenth successor Bhīmaratha in the genealogy, and should be equated with Rtuṇāra’s father. Hence also Vidarbha’s sixth successor Daśārha would be placed just after Bhāgiratha.

Alarka, king of Kāśi, appears to have been Pratardana’s grandson, and is said to have enjoyed very long life through Lopamudrā’s favour. She was daughter of

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1 MBh. iii, 106, 8833, 8843–7; Brahma, 8, 63–72; Padma, v, 8, 144–7; Vāyu, ii, 26, 154–8; Viṣṇu, iv, 4; Hariv. 15, 797.
2 Agni, 274, 17–20; Bhāgav. ix, 24, 1–4; Garuḍa, i, 139, 29–32; Liṅga, i, 68, 38–43; Matsya, 44, 35–41; Padma, v, 13, 19–24; Vāyu, ii, 33, 36–41.
3 MBh. iii, 65, 2576; 67, 2634–5; 69, 2705–8; 70, 2766; 73, 2852.
4 The authorities are not all clear about the exact relationship.
5 Brahma, 11, 53; 13, 74. Vāyu, ii, 30, 68. Hariv. 29, 1590; 32, 1794.
a Vidarbha king and married Agastya.\(^1\) The king’s name is given as Nimi.\(^2\) No Nimi is mentioned in the Vidarbha genealogy, but the names after Vidarbha are not quite clear, and he would seem to have been one of Vidarbha’s near successors, because after Daśārha the princesses were called Daśārhi. Lopāmudrā may presumably be equated with Kunti, king of Vidarbha,\(^3\) and Alarka with Dhrṣṭi. Pratardana therefore would synchronize with Sagara, and he and Sagara, as already mentioned, broke the power of the Tālajaṅgha-Haihayas, and Sagara completed their overthrow.

Something may be done towards fixing the position of the cakravartin Marutta, son of Avikṣit of Diṣṭa’s line, and his descendant Trṇavindu. It is said that Avikṣit or his father Karandhama lived at the beginning of the Tretā Age,\(^4\) and that Trṇavindu lived “at the third mouth of the Tretā age”,\(^5\) that is, apparently at the beginning of the third quarter of that age. It is not clear at what stage in the genealogies that age is supposed to have begun. It is said that Rāma Jāmadagnya lived in the Tretā age, and that Rāma Daśarathī lived in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara ages.\(^6\) The further statement that Viśvāmitra lived in that same interval\(^7\) is inconsistent with these two, and perhaps we should read “in the interval between the Kṛta and Tretā ages”. Such an arrangement of the ages makes a fair division of the genealogies, and without meriting any trust whatever it

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1 \(MBh\). iii, 96, 8561–97, 8576; iv, 21, 654–5; v, 116, 3971. \(Rig-V\). i, 179.  
2 \(MBh\). xiii, 187, 6255. Confused with Nimi, first king of Videha, ibid., 234, 8600, who is genealogically ages apart; and \(Videha\) is an easy mistake for \(Vidarbha\).  
3 The synchronism of this Agastya with kings Śrutarvan, Bradhnaśīva, and Paurukutsa Trasadasyu (\(MBh\). iii, 98, 8595–608) appears to be a brahmanical addition.  
4 \(MBh\). xiv, 4, 80; \(Vāyu\), ii, 24, 7.  
5 Tretā-yuga-mukhe trātye, \(Vāyu\), ii, 24, 15.  
6 \(MBh\). xii, 341, 12948–9.  
7 \(MBh\). xii, 141, 5331.
may serve as a possible working hypothesis. Marutta then might be placed conjecturally in about the same age as Rāma Jāmadagnya, and Trnavindu soon after Ambarisa of the Solar line.

In the Lunar race Matināra's position has been fixed (p. 31). We may next consider the position of Duṣyanta and his son Bharata.

Duṣyanta married Viśvāmitra's daughter Śakuntalā, as is well known. If that Viśvāmitra be the first and great Viśvāmitra, Duṣyanta must be placed alongside Hariścandra or Rohita, and his son Bharata immediately afterwards; but there are arguments against that. There is no indication that Bharata's successors were overthrown by the Haihayas, as they must have been in that case. Bharata had three wives, Vaidarbhīs, and Vidarbhā's position, as shown, was later. Bharata's second successor, Bhūmanyu, married a daughter (or descendant) of Daśārha, who was much later. These three considerations settle the question, and indeed the first statement is not necessarily in conflict with them, because such names as Viśvāmitra do not always refer to the original rishis, but also denoted their descendants, and produced some confusion in the personalities (see p. 15). The reasonable inferences therefore are that Bhūmanyu married Daśārha's daughter,

1 In Marutta's time lived two rishis, Brhaspati and his younger brother Saṅvarta, who were rivals. The former declined to be Marutta's priest, so Marutta engaged Saṅvarta. MBh. xii, 29, 910-13; xiv, 95-8, 218; corroborated by vii, 55, 2170-1. Bāgav. ix, 2, 27. Vīga, ii, 24, 9-11. Aitār. Brāh. viii, 4, 21. Śadguruśīya, on Rig-V. vi, 52, makes these two rishis younger brothers of Ucathya (see p. 44); there may have been some relation between these two rishis and the other two, Ucathya and Brhaspati, who seem to have been later.

2 Or Duḥṣanti, as he is sometimes called, e.g. Śatap. Brāh. XIII, v, 4, 11.

3 MBh. i, 94, 3710-11; Agnī, 277, 34; Bāgav. ix, 20, 34; Vīga, ii, 37, 133. The Brahman (13, 58), Vīga (iv, 19), and Hariv. (32, 1727) support. The single wife in MBh. i, 95, 3785, was probably wife of Vitatha, who is omitted there.

4 MBh. i, 95, 3786. His fourth successor, Vikunātha, also married a later Daśārhi princess, ibid., 3789.
that Bharata must be placed three or four generations after Viddarbha, and that Śakuntalā’s father was a near descendant of the great Viśvāmitra.\(^1\) Bhūmanyu must then be placed soon after Daśārha and contemporary with Nābhāga of the Solar line, Bharata with Dilipa I, and Dusyanta with Amśumat.

This conclusion leaves an immense gap between Matināra and Dusyanta, in which only two or three names occur, but there are considerations which corroborate it, surprising though it be at first sight.

The lists show little agreement as to the relation between those two kings, and some of them leave it indefinite. It is obvious that the genealogists were puzzled, and each authority has taken its own method of bridging over the gap. A long period of confusion is what all the information indicates, if it be noted that Pūru had his kingdom in the middle of Madhyadesa, and that that region has been the battle-ground of contending races at all times. Matināra’s kingdom would have been conquered by the eakravartin Śaśavindu from the south-west, and have then undergone a long eclipse under a series of eakravartins, Māndhātr of Ayodhyā, Śivi son of Usinara in the north-west, Arjuna Kārtavirya of Māhiṣmati, Marutta son of Avikṣit of Diśa’s line, the Haihaya dominion (with the inroads of the hordes from the north-west), and, lastly, Sagara of Ayodhyā. Dusyanta, as a youth in Sagara’s time, might well have deemed his right to the Paurava kingdom hopeless; consequently we may well believe another statement that Marutta, son of Karandhama, in the lineage of Yayāti’s son Turvasu,\(^2\) had no son and adopted Dusyanta the Paurava, and that afterwards Dusyanta, desiring his own kingdom, reverted to his own race.\(^3\) He would have

\(^1\) Even so she was still of kṣatriya origin.

\(^2\) Not given in the Table, because it is too brief, and is said to have merged into the Paurava line by this adoption.

\(^3\) *Agni*, 276, 2; *Bhāgav. ix*, 23, 17-18; *Brahma*, 13, 143-6; *Matsya*, 38, 2-3; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 2-4; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 16; *Hariv. 32*, 1831-4.
had that opportunity on Sagara’s death, and so would be contemporary with Aṃśumat, for the authorities say that Asamaṇjas did not succeed his father Sagara. To recover his kingdom he had the help of his adoptive father’s realm. Dusyanta thus became in a very real sense what he is called, namely, the vaṃśa-kara of the Pauravas,¹ and united the sovereignty of two kingdoms.

The story of Bharata opens out other connexions. There were two rishis of Aṅgiras’ race, Ucathya and his younger brother Brhaspati. Ucathya’s wife was Mamatā, and their son was Dirghatamas, who was born blind. Bharadvāja was Brhaspati’s son, begotten by him (it is said) of the same Mamatā.² Dirghatamas, after he had grown up, was set adrift in the Ganges, and was carried down to Bali’s³ kingdom in the east. There he was rescued and begot of the queen, at Bali’s desire, Aṅga and four other sons.⁴ That there was such a blind rishi Dirghatamas, who was son of Ucathya and Mamatā, and was rescued from perishing in the rivers, is clear from the Rig-Veda.⁵ Bharadvāja’s personality is not quite so clear, because on the one hand Bharadvāja, the eldest son of Brhaspati, is made contemporary with Divodāsa II of Kāśi,⁶ and on the other hand he is brought into connexion with Bharata at

¹ MBh. i, 63, 2801.
² He is called Devamasyayāna, Bhāgav. ix, 30, 38-9; Matsya, 49, 33; Vāyu, ii, 37, 153.
³ He must be distinguished from Bali, son of Virocan, the Daitya.
⁴ The story is told in various ways, and Ucathya’s name is given as Utathya, Uṣija, Aṣija, and Asija. MBh. i, 104, 4179-221; ii, 20, 802; xii, 343, 13177-84. Bhāgav. ix, 20, 36-9; 23, 4-5. Matsya, 48, 24-84; 49, 17-26. Vāyu, ii, 37, 37-92, 137-46. Viṣṇu, iv, 19. Hari. 31, 1689-93. Sadgurusīya on Rig.-V. vi, 52, and i, 116. Brhad-devatā, iv, 11-15, 21-5. Cf. p. 42, n. 1. Dirghatamas is said to have gained his sight in later life (MBh. xii; Matsya; Vāyu, ii, 37, loc. cit.). If a natural explanation may be suggested, it is that he was not totally blind, but purblind, or extremely short-sighted, when young, and that his sight improved in old age, as often happens in such cases.
⁵ i, 147, 3; 158, 3-6; iv, 4, 13; and perhaps, i, 152, 6.
⁶ MBh. xiii, 30, 1962-3; see also Sarvāṇukramaṇi, introduction to Rig.-V. vi, for his patronymic.
the close of Bharata's life. Thus some accounts say that Bharata lost all his sons, and Bharadvāja was then brought to him and became his son as King Vitatha; and other accounts say Bharadvāja sacrificed for Bharata, and then a son Vitatha was born from Bharadvāja. The latter version is preferable, because (1) some of the former authorities corroborate it, and discredit their own story by adding that Bharata died when Vitatha was born; and (2) Dirghatamas inaugurated Bharata with the mahābhiseka, so that Bharadvāja could not have been a child at the end of Bharata's life. It is credible that Dirghatamas and Bharadvāja were brothers or cousins; and if we accept the above equation of Bharadvāja and Divodāsa II, the inference would be that both those rishis were younger contemporaries of Divodāsa II, that Dirghatamas, who lived to a great age, inaugurated Bharata,

1 Agni, 277, 7–8; Bhāgav. ix, 20, 34–9; Matsya, 49, 14–15, 27–32; Vṛṣṇi, ii, 37, 147–53; Viṣṇu, iv, 19. Sadgurūśāya on Rīg-V. vi, 53, says Suhotra, etc., were Bharadvāja’s sons, but according to the genealogies they were his great-great-grandsons.

2 Brahmas, 13, 58–60; Hariv. 32, 1729–31; MBh. i, 94, 3710–13, which calls the son Bhūmānyu.

3 Matsya, 49, 34; Vṛṣṇi, ii, 37, 154. The accounts and other statements leave no doubt that brahman paternity was introduced at this period. In fact, it is stated that Bharadvāja’s descendants comprised both brahmans and kṣatriyas, Matsya, 49, 33. Similar cases occurred: thus a Vasiṣṭha begot King Aśmaka of Kalmāsapāda’s queen in the Solar dynasty. MBh. i, 122, 4736–7; 177, 6787–91; Bhāgav. ix, 9, 18, 38–9; Kūrma, i, 21, 12–13; Līṅga, i, 66, 27–8; Vṛṣṇi, ii, 26, 176.

4 Aituar. Brāh. viii, 4, 23; and was his priest, Bhāgav. ix, 20, 25.

5 The confusion of Bharadvāja and Vitatha no doubt arose because Bharadvāja was called Vīdathina, Brhaddev. v, 102–3.

6 The accounts are supported to some extent by the Rīg-V. because Vaidathina (that is, Bharadvāja’s son or more probably descendant), Rījīvan (Rīg-V. iv, 16, 13; and compare vi, 50, 15 and 51, 12 with the Sārvānakramanī, which attributes these hymns to Rījīvan) is even called Aṣīja (x, 99, 11), which was the metronymic of Kākṣīvat, son of Dirghatamas (i, 18, 1; Sārvānakramanī on i, 116). Kākṣīvat is mentioned in the passages cited from MBh. i, Matsya, and Vṛṣṇi in p. 44, n. 4.

7 Rīg-V. i, 158, 6.
and that that Bharadvāja,\(^1\) or his son, begot Vitatha at the end of Bharata’s life.

The position of Ajamiḍha of the Lunar race, from whom sprang both the North and South Pañcāla dynasties, is important. I have not found any data to fix it directly, but something is possible indirectly. If, using the more complete Solar line as a measuring scale, we reckon the generations on from Bharata, Ajamiḍha should fall at or soon after Rṣuparna’s time; and if we continue the reckoning down the North Pañcāla line, Śrūjaya should fall about the time of Daśaratha and Rāma, and here we do reach synchronisms which confirm the reckoning. There are synchronisms between several lines at this stage.

With Daśaratha were contemporary Siradhvaja Janaka of Videha (the father of Sītā), Lomapāda of Anūgā,\(^2\) and Pramati, king of Vaiśālī.\(^3\)

There is a story connecting Rāma and his brother Śatrughna with the Yādava dynasty,\(^4\) and it is so strange at first sight as hardly to merit attention, but other allusions support incidents in it, and it explains certain important territorial facts. Madhu, called king of the Dānavaś in it, was clearly a descendant of Yayāti’s son Yadu,\(^5\) and is obviously the Madhu in the Yādava list. According to the story, Madhu’s kingdom, that is, the Yādava territory, stretched from Gujārat to the forest Madhuvana on the Yamunā; his fourth descendant was Sattvata, and Sattvata’s son Bhīma was reigning at the same time as Rāma; Śatrughna killed the local prince Lavaṇa, felled the forest, and built Mathurā (the modern Muttra) on its site; after Rāma’s death Bhīma recovered

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\(^1\) “Bharadvāja” was the longest-lived rishi, *Aitār. Arāy. I, ii, 2, 8.
\(^2\) *MBh. iii, 110, 10008-9; Rāmāy. i, 11, 13-20; Bhāgav. ix, 23, 7-10.
\(^3\) Rāmāy. i, 47, 17, which calls him Sumati; compared with the other authorities for Diśta’s line, p. 25.
\(^4\) *Hariv. 94, 5142-45, 5257; and 65, 3060-3104. The Rāmāy. tells a similar story (*Uttara-k. 64, 68-70, 108), but amplifies and brahmanizes it.
\(^5\) *Hariv. 94, 5164 (see p. 19, n. 6).
the city and dwelt there, and his son Andhaka reigned there when Rāma’s son Kuśa was reigning in Kosala. Now some of the Purāṇas also assert that Śatrughna killed the Mādhava Lavana, took Madhuvana, and established Mathurā there, and they add that his sons Subāhu and Śūrasena guarded the city. Further, the story explains, first, how the country, of which Mathurā was the capital, was called Śūrasena, for both Śūrasena’s name and also the name of the city Mathurā remained, though the Yādavas recovered the sovereignty soon afterwards; and, secondly, how it was that Kaṁsa, a Yādava and descendant of Andhaka, reigned there in the Pāṇḍavas’ time—a collocation of facts of which there is no other explanation. The story appears, therefore, to contain historical truth.

That king Bhima is not named in the genealogies, but as son of Sattvata (Satvat) appears as Sātvata in them. They and the story concur in making Andhaka grandson of Satvat, and fairly agree in placing him six or eight steps below Madhu. We may therefore equate the Yādava Satvat with Daśaratha, Sātvata with Rāma, and Andhaka with Kuśa; and Madhu then would be placed about equal with Śataratha in the Solar line.

Further, another son of Sātvata, named Bhajamāna, married one or two daughters of Sṛnjaya, who cannot well be any other than the king of North Pañcāla. Sṛnjaya was thus a contemporary of Sātvata, and therefore of Rāma, and this confirms his position as calculated above, and consequently Ajamidhā must be placed with, or just after, Rtuarna. In agreement with this is the statement that King Śatadyumna (probably king No. 66 of Videha)

1 Bhāgav. ix, 11, 13-14; Vāyu, ii, 26, 184-5; Viṣṇu, iv, 4. The Garuda (i, 133, 38) names the sons.
2 Brahma, 15, 32; Līlā, i, 69, 3; Matsya, 44, 49-50; Padma, v, 13, 33; Vāyu, ii, 34, 3; Hariv. 38, 2291; perhaps Kūrma, i, 24, 37. The Vāyu (ibid. 4) adds that Bhajamāna’s son married two daughters (granddaughters) of Sṛnjaya, who were his cousins.
gave wealth to Mudgala or (more probably) Maudgalya, that is, one of the Maudgalya brahmans descended from Mudgala the Pañcāla. Sṛujaya’s position serves to fix those of Divodāsa and Sudāsa (Sudās), who are so often mentioned in the Rīg-Veda.

Sṛujaya places us in the middle of the “Pañcālas”. This name began, as all the authorities say, with the jocular boast of a king, whose name is given variously as Bharmya, Bharmyasva, Bāhyāsva, etc., but was really Bhṛmyāsva. He had five sons, Mudgala, etc., and said, “My five (pañca) sons are sufficient (alam) for protecting five kingdoms.” The accounts imply that the words pañca + alam caught the fancy, and the new name Pañcāla gradually debased and superseded the name Krivi, which was the old name of the people or country. These Pañcālas flourished till Somaka and his son Jantu, then (the accounts say) there were great reverses and the dynasty fell into insignificance (that is, there is a gap) till Prṣata’s time, and that was caused by the rise again of the Lunar dynasty under Kuru, as will be explained.

The positions of Rksa I, Saṁvarana, and Kuru may be

1 MBh. xii, 234, 8606; xiii, 137, 6265.
2 See passages cited for the genealogy, p. 21, n. 2.
3 See p. 21, n. 3.
4 Agni, 277, 19–20; Bhāgav. ix, 21, 31–4; 22, 3; Brahma, 13, 94–6; Matsya, 50, 2–4; Vāyu, ii, 37, 190–3; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 32, 1778–80; Śudguruśisya on Rīg-V. x, 102. Very many derivations or explanations of names in the literature are fanciful, but this explanation is such as may be genuine, for the name Pañcāla certainly superseded Krivi.
5 Rīg-V. ii, 22, 2; Śatap. Brāh. XIII, v, 4, 7. It is implied in the latter passage that both names were current for a time, Pañcāla being the ksatriya name and Krivi the vulgar one. In the Epics and Purāṇas, therefore, Pañcāla is always used, and I have not met with Krivi there. On the identity of Krivi and Pañcāla, see Oldenberg, Buddha, 1st German ed., 409; Zimmer, Altindoisches Leben, 102 seq.
6 In the last part of this gap may be placed Duṣṭarītu Paunṣāyana, king of the Sṛujayas, because he was contemporary with Balhika Pratipiśa, the Kauravya king (Śatap. Brāh. XII, ix, 3, 1–13), that is, the Kaurava Vāhlika, son of Pratipi and brother of Sāntanu, who is often mentioned in the MBh. (e.g. v, 148, 5053–5; vii, 157, 6931–4). See JRAS., 1908, p. 320.
fixed approximately. Śaṅkaraṇa was driven out of his kingdom by the Pañcālas, and took refuge in a fastness near the River Sindhu many years; at length Vasiṣṭha (that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family) came to him and became his priest, and encouraged by his aid Śaṅkaraṇa recovered his kingdom. 1 As the Pañcālas began with Mudgala, the dispossession was posterior to Mudgala, and it seems, further, that event could not have taken place before Divodāsa’s time, because Indrota Ātithigva (Divodāsa’s son presumably) was apparently on friendly terms with Rksa’s son. 2 Thus Rksa would be contemporary with Divodāsa.

The dispossession would seem to have been effected by Sudāsa (Sudās). A hymn in the Rg-Veda shows he had wars and extended his territory. 3 His great battle with the ten kings 4 was probably connected in some way with the dispossession. It was fought near the Paruṣṇi (the modern Ravi), 5 and he could not have got there from North Pañcāla without passing over the Lunar kingdom, and as the Bharatas (that is, the Lunar dynasty 6) were against him, he had presumably conquered it. His conquests evidently stirred up the tribes to the west against him, namely, the Yādva (the Yādava king of Mathurā, see p. 47), the Śivas (Śivis) who were Anavas (see pp. 24, 31), Druhyus (Gāndhāras, who were descended from Druhyu 7), Matsyas (to the west of Mathurā), Turvaśa (some tribal king

1 MBh. i, 94, 3727-37.
2 Rg-V. viii, 68 [57], 15-17.
3 Rg-V. vii, 20, 2.
4 Rg-V. vii, 18; 19, 3, 6, 8.
5 Rg-V. vii, 18, 8-9. If we might identify Śrṅtarvan Ārksa with Śaṅkaraṇa Ārksa, Rg-V. viii, 74 might have been composed on the Paruṣṇi during the exile. That river was among the Madras or Kaikeyas, who were descended from Anu (see pp. 31-2), hence Agni there might well be called Ānava (ibid. 4).
6 MBh. i, 95, 3785; or Bhāratas, MBh. i, 94, 3709; Brahma, 13, 57; Matsya, 49, 11. Śaṅkaraṇa is called Bhārata, MBh. i, 94, 3731.
7 Agni, 276, 4; Bhāgav. ix, 23, 14-15; Brahma, 13, 146-51; Garuda, i, 139, 64; Matsya, 48, 6-7; Vāyu, ii, 37, 7-9; Viṣṇu, ix, 17; Hariv. 32, 1837-40.
descended from Turvaśa, that is, Turvasu; probably on his north-west), and other small clans. Further, “old Kavaśa” was drowned at the battle.¹ Now a rishi named Tura inaugurated Janamejaya Pārīkṣita (that is, Saṅvarana’s great-grandson) with the mahābhīśeṅka, and his father was Kavaśa, who might well have been contemporary with Saṅvarana.² There need be no hesitation in identifying these two Kavasas, for “old Kavaśa” was on the side opposed to Sudās, that is, on Saṅvarana’s side, and Kavaśa’s son inaugurated Saṅvarana’s great-grandson.

The dispossession would appear to have lasted through Sahadeva’s reign³ into Somaka’s, for Somaka performed sacrifices on the Yamunā,⁴ and he could not have done that unless his territory extended there. Saṅvarana would seem to have recovered his kingdom in the early part of Somaka’s reign, for several reasons. First, this Pañcāla dynasty suffered serious reverses during Somaka’s and his son Jantu’s time (see p. 48). Secondly, all the hymns in Sudās’ praise are by Vasiṣṭha, that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family.⁵ There is only one⁶ in praise of Somaka when he was a young prince, and this fact deserves to be compared with the statement (p. 49) that Vasiṣṭha went to Saṅvarana and helped him to regain his kingdom. It would seem that some strong reason must have moved Vasiṣṭha to forsake Somaka and espouse Saṅvarana’s cause. His behaviour suggests vengeance, and may be ascribed to the statement that his sons were killed by Sudās’ descendants.⁷ Thirdly, this last inference helps to

¹ Rig-V. vii, 18, 12.
³ His race and kingdom were prosperous (Satap. Brāh. ii, iv, 4, 4–5).
⁴ M. Bha. iii, 125, 10421–2.
⁵ He also inaugurated Sudās (Aitār. Brāh. viii, 4, 21).
⁶ Rig-V. iv, 15; where Somaka is mentioned as kumāraḥ Sāhadevyah (verses 7–10), “the youth, the son of Sahadeva.”
⁷ Bṛhaddevatā, vi, 28 (which obviously refers to this Vasiṣṭha). The word is Saṅdāsaṅk, which means the sons or grandsons of Sudās, and thus undoubtedly includes Somaka. See other passages cited in Muir’s
explain the story that Somaka sacrificed his first son Jantu in order to obtain more sons,\(^1\) for the \(\text{ṛtvij}\) who performed such a barbarous magical rite could not have been Vasiṣṭha, nor had his approval.\(^2\)

For all these reasons Saṁvarana may be placed alongside Sudāsa or Sahadeva, and Kuru beside Somaka or Jantu. Kuru had a numerous progeny. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and pushed his rule beyond Prayāga (Allahabad),\(^3\) which implies he overcame Paṅcāla. His waxing meant the waning of the Paṅcālas.

These conclusions leave a considerable gap between Ajamīḍha and Rkṣa, and between Rkṣa and Saṁvarana. That there was a long combined gap is implied by some of the authorities, for they even go so far as to say that Ajamīḍha was reborn as Somaka and begot Rkṣa,\(^4\) thus virtually placing Rkṣa after Somaka, and implying that the rise of the Kauravas and the decline of the North Paṅcālas were connected. The gap from Ajamīḍha to Saṁvarana marks the eclipse of the Lunar dynasty during the dominance of North Paṅcāla, just as the gap from Jantu to Prṣata marks the reverse.\(^5\)

Vasu Caidyoparicara founded new Cedi and Magadha dynasties (see p. 22). He was fifth in descent from Kuru according to the genealogies, and was later therefore than Janamejaya II Pārīkṣita. He may be placed three or four

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\(^{1}\) \(\text{MBh. iii, 127, 10486–128, 10495; Matsya, 50, 16; Vāyu, ii, 37, 204.}\)

\(^{2}\) It may have been this \(\text{ṛtvij}\) who called this Vasiṣṭha a Yātudhāna (\(\text{Ṛg}-\text{V. vii, 104, 15}\), and so moved him to compose that hymn.

\(^{3}\) \(\text{Agni, 277, 26; Bhāgav. ix, 22, 4; Brahma, 13, 106-7; Matsya, 50, 20-2; Vāyu, ii, 37, 209-12; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 32, 1800-1.}\)

\(^{4}\) \(\text{Matsya, 50, 15-19; Vāyu, ii, 37, 203-9; Hariv. 32, 1792, 1795-9.}\)

\(^{5}\) \(\text{See Brahma, 13, 99-100.}\)

The Kuras and both branches of the Paṅcālas were of the same stock (see p. 21). They are not particularly linked together in the \(\text{MBh. or Purāṇas, and the double compound found in the Brāhmaṇas, etc., refers to a later period—after the great battle.}\)
steps lower. This agrees with the story that Yayāti’s chariot which had belonged to Pūru and his descendants passed from that Janamejaya to Vasu.¹

Ayutanāyin of the Lunar dynasty married a daughter of Prthuśravas.² He seems (though misplaced in the MBh.) to be the same as Ayutāyus, and Prthuśravas may perhaps be Prthu of the South Pañcalā line.

In the concluding portion of the Lunar and Pañcalā dynasties and Dvimīḍha’s line are a number of synchronisms. Kṛta of Dvimīḍha’s line was a disciple and therefore a younger contemporary of Hiranyanābha, king of Kosala,³ Brahmadatta of South Pañcalā and Pratipa of the Lunar dynasty were contemporaries.⁴ Ugrāyudha, whose name follows Kṛta’s, killed Janamejaya Durbudhī and all the Nipa princes of South Pañcalā,⁵ and also Prṣata’s father or grandfather, Nipa or Nila, of North Pañcalā⁶; and Bhīṣma killed him after Śantanu’s death.⁷ Hence Ugrāyudha was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya and Śantanu, and an earlier contemporary of Bhīṣma. These synchronisms bring out some interesting points. Ugrāyudha is called son of Kṛta, but it is plain there is a gap of four or five steps between them. Again, Pratipa’s position contemporary with Brahmadatta, and Śantanu’s position contemporary with Brahmadatta’s third successor, show there must be a small gap of one or two steps between Pratipa and Śantanu. No such gap is

¹ Brahma, 12, 6-16; Vāyu, ii, 31, 18-27; Hariv. 30, 1605-16. The descent of Śantanu’s queen, Satyavati, from Vasu is a mere fable, chronologically impossible.
² MBh. i, 95, 3774.
³ Bhaṭṭa, ix, 12, 3-4; 31, 28-9; Matsya, 49, 75-6; Vāyu, ii, 26, 295-6; 37, 185-6; Viṣṇu, iv, 4 and 19; Hariv. 20, 1080-1.
⁴ Hariv. 20, 1047-8.
⁵ Matsya, 49, 59; Vāyu, ii, 37, 177; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 20, 1071-2.
⁶ Matsya, 49, 77-8; Vāyu, ii, 57, 186-7; Viṣṇu, iv, 19; Hariv. 20, 1083, 1086.
⁷ MBh. xii, 37, 808 Hariv. 20, 1073, 1085-1110. Śantanu is generally called Śāntanu in the MBh. and Purāṇas.
hinted at anywhere in the MBh. or Purāṇas, yet it is proved by the Rig-Veda, for all accounts agree that Devāpi was Śantana's eldest brother,1 and Devāpi calls himself Ārṣṭiśena.2 Clearly, therefore, Rṣṭiśena must be inserted.

The other contemporaries at the end are too well known to need notice. They are discussed in my paper on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas".3

I have now dealt with all the material synchronisms that I have been able to discover, and it will be seen that they do not all come from one kind of authority, or even from one possible source, but have been collected out of all kinds of books, from the Rig-Veda to the Raghuvamśa, and from various accounts and stories. Many of the narratives noticed have so little in common that the points of agreement which they show in these details are unquestionably undesigned coincidences. As a corroboration of these results it may be pointed out that the positions of the cakravartins (see p. 30) in the Table turn out to be such that they do not clash with one another. Other allusions occur but have not been noticed (so as not to encumber this article), because they are not clear enough to be of any value, or merely corroborate these conclusions, or are stray and unsupported, or belong to brahmanical stories, which (as already explained, p. 13) cannot be accepted without corroboration, even if they are not deemed pious fabrications.4 It may seem that the grounds for the synchronisms are not conclusive. I may admit

1 Nirukta, ii, 10; Brhadd. vii, 156.
2 Rig. V. x, 38, 5, 6, 8.
3 JRAS. 1908, p. 309.
4 e.g. the account of the transmission of knowledge about soma-drinking from one king to another in Aitār. Brāh. vii, 5, 34, is chronologically erroneous. Similarly the story of the descent of the sword in MBh. xii, 166, 6192-6201 is hopelessly confused. The brahmans who composed the theological and didactic literature knew little about ancient ksatriya history, and no wonder, when all knowledge rested on memory alone.
this, and add that conclusive proof for such ancient times is generally impossible; indeed, certain inconsistent passages have been referred to in the notes. All that is possible is to collate the data regarding a synchronism, and draw the conclusions which satisfy them, or the greater number of them. Each set of data must be dealt with by itself in the first instance, yet, as the genealogies are not isolated but have many points of connexion, the conclusion regarding one synchronism must be tested and should harmonize with those regarding others. The data may be viewed in ways different from that in which they have been now presented, and different inferences drawn; and, in fact, many such inferences were formed and rejected, because further consideration showed that they did not agree with other conditions which were related to them. The synchronisms must be considered both singly and collectively, and if according to the conclusions now put forward all the genealogies fit in together and corroborate one another, the resulting harmony supplies cogent cumulative evidence in favour of the scheme presented, both as regards particulars and also generally.

Nearly all the genealogical lists terminate with the great battle between the Pândavas and Kauravas. Some mention a few generations more in certain cases, or give lists of the kings who should reign in certain dynasties after that event. But in all genealogical matters the great battle constitutes a notable terminus ad quem, as if a period of considerable prosperity, knowledge, and refinement was succeeded by one of disorganization and darkness. Whatever the cause may have been, that event was an undoubted epoch, and may be taken as an era, so that in dealing with these genealogies chronologically we may reckon backwards ante bellum.

The question suggests itself, what may be the chronological import of these genealogies? In forming an estimate of time the average which may be taken for
the duration of reigns in India depends partly on the length of the dynasty. It may be twenty years (or even more) in short dynasties, but to adopt a lower average would be prudent when the list of kings is very long, because their length neutralizes special conditions that may affect short periods.\(^1\) Hence fifteen years per reign would be a safer estimate. It must be noted that any such average applied to these lists means a smaller average in reality, because we must allow for the fact that the lists, and even the long Solar list, are not exhaustive (see p. 7), and that the number of kings should be increased somewhat to compensate for omissions. If it be supposed there is only one omission to every seven kings named in the lists (which is surely a moderate supposition), and the average be adjusted accordingly, an average of fifteen years becomes one of about thirteen years. This appears to be a reasonable ratio, because fifty-five early kings of Ceylon reigned altogether 601 years, that is, with an average of eleven years\(^2\); but that average is unduly lowered by the fact that the number of insignificant kings is almost one in every three. If that average be adopted for the present purpose it would be proper to increase the number of kings in the same proportion. Taking then the lists as they stand, fifteen years per reign seems a reasonable and even moderate estimate. The only list which spans the entire period is the Solar list, and that contains ninety-three names from Ikṣvāku to the great battle. The entire duration then would be not less than 1400 years. Māṇḍhātr would be placed about eleven centuries before that battle; Sagara, Bharata, and Bhagiratha in the eighth century; Rāma Dāśarathī in the middle of the fifth century; and the Pañcāla kings, Divodāsa to

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\(^1\) I have to thank Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hoernle for advice on this matter.

\(^2\) Dr. Fleet’s list, Nos. 7-54, JRAS., 1909, p. 339.
Somaka, during the fifth and fourth centuries before that battle.

Duncker in his *History of Antiquity* (vol. iv, pp. 74–7) gives four calculations for the beginning of the Kali age, that is, approximately for the date of the great battle, viz., 1300, 1175, 1200, and 1418 B.C. They are probably excessive, because his calculation amounts to the rate of twenty-five years per reign. If his calculations be revised, allowing fifteen years per reign, and the average date be taken, it becomes about 1100 B.C. It is no part of this paper to fix that date, but if we assume that the battle occurred about 1000 B.C., Áyus, Nahuśa, and Yayāti, who are alluded to in the *Rig-Veda*, would be placed not later than some twenty-three centuries B.C. The Āryan immigration would be earlier still. The civilization of Babylonia and Egypt goes back to 5000 B.C., or earlier. Is it likely that India, which was in no way inferior to those countries in geographical and climatic conditions, was a land of no account till several thousands of years later?
THE AHUNA-VAIRYA FROM YASNA XXVII, 13, WITH ITS PAHLAVI AND SANSKRIT TRANSLATIONS

By Professor Lawrence Mills

I. The text of the Ahuna is as follows:

Yaðā ahū vairyo abā ratuṣ aśācit hačā,  
vaunheus dazdā manaṁhō, ṣyaodnamām aṁheus Mazdāi,  
χsadremēχ Ahurāi ā yim drigubhyō dadaṭ vāstārem.

II. This may be translated thus:

As the Ahū (is) to be (revered and) chosen,  
so (let) the Ratu (be) from (all) correct legality,  
A creator of mental goodness,  
and of life's actions done for Mazda;  
And the Kingdom (is) to Ahura,—whom (the Ahū, or  
Ratu)  
He has appointed as nourisher to the poor.

The Ahuna-Vairya was so distinguished by the later use which was made of it that it became a formula of unusual moral and ritualistic importance—indeed, more so than, upon our first glance upon it, we should, the most of us, think that it deserved. But, though bearing unmistakable traces of being somewhat artificially constructed, both in its metre and contents, upon closer study the little group of words seems well worthy of its parentage, for it is a succinct cipher of that remarkable manifestation of the moral idea which, as the one point of Zoroastrianism, must have had enormous influence during successive generations among the inhabitants of Mid-Asia. The Pahlavi form of the name Ahunaver is but a contraction of Ahuna-Vairya,—the nasal ṅ having intruded from the nasal m of an accusative ahūm, or else from mere euphony.
III. As experts will at once observe, the Ahuna preserves the metre of the Gatha Ahunavaiti, which Gatha, though largely the original of both the substance and metre of this brief piece, yet curiously derives its name from its own offspring;—that is to say, the Gatha from which these lines were collected bears their name, and is called Ahunavaiti, i.e. "having the Ahuna", probably referring to the accidental position of this formula in the usual fixed course of the Yasna recital, as part of a liturgy.

IV. The Sources of the Ahunaver, as already implied, must naturally be looked for in the Gatha, as it is a general opinion that the Ahunaver is, next after the Gatha, with its companion pieces, the Asem Vohu and the Airyemā ışyō,¹ one of the oldest documents of the Avesta, standing so closely associated with its original, both as to its name and contents.² In glancing over these Gothic originals of it, we are first struck with Yasna XXIX, 6, noit aevā ahū vistō, naēdā ratuš ašatēt haēa... "Not a single secular (?) official, ahū, has been found (for us), nor a priestly chief (ratu) (moved) from his sanctity,"—which was obviously the motive to our Yadh ahu vairyo, taba ratuš ašatēt haēa of line a; see above, while we recall also Yasna XXIX, 2, in this connexion; see also Yasna XXXIII, 1, yadā āīs īda vur(e)ṣaitē... ratuš syaođnā razistā drevvataēt, etc.—this, of an expected leading moral-religious chief. "As in accordance with these (laws), so shall he act, (the laws) which were those of the world primeval;—as a Ratu he will do deeds most just... (see ašatēt haēa of the Ahuna above) towards the wicked as towards the righteous..." Vairyo seems suggested by the vairyan

¹ And the yem’hē (yahya) hātām.
² It may possibly have been put together by some priestly author at a later age; but such conscious imitative construction is, on the whole, not so probable, and would not have occurred to any sacerdotal writer of a much later age.
of Yasna LI, 1, apparently only written vairīm,¹ where, however, the particular idea is not “appointment”. Yet, notwithstanding this, and from no obscure reason, the word vairyō remained predominantly in vogue; see also vairīm at Yasna XXXIV, 14 (so again only thus apparently spelt; for it again equals vairyam, and its sense is again “desirable”.

For vanheus dazdā manānḥō, “the establisher of a good intention,” we may compare kasnnā-vanheus dāmiś manānḥō, “who, indeed, is the Creator of the sincere mind” (that is, of the sincerely minded man), Yasna XLIV, 4; svaobnānām anheuś “of the actions of life” finds its original in anheus ahurem svaobnāesā (Yasna XXXI, 8), “Lord in the actions of life,” which last also throws still further light upon our ahū here as designating a sacred official person; this ahurem of Yasna XXXI, 8, at the same time also saves us, with this anheus, from such a slip as the rendering of the Av. anheus = “life”, of the Ahuna here, in the same sense as this ahū = “Lord” in the Ahuna, line a, for, as we see, anheus and ahurem occur as related only, and not as identical, in Yasna XXXI, 8; if anheus means of “life” there so it must here, in its dependent passage, while it is ahurem which alone means “Lord” at Yasna XXXI, 8. See below upon the Pahlavi; see also yā-svaobnāsē (Yasna XXXI, 16); and ye hōi mañyā svaobnāisē urvado, “who is His friend in spirit and in deeds” (Yasna XXXI, 21), etc.

Mazdāi, as the objective of the good deeds, also finds its origin and its warrant in “the actions of life” just cited; see also Yasna XXXI, 1, yōi zarzdāo anhen mazdāi = “who are heart-devoted to Mazda”, while the mazdā tavā χαθrem . . . . , of Yasna LIII, 9, is almost inseparable from our mazdāi χā akhrāi ā, here, as also

¹ This ā is Pahlavi-Avesta y with its inherent vowel a = yu; see ZDMG., 1893, Heft iii, of October, 1898, Heft iii, and of 1901, Heft ii, etc. The supposed -īm is -yam as in numbers of cases.
from its most significant accompaniment yim drigubhyo
dada† vāstärem = "whom he will establish as a nurturer
of the poor" (fancy this as the first attribute of a political
ruler!). For both the signal passages upon which our
Mzdäi . . . ahuräi â, "and" the Kingdom is to Ahura,
is based have this deeply and urgently practical con-
nexion; see them at Yasna XXXIV, 5, which reads, ka†
vē śābrem; kā ištī śyaodnäi ś yathā vao ahmi aśā voñhā
manañhā thrayöidyäi drigäüm yûsmäkem . . . "What is
your kingdom? What your (sovereign) desire, that in
my actions I may be yours (or 'follow You'), with Aśa
('the Truth-Law') and the Good Mind (Benevolence) to
nourish your poor . . . "; and at Yasna LIII, 9 (see
above), which is perhaps even more directly related to our
passage, we read at Mzdä tavä śābrem yā erež(e)jōi
dahi drigaove vahyō . . . "Yea, Mazda, Thine is the
kingdom by which Thou wilt give the better (thing, the
sumnum bonum) to the right-living poor." All three
of these signal passages, which so conspicuously mention
"Thine is the kingdom", also base that sovereign authority
upon "care for the afflicted".

Some writers might here gather up the later allusions
to the terms of the Ahunaver, but it is obviously better
to separate the sources, and even the more immediately
established facts, from the results,¹ as to which latter see
such sentences as are indicated in the dictionaries.

It will be now best, before more closely discussing the
Avesta text of the Ahunaver in detail, to examine once
for all what our earliest predecessors in exegesis have left
for our consideration.

This is found in the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations,
with such fragments of the Persian as may be collected

¹ See Yasna XXVII, 1, dazdyäi ahûmēa ratumēa, Visp. XI, 21,
dademahī ahûmēa ratumēa. See the name itself, Ahuna-vairya, used as
sacrosanct, and like the "Word of God", which was the "Sword of the
Spirit"; so in the Temptation of Zarathustra, so in the Hōm-Yast and
in the Srov Yast, in Yasna XIX and elsewhere.
from Yasna XIX, for I do not find any Persian of the
Ahunaver in my MS. of this Yasna XXVII.

V. The Pahlavi text of the Ahunaver, Yasna XXVII, is as follows:

(a) Ėgōn aya' kāmak; [ēgōn Āūharmazd kāmak],
aēτōn' ratīkh [va aēτōn' frūrūnīhā] min aharāyih [kār
va kirfak] ēgāmēi; [kār va kirfak aēτōn' frūrūnīhā
kartan ēgōn Āūharmazd kāmak].

(b) zīš (or "zak as"?) Vah'man' dahešn', [aēy zag
mīzd (va) pa't'dahešn' i Vah'man' yehabūnēt aē vala
yehabūnēt man'] bayen aχvān' kūneš' i Āūharmazd,
[aē zag vebedūnēn (i) Āūharmazd avāyad. Ait man'
aēτōn' yemālūnēt aē-zīš (or "zag aš") av' Āūharmazd
dahešn' aē zag mīzd va pa't'dahešn' av' Vah'man' yeha-
būn aē vala al yehabūn. Ait man' aēτōn' yemālūnēt
aē; zīš (zagaš?) pavan Vah'man' dahešn' aē zag mīzd
(vā) pa't'dahešn' pavan Vah'man' bārā yehabūn aē vala
yehabūn. Aē Ātar' pāt i Zarīšt av' gūft; aēy min
aχvān' kūneš-kār bayen χavītūn].

(c) χvātāiyih (or "χvātāi aš") av' Āūharmazd, [aēy
aš χvātāiyih aēτōn' pavan sū' i Āūharmazd šayad yehe-
vūnēt(-ānt)] man' val daryōsān' yehabūnēt vastary [aēy
sān datakgobih vebedūnēn].

Criticism upon the Pahlavi Text. [The remark of one
writer to the effect that this Pahlavi text is verdorben
I cannot admit, as it is not any more in that condition
than most of these traditional expositions. It would not
be critical to expect perfection in it, ignoring the obvious
fact that, like its fellows, it must have been rewritten
repeatedly in the course of the many centuries of its
existence; I find myself, on the contrary, fairly grateful
that we have such texts as lie before us. Not a single
word here fails to report a correct root-idea, while the
failures as to grammatical form are only up to a fair

1 A provisional text at this date, but probably little to be improved upon.
average of what might be expected; and every one of these errors is, when detected, of value to put us well upon our guard against a confidence which might be otherwise too unreserved."

As will be seen below, I regard the adverbial form *ratíhā* as the correct text against a supposed *rat haē*, which latter ignores the alternative *dastbaríhā* in other passages of the Yasna Commentary; and this alternative form cannot well possibly be deciphered as *dastbar haē*—"the destoor should be"; so of *frárūnīhā* in the third gloss—*frárūn haē* would look jejune, though it gives a glibber flow; but, owing to the artificial form of the entire construction, too glib a flow should be always suspicious. *Haē* would also constitute a sort of gloss within the body of the text, not, however, a very serious objection. I think that the adverbial -*ihā* of *ratíhā* was occasioned, or at least somewhat influenced, by the correctly supposed adverbial force in the following -*īt*, rendered *pavan ēyāmēāi*, "in every way whatsoever." This may even have induced the early expositors to read the word ratus as *ratū*, in the instrumental, from this the adverbial -*ihā*. A reading *ratū* might also well have suggested itself to the Pahlavi translator owing to the just preceding curious form *αχū*, an unusual nom. sing. masc.; and we must never forget that they, the Pahlavi translators of the Avesta, were often forced to take the same liberties with texts which we take with them; at times even translating a text as if it were corrected, though unfortunately without any intimation of the precise change of words held in view, and some of us also have done the like—a mistake.

One distinguished writer reads *αχvān*' as if it were immediately here the plural of the preceding *αχū*, and gives it the meaning of "spiritual Lords"; but *αχvān*, although undoubtedly in its original form a plural, is yet fully established and the sense of the "world", "lives" in
that sense; and it cannot possibly mean Lords here, spiritual or otherwise, because it translates Av. aṅhēus, a common word meaning "of life"; see also above, "upon the Sources". So also Néryósangh fully understood it, with his antar b'avnac; and N. is of great authority on the meaning of this Pahlavi.

Then a vāyagānō, rendered "allotments", would be far indeed from the original vāstārem as from Nēr., who, while free here with his pālanam and sāhāyyam, "protection" and "friendship", has yet, at Yasna XIX, the very idea which has been more recently attached to vāstārem, for he has āhāram (= "food"), originally suggesting a root (vas, or) vās (vah, vāh) = "to fodder". I can find no Persian of this Yasna XXVII, 13, here, but in Yasna XIX the Persian seems to read va āsān, which looks like "felicitous" in general rather than "allotments".

VI. A revised Translation of the Pahlavi Text should be as follows. [And, as is hardly necessary to be said, it ought not to be expected to afford us final critical results. Its exploitation is, however, the more indispensable because many still hold too closely by it, and it actually gave us our first and often still valuable indications, as is, indeed, the case with all the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts of the Avesta. There is one further all-important point which must never be lost sight of in dealing with these Pahlavi translations of the Avesta;—and this is, that we are here totally debarred from those hazardous dashes which are often so useful in dealing with the original, for we are here engaged in an effort to decipher the already attempted translation of a document which is actually before us. Our eye must rest upon the already tentatively exploited text of the original Avesta, and this at every moment.]

(a) As (is) the will of the Lord,¹ [as is the will of

¹ We are constrained to refer Aūharmazd to axtu as explaining it, but this gloss might be merely corroborative; see line c.
Āūharmazd] so (let it be)¹ according to the legal ordinances (ratīhā, not rat haē), and so from correct propriety (frārānīhā, and not frārān haē), in accordance with aśa (min aharāyih; lit. "from aśa") [that is, in accordance with duty and good works] in whatsoever way (i.e. strictly) [that is to say, (let there be) a doing of duty and good works thus properly, as is Āūharmazd's desire].

(b) Whose is (also) (zīš) Vah'man's giving, [that is, by him Vah'man's giving is to be fulfilled: (here evidently meaning the "Archangel")]; that is to say, he gives (that is, Āūharmazd gives, or "his devoted servant gives") the giving of the recompense and the reward of Vah'man;—he gives (it) even (to) him whose (are) the deeds of Āūharmazd within the world (and not "among the spiritual Lords", aχvān, translates aûhēus);² that is to say, (to) that (one He gives it who) would do what Āūharmazd desires (recall kāmak: erroneously, or inadequately, rendering vairyō). (An alternative translation:—Some say (that the meaning is) this: that by Him (zīš Āūharmazd, or "by His typical saint"; see line e) there is to be a giving to Vah'man (here evidently meant as "the saint" to V. (so, against my translation of the original Avesta, and contrary to the original, as I also now view it)); that is to say, they give that recompense and reward to Vah'man (i.e. "to the good man"); and also upon him (the saint, as Vah'man's representative) they especially bestow it.) Some (again) say (another alternative) that the meaning is this, that

¹ My warrant for this "let it be" is supplied by vairyō = "to be chosen", though that form is not reported by the Pahlavi text; we must treat the Pahlavi texts as if they were only fitfully correct as to the ultimate details, and at times, as might be expected, not consistent with themselves.

² Not aχvān = "spiritual Lords" (!) as the plural of aχā in a; the word renders the Av. word aûhēus = "of life"; so also Nēr. = antar bhuvane (accidental repetition).
it is "in accordance with Vah'man (or through the agency of Vah'man)";—that is, they will (in the future) give that recompense and reward through (or in accordance with Vah'man); (so) even they also give to him (the typical saint).—Ātar'pāt¹ (the son) of Zartūšt, said (still another view) that the meaning is this, “that they have an understanding from² the experience of the world within (it).”³ (The meaning here seems to be that the “giving of Vah'man within the actions of life” refers to the acquisition and bestowal of good ideas in the actual experiences of daily life.)

(c) His (the Aχū's, or the Ratu's of line a?)⁴ sovereignty is to Ahura, [that is to say, his sovereignty should be such (as is in accordance) with the advantage (desired; see vaiyō) by Āūharmazd (the object held in view by Him; that is to say, his sovereign authority is such as that of him)], who gives a garment to the poor, [that is to say, their sovereignty (the sovereignty of such as these, the just aχū and the holy ratu, is like that of such as) would effect (just charitable) mediation for them (the poor, “poor-guardianship”)].

Criticism upon the text of the Pahlavi translation itself as above rendered. The translation of vaiyō with kāmak is a fair specimen of the possibility of error on the point of the Pahlavi translators in general. It preserves the root-idea present which is, in fact, “desire,” to var, but the future passive participial form (now accepted by all) is not at all reported. That the word aχū should be referred above in the gloss to Ahura, as the Pahlavi translator seems to indicate, is out of the question.

¹ A commentator, or “of the Zartūṣhts”; read -tān.
² Notice that min = “from” is a closer rendering of aūhēnu.
³ Or they know a “man-of-deeds from his interior life”; but this seems to be far too modern a turn of thought.
⁴ See note above, Aχū seems explained as Āūharmazd in line a, but such inconsequences are to be expected.
Dahešn' = dazdā = "a giving" is followed by some moderns, but its form seems totally irrational in such a connexion.

The rendering vastaryg = "a garment" for vāstārem may not be so exact as a word meaning "nurture", but it was, none the less, an admirable suggestion. As to this see below. Nēr. seems to have originated our modern idea of a root vas (vās), "to fodder" with "food", for vāstārem; and this in defiance of the Pahlavi, which some too hastily suppose to have been his only original; he has āhāram = in a direct sense "food" in Yasna XIX, 3; but pālanam is his more immediate translation here. It is important to notice that from the beginning on the interior sense is attempted in this Pahlavi translation; ašāt hačā, for instance, is taken in its deepest sense as "the fulfilment of duty and good works" according to Ahura's will.

Deeds, actions, etc., are correctly seen as being "of", or "for", Ahura in the world, which means that "they should do what Ahura desires", with little reference to "ceremonies". Notice especially that there is no idea of the Archangel here present, in translating xšābrem in line a, in a place where he might be so easily introduced, which is very significant of the depth of the ideas present as connected with the practical close. Indeed, this idea of the characteristic of sovereignty may be applied to a then present ruling monarch, as if the ašā of line a were a term which, with the Pahlavi translator, may possibly have covered that idea; and this in spite of the gloss in a, which may always have been of a later date; "(his) sovereignty (is) for Ahura" explaining "that his authority must be such as affords the profitable advantage which Ahura desires (the object held in view by Him); that is to say, He gives it to him who gives a garment to the poor". The ideas, therefore, continue highly moral throughout; there is also little thought of independent
sacerdotal authority as derived, merely from the “orders” of the priest.

VII. The Sanskrit Text of Néryósangh is as follows:—

(a) Yatā svāmināḥ kāmaḥ, [kīla, yatā (-ā-) ahuramī-
(a)jīda’b’ilāsah] evam ādeçyah (= Avesta ratuš, Pahl. ratīhā)
punyāt (= Av. aśāt—and Pahl. min aharāyīh) yasmāt
kasmācīt (= -cīt), [kīla, yat kāryām punyām tasya tatā-
(-ā-)ādeçah (= Pahl. frārūnīhā) kartuṁ yatā hormi(a)j-
dasya ročate;—nā’nyatā kīm viçiṣṭāt punyāt];—

(b) uttamasya dāteḥ(-r) manasah ¹ karmanāṁ antar
b’uvane[-h-] ahurmi(a)jādasya, [kīla, tam punyām prasā-
dam uttamaṁ manaḥ;—iti, gvalmanah (-o ‘miç-) amiça-
spinto dadāti teb’yo ye(t’-n-) antas tasmin karmanī
svāmīte ēa yat(-ā) ahurmi(a)jādasya ročate];—

(c) rājyaṁcā(-ā-) ahurmajdāt tasya, [kīla, tena(-ā-)
Ahurmi(a)jādasya tano(-r) rajā krto b’avati], yah(-o) dur-
baleb’yo dadāti pālanam, [kīla, durbalanāṁ sāhāyyam
pālanam karoti].

VIII. Translation of Néryósangh’s Sanskrit. (a) As is
the desire of the Lord, [that is, as is Ahuramī(a)jīda’s
wish], so is the desire to be pointed out (or “pointedly
fulfilled” ²) from (that is, “in accordance with”) every
Sanctity whatsoever (that is, what sacred duty is to be
performed, of this the pointing out (or “the obedience” ?)
is to be effected (“realized”) as pleases Ahurmi(a)jāda.
Not otherwise at all than from distinctly defined (see
ādeçyah above = Pahl. ratīhā) sanctity ³].

¹ Notice that the glosses in Nēr. do not correspond exactly with those
of the Pahlavi. Were some of these latter added since Néryósangh
wrote? Notice also that Nër. does not even render the same gram-
matical forms which we see in the Pahlavi. Though Nër. states that his
translations into Sanskrit were made upon the Pahlavi translation, yet
his eye was always upon the original Av. text, and this is proved by his
frequent emendations.

² It is somewhat difficult to make ādeçyah equal “to be obeyed”—
this also in view of viçiṣṭāt; see both the Pahl. ratīhā and the Av. ratuš.

³ Or read viṣiṣṭ’āt (?) from Sanctity the Best, from Aša Vahīša (?) ;
hardly.
(b) Of, or "from", the gift of the best mind (is the reward) of actions within the world (the reward) of Ahurmi(a)jda, [that is, that holy reward the best mind (gives, or "is")]; thus, Gvahmanah, the amishaspenta, gives it to those who in this action, and within the Lordship (sovereign authority) of Ahurmi(a)jda, do what pleases Him (A.).

(c) And the Kingdom (the Sovereign authority) is from (sic) Ahurmi(a)jda for him¹ (gen. for dat.) [that is, for this reason he (the one who pleases A.) is made Ahuramajda's own King], who (that is, because he —) affords protection to the feeble (or "unfortunate"), [that is, he effects the protection of the unfortunate and friendly-companionship (a comforting recognition) for them].

Having done what we could, at least provisionally, to produce and explain the work of our predecessors, we can return to the original text itself, and in a future contribution finish exhaustively our discussion of the subject.

¹ Does this tanyā, see also tena in the gl., show that Nēr. understood the Pahl. text as "χβατάι aš" rather than as "χβατόηγκ"?
III

CHINESE IMPERIAL EDICT OF 1808 A.D. ON THE ORIGIN AND TRANSMIGRATIONS OF THE GRAND LAMAS OF TIBET

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

WHEN at Lhasa in 1904 I found, in addition to the two earliest historical Tibetan documents yet known (as notified in this Journal¹), a very long inscription of the Chinese emperor Chia-ch'ing, of 1808 A.D., which is of considerable historical interest and importance. It gives an official account of the origin of the Grand Lamaship and of the theory of succession to the same by divine reincarnations; it also prescribes the "Ordeal of the Urn" for the selection of the candidate, one of the steps taken by China to secure political control over the succession to the pontifical throne; and it records the building of the Potala palace at Lhasa as one of "the three Potalas", and of a fourth "Potala"-academy erected by a Chinese emperor at Jehol, to the north-west of Peking.

This edict is inscribed on four tablets of dark stone or slate at the left side of the door of the great Jo-k'ān temple of Lhasa, and protected by an awning, as seen in my photograph at p. 364 of my Lhasa and its Mysteries. A duplicate copy is displayed at the great lamasery of Sera in a special niche to the right of the great temple door, also shown in my photograph at p. 374 of the same work.² This appears to be the edict noted in the official list of Chinese inscriptions at Lhasa (as both of them are bilingual) in the following terms: "No. 3, Imperial autograph dated [–1808 A.D.] in Chia-ch'ing's reign entitled

¹ JRAS., 1909, pp. 924, etc. ² First edition.
Tablet of the narrative of the doctrinal ceremonies of the P'u-to-tsung-sheng temple': it is north-east of Potala, near Mount Sera." 1

The origin of the priest-godship at Lhasa was involved in mystery until I showed, fifteen years ago, in my Buddhism of Tibet, as the result of my researches amongst the vernacular histories, that it appeared to date merely to the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.; and that it was obviously the invention of the head abbot of the Yellow-hat sect, after he had seized the temporal sovereignty in 1640 A.D., and was evidently a device to strengthen his title to the sovereignty and to retain hold of it for his order. I also showed that the dual hierarchy of the two Grand Lamas, one at Lhasa as the Tālai and the other at Tashi-lhunpo in Western Tibet as the Tāshi Lama, did not, as hitherto believed by Europeans, date to the time of Tson-ka'pa or his nephew, but that it arose two and a half centuries later; and it also was the invention of this priest-king, Lo-bzān Gya-mtso, who, although nominally the fifth Tālai, seems to have been really the first of the series of pontiffs who claimed to be priest-gods. In conceiving and carrying out so successfully this bold policy he was obviously assisted by his crafty tutor, the old abbot of the Gahldan monastery near Lhasa, who, in return for his help, was created the first Tāshi Lama, apparently posthumously. The Tālai Lo-bzān, posing as the earthly incarnation of the most popular of all the Buddhist divinities, namely, "The Compassionate Lord" or "The God of Mercy", Avalokita, built for himself in 1644 A.D. 2 a palace-temple as a residence on the Red Hill at Lhasa, the site of the ancient kings' palace; and he altered the name of the hill to "Potala", after the name of the celebrated hill on the seashore of Southern India, on which stood the chief shrine and earthly seat

1 W. W. Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, p. 264.
2 Csonka, Dictionary of Tibetan, p. 190, gives 1643 A.D.
of Avalokita as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century.¹

For details and proofs in regard to these points in the evolution of the priest-god—who was called by the contemporary Jesuit missionaries at Lhasa "that devilish God-the-Father who puts to death such as refuse to adore him"²—I must refer the reader to my Buddhism of Tibet, and especially the second edition, where the subject is treated more fully in view of its importance. Subsequent research has so far confirmed all my above conclusions.

The priest-god-kingship, however, did not work well after the death of its author, the first and greatest of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa, though nominally the fifth of the series of the "Tālai" Lamas as they are called by the Mongols. The lay-governor of Lhasa of that time, Saṅgyā Gyamts‘o (who is referred to in this edict, par. 12, by implication, as a natural son of the supposed celibate Grand Lama, a report which I found current amongst Tibetans though not expressed in writing), concealed the death of the Grand Lama for about eighteen years and reigned himself as regent of Tibet. He eventually nominated as successor to the Tālai Lamaship a notoriously dissolute youth who so scandalized everyone by his licentious conduct that he was dethroned and assassinated, and his patron, the regent, was killed in the fighting which ensued. His successors, too, the seventh and eighth, did not prove successes, so that on the death of the last unusual precautions, it appears, were taken to secure a more respectable incarnation for the ninth Tālai, who is the subject of the present edict of Chia-ch‘ing.

In this edict especial pains are taken to disregard those "false" or "deceitful" incarnations, as they are termed,

¹ This Indian Potala was placed by Csoma (Dictionary of Tibetan, p. 198) in the Indus delta near Karachi, and Koppé (Relig. des Buddh., i, p. 75) and others have repeated this mistaken identification.
² J. Grueber, quoted by Markham, Tibet, p. 297.
namely, the sixth to the eighth of the series, and to show that the ninth one is without doubt the genuine re-
embodiment of the first and the greatest of all, namely, the so-called fifth Tālāi. He, it is stated, was selected, not by the ordeal of the Urn, but by direct nomination approved by the Chinese imperial resident. The reason for this doubtless was that the Chinese were satisfied as to the hereditary fitness of the selected candidate, who, we read in the edict, was the son of a "defender of the faith" from the frontier of China, and so must have been of noble birth, so that his election was not to be jeopardized by entrusting the nomination to the lottery of the Urn.

The Urn ordeal, which had only recently been instituted by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, in 1793¹ had not yet been used, so a considerable portion of this edict is devoted to singing the praises of this mode of selection, which as it is manipulated directly by the Chinese Amban, who personally draws the lot,² is generally believed to have been devised for the purpose of enabling the Chinese to control the succession to the pontifical. The Urn is also here expressly prescribed for the election of the Tāshi Lama, as well as the third great Yellow-hat Lama (par. 15), the Mongolian lama of Urga (or the fourth at Peking).³

The edict also reveals the fact that the political movement of the Yellow-hat Lamas for the seizure of the temporal sovereignty of Tibet began considerably earlier than has been believed (par. 19). The usual accounts of Csoma⁴ and others state that the Mongol prince, Gusri Khan, conquered Tibet in 1641 and made a present of it to the Tālāi Lama. But this edict records that the Tālāi sent in the year 1634 A.D. with much tribute "a delegate as an envoy to reside permanently" at the court of the emperor.

¹ Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, p. 279.
² See full details in my Buddhism of Tibet.
³ But see note 1, p. 81.
⁴ Grammar of Tibetan, p. 190.
It is news (pars. 4 and 5) that the Potala or "P'u-to" of the Chusan Archipelago is an offshoot of the Tibetan one. This is the Island of P'u-to containing a celebrated shrine of the Goddess of Mercy, or Kwan-yin, the female form of Avalokita, who is especially regarded as the saviour of sailors from perils at sea.¹

The fourth or "subsidiary Potala-academy" at Jehol, a favourite summer retreat of the Manchu emperors about a hundred miles to the north-east of Peking, in a locality studded with picturesque hills, one of which is crowned by this temple, is described in some detail. This temple, we are informed by Dr. Bushell, who gives a photograph of it,² "was built by the Emperor K'ang-hsi"³ in the vicinity of the summer residence at Jehol, outside the Great Wall of China, where Earl Macartney was received by [Ch'ien-lung] the grandson of founder in 1763. The temple is built in the style of the famous palace-temple of Potala at Lhasa, the residence of the Dalai Lama. But the resemblance is only superficial; deceptive as it may be when seen at a distance from one of the pavilions in the imperial park, on closer inspection the apparently storied walls prove to be a mere shell with doors and windows all unperforated."

In recounting the origin of the dual hierarchy the edict gives the priestly fiction, invented, as we have seen, about 1640 A.D., which merely shows that this tale had in 1808 A.D. become accepted by Lamaists as the orthodox account. And so, too, the attempt to give a remote antiquity to the Potala epithet by confusing it with the Red Hill palace erected by King Sron-btsan a thousand years before is

² S. W. Bushell, Chinese Art, i, 66.
³ H. Giles, in Glossary, p. 137, says that Jehol was built by Ch'ien-lung in 1780, but he evidently means the model of the Tashi-lhunpo temple there, which was erected by Ch'ien-lung in that year for the reception of the third Tashi Lama, Bogle's friend, whose "Life" (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1882, p. 37) mentions that at Jehol were two Lamaist temples, one modelled after that of Potala, and one "newly" erected after that of Tashi-lhunpo.
obviously intended by the Lamas to obscure the facts. Whereas we know from contemporary seventeenth century history that the Potala legends at Lhasa date merely to the seventeenth century, though they have misled many European writers.

"Tālai," it will be noticed, is the form invariably used in the edict in both versions (pars. 14, etc.) for the title of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, which is variously rendered by European writers as "Dalai" and "Tale", and as it is thus the official and apparently the more correct form it should be followed for the future. This word, which is used by the Chinese and Mongols, is the Mongol translation of the Tibetan surname or after-title of the Lhasa hierarchs, namely "rGyamts'o", literally "ocean or sea"; and it is evidently the same word which the Moghals, a branch of the Mongols, have naturalized about the same time in India as "Tāl" in the names of the great lakes, e.g. Naini Tāl, Manasarawar Tāl, etc.; and obviously also in the common word still used in the plains of Northern India for "lakes", namely Tāl-āb, where the affix āb, the Hindustani for "water", would appear to have been added redundantly where the new Moghal word was not at first understood.

The epithet of the Emperor of China as the "Lord-Father" reproduces the Chinese attitude towards the emperor, who is regarded in China as the "father" of his people and called as such; for according to the fundamental laws of sovereignty embodied in the first four books of Confucius, the State should be ruled by the same laws as those which govern a private family, and so justifies State interference in the minutest detail of the domestic life of individual families, which is a characteristic feature of Chinese government.

Its exercise of rights, too, over what is considered by lamaists to be the transmigration of the soul of the reincarnating Lamas is not without precedent and subsequent
custom. In the *Peking Gazette* of March 31, 1877, in the case of a Tibetan "reincarnating" Lama, who was denounced by the imperial resident at Lhasa for having carried off the official seals, it was declared by the emperor as "Son of Heaven" that "his soul should not be allowed to transmigrate at his decease". Altogether the edict affords us an interesting insight into the curious religious polity of both Tibet and China.

In form it begins with an invocation in verse to the divine Bodhisattva of Wisdom, a Minerva or Apollo, who is invoked by the Mahāyāna Buddhists as the presiding deity of literature and speech, like Saraswati by the later Hindu writers. He, moreover, is held to be incarnate in the Emperor of China. An introductory verse also introduces each of the other three sections, and these verses are somewhat cryptic in their allusions. It will be noticed that it is solely the dominant Yellow-cap sect of Lamas which is represented as enjoying the imperial patronage.

**TRANSLATION.**

(This is from the Tibetan text. The paragraphs are numbered on the margin by me merely for convenience of reference.)

1. "This descriptive chapter on the sacred academy of learning at Potala is here set down.

2. "O Mañjuśrī! Our Lord and Father! Empowered with glorious all-penetrating speech!
Thy function is to obtain the best means of keeping alive the doctrine of the *Jina* (Buddha).
Thy grace multiplies as a mountain of gold unto those who wear the yellow-hat, the Pandit's crown.
All living things take upon their heads the precious dust of Thy feet!

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1 Buddhist divinity of Wisdom, incarnate in the Emperor of China. Cf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 355, etc.
3. "On the hill of the adamantine Jehol, in order to fulfil the hopes of all people through the good deeds done during ten thousand kalpas, a modern Mount Potala was newly made, and appeared like unto a mansion of the Akanistha heaven. This Potala-academy was founded on the top of the northern hill on the outskirts of the palace of The Most High [the Emperor of China]. The Potala of the Tibetan religion is called 'Potala' in the book-language and 'Pū-t'o' in the language of China.

4. "There are three [other] Potalas: one is in India or Hindusit'an [sic], and one is in T'u-sbe-t'e or the holy land of Bod, [and] one is [in] Che-chang in the southern ocean.

5. "Buddha first caused the doctrine to prosper in Hindusit'an and afterwards spread it to Tibet. From Tibet it spread to the southern ocean, and truly the Potala of the southern ocean is indeed a sacred place [where] the doctrine of the Bodhisattvas was made to spread in purity. Hindusit'an is so far off that it is difficult to see. The Potala-academy in Tibet, however, is perfect in size and structure. It is a holy place of the Three Precious Ones, as the religion greatly prospers [here]. About one thousand years have passed since the first founding of this academy. Buddha's body shines [here] with a glorious halo, and is agreeable to behold.

6. "Formerly when Buddha was in India he said:

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1 耶和華，z'he-hor rdo-rje ri.
2 See footnote 2, p. 78.
3 The highest heaven of the Buddhists (my Buddhism of Tibet, pp. 85-6).
4 See foregoing note 1 on p. 71.
5 This is interesting as a native form of the name "Tibet" in the year 1808.
7 Probably intended for Chusan Archipelago, in which it is situated; see p. 73.
8 This is an attempt to identify the building of Potala with the building of King Sron-ötsan's palace on the same site; see p. 70.
This [my] doctrine will extend to the Middle regions in time to come. [Now] Tibet for the greater part is situated along the eastern side of India or Hindustan, and this [Tibetan] Potala by the words of Buddha of old is marvellously holy and possessed of great blessedness.

7. "The model subsidiary shrine of the Jehol country is the chief of the six newly-erected shrines of the three divine protectors. It is constructed as an academy with many stories, wide and broad, and topped by gilded domes. Below there are circular roads. It has circles of [?] images of gold, vajra-sceptres of precious stones, bells, various sweet-smelling medicinal trees, umbrella-canopies, banners of victory, silk pendants, and complete sets of the various kinds of votive offerings. It is a holy place where all living things can earn merit.

8. "The forefathers of The Most High [Chia-ch'ing], ever since they exercised power over the religious kingdom [of Tibet], they desired that the doctrine of the yellow-hats only should increase and spread, and the Lord-Father [the emperor] not only takes the place of a [?] patron] god of the sky, but has caused the doctrine to spread to the fullest extent, so that all the kingdoms, new and old, on the borders have begat faith in it. The Lord-Father, The Most High himself, when he visited Jehol, filled up the spaces in the heaven and earth with different kinds of offerings and innumerable military banners. On the birthday of the emperor all the living beings scattered flowers in his praise, and came long

1 中國 by the "Middle country" Buddha of course referred to the Indian Gangetic provinces around Magadha.
2 Evidently the three great patron Manchu emperors — Kang-hsi, Yang-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung.
3 This takes no account of the previous dynasties as patrons of another sect, the Shaska red-cap sect which was patronized by Kublai Khan and his successors of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty.
4 गुञ्ग-ग्यु, Yab-rje gnam-gyi bhai-bar gnas-pa.
distances from border kingdoms with intense desire for the faith, and as soon as they saw the Jehol Potala they joined their palms in worship, and, full of faith, found the truth in this sublime place. This great celestial divinity [the emperor] did a great work for the doctrine of Buddha. Many persons have said that more new academies like this grand one should be constructed. It is complete with all the figures of the three worlds, and the top, middle, and bottom portions are filled with auspicious signs. This academy, indeed, has been blessed by the gods of heaven in the region of the vajra,¹ and will remain firm for ever.²

9. "The gift of a ransom is the act of a Jīna and his [spiritual] sons.³
The face even of a hermit⁴ is the means of deceit in the degenerate days.
The work of a hermit's waterpot⁵ is to reveal the prophecy infallibly.
The investigation by the precious brazen mind⁶ is good.
Let therefore the doubts and suspicions of all living things be cleared away,
For it will yield the fruits of the wish-granting gem!²

¹ Or "adamantine", probably with reference to the adamantine hill of Jehol (v. par. 3).
² Literally "during the kalpas", that is, the Indian fabulous 100,000 year cycles of time in the cataclysms of worlds.
³ This seems like a begging solicitation, or it may be intended to mean the gift of the Tālaī lama to mankind.
⁴ གི་ི་ཀ་པ་མ་ཆེན་, gi-ri-kā rān-bzin. Girikā seems intended for the Sanskritic term for a hermit. It refers to the imperial disbelief in the integrity or ability of the lamas in selecting the successor.
⁵ བུམ་བུ་, bum-bu. This is evidently a reference to the use of the hermit's waterpot as an urs in the lottery ordeal.
⁶ ཞེན་གི་ཁ་ི་ཐ་ི་ཐ་, rgyal-rgag-rje.
Let the well-considered command here given be respected!
Sound the great bell over all the earth!

10. "The doctrine of Buddha came from India-Hindusit'an and spread into the eastern land of Tibet. Those who take orders in Tibet are called 'Trā-pa' [or 'learners']. The Lord-Father [the emperor] himself hears Buddha's religion and practises it in the Tibetan language. The omniscient one of the religion of purity [i.e. the Grand Lama] is called Lama, that is, the 'Hvashang' of China.

11. "On the passing away of the Lama the one born in his stead is called sBrul-skub [or 'incarnation of the emanation']; this in the Chinese language is called So-so-i, which means 'the accepted one born without confusion or doubt'. Before the sprouting of the birth-elements of the reincarnation, the assembly of the clergy prays before the image of Buddha and makes careful inquiry in every direction. The child who is born as the reincarnation of the former Lama is identified in the presence of the assembly of all the Defenders of the Faith by means of drawing lots. In his childhood the reincarnated Lama practises virtue and purity, and when he grows older he receives a religious name and works for the doctrine of the yellow-hats. He loves all living things without partiality, and all human beings believe in him and have great faith in the doctrine of the yellow-hats. Many years have passed since the Protector has

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1 ग्र्व-पा, grva-pa = literally a "learner or schoolboy".
2 The Sera version has here ma-tha, which is evidently intended for the Sanskrit mātha, "temple," or it may be for "head", though guru is given by the dictionaries as the ordinary equivalent for blama.
3 Pronounced t'ul-kū.
4 The Sera version has So-pos.
5 लमा.
caused the doctrine as obtained and preached to be believed in and practised.

12. "In identifying the incarnation, however, there has been deceit or error on several occasions, owing to the mistaken recognition of one as an incarnation who was not truly such; and several incarnations have been produced from one particular family, so that the succession became like that of a temporal ruler who retains the rank fixedly [in the family], and so leading believers in Buddha's doctrine to lose faith. The Lord-Father, the emperor, has [now] prevented such occurrences [for the future], and has thus brought happiness over the land of Tibet. He has offered respect to the yellow-hat doctrine, and has overcome all the enemies who have desired to harm that doctrine.

13. "To save the country from being [further] cheated by selecting as a pure rebirth one that is the [ordinary] impure movement of Desire, he has deposited at Lhasa a golden urn as the means of holding on its top the lineage of the great [rightful] incarnation.

14. "At the inquiry, after having performed all the religious rites in accordance with former custom and in keeping with the instructions of the Lama-god,¹ the name-tablets of the children candidates for the So-so-ship² are placed inside the golden urn. Then the Tä-lai³ Lama [if the inquiry relates to the second of the dual Grand Lamas, namely, the Pandita Rinpoc-h'e (the Erteni of the Mongols) of Tashi-lhunpo] or the great Pandita Erteni⁴ [if the inquiry relates to the Tälai], along with all

¹ "神乎其神", or it may mean "the supreme god".
² Serra version has here "dsems", or soul or mind, in the sense of a re-embodied soul.
³ "達賴喇嘛", Tä-lai. It is interesting to find throughout in both versions this form and not "Dalai", etc.
⁴ Erteni is the Mongol transcription of the Sanskrit ratna, the precious gem. Cf. my Buddhism of Tibet, pp. 235, etc.
the great ministers of Tibet, should assemble at the taking out of the name-tablets to identify the reincarnation.

15. "In the case of the Mongolian \(^1\) [incarnation] the name-tablets should be placed inside a golden urn in the Yung-ho-gung,\(^2\) the fascinating paradise of delight, and the incarnation must be identified in the presence of the Mongol leaders, the head of the house of Yoga,\(^3\) the head of the yellow fortune-teller \(^4\) of the great royal castle,\(^5\) the imperial prefect,\(^6\) Ta Lama, with the entire crowd of those who have interests in the matter.

16. "The Emperor, the Lord-Father, himself sympathizes with this religion, and issues these commands in accordance with the customs of this faith. All persons, therefore, must abide by his commands.

17. "Great is [the Emperor] the spiritual son of the all-pervading Mañjuśrī, the lord of Lamas. The sun of the wisdom of the thunderbolt shines within him. In rising and setting he is the fastening for our hopes. He is the ruler of the ocean of the precepts and of perfect knowledge. The Emperor himself has numbered the oceans.\(^7\)

\(^1\) སྣང་གྲིས་ཤེས་, sog-rigs, and lower down the word mo-nilol is given in the Sera version as the equivalent of sog. This Mongol incarnation may be the Chañ-kya lama of the great Lama temple at Peking. The "Taranātha" Lama at Urga is said to be usually selected from Lhasa direct.

\(^2\) The great Lama temple at Peking.

\(^3\) མྱི་ཐོང་. Doubtless an official angur.

\(^4\) ཞེས་ཐོག་. The Lhasa version has རྒྱལ་ = "presence" or "deputy" instead of རྒྱལ་ = "castle".

\(^5\) Dsā-says = a Chinese title of a prefect.

\(^6\) This may be a cryptic reference to the Talai or "Ocean" lamas. Its usual Tibetan equivalent is not used—ཤེས་ཙྱང་.
He strives to select without mistake and according to the doctrines. Spiritual wisdom is indeed needed to discover the true rebirth!

18. "The doctrine of the yellow-hats spread at first under Tibet's own saints, and it appears to have spread from the commencement of the reign of Yon-k'raô, the king of the Hor. The great Tson-k'a-pa [circa 1356-1441 A.D.], the founder of the yellow-hat doctrine, had two spiritual sons. One was the worshipful Tā-lai Lama [of Lhasa] and one was the Pan-ch'en Lama [of Tashi-lhungpo]. The Tā-lai Lama was the chief spiritual son, and his name was dGe-'dun-grub-pa. The second spiritual son, the Pan-ch'en Lama, was named mK'as-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzañ-po. Beginning from dGe-'dun-grub, the doctrine-holder of the yellow-hats, the bodily rebirths took place in series, one by one, according to the custom of the religion.

19. "During the time of the fifth incarnation, namely, Nag-dvañ bLo-bzañ rGya-mts'o, in the seventh year of the reign of our forefather the Emperor The-chung, the great [=1634 A.D.], the Tā-lai Lama sent a delegate as an envoy to reside permanently at Kwan-hung, and offered at the time the rarest products of the country; and he received kindness from the hands of the succeeding emperors. After that were two reincarnations [of the sixth and

1 अर्थात् नवीन नामों = the exalted ones, Skt. Aryan.
2 Or the "Turkish" emperor of China, Yon-k'raô.
3 श्रीमान्, literally "owner" or "master".
4 श्रीमान्
5 This is the Manchu emperor T'ai Tsung Wên, 1627-44 A.D. (Mayer's Chinese Readers Manual, p. 389).
6 Probably intended for "Hwang-kung, the imperial palace at Peking.
7 He lived in the reign of two successive emperors.
THE GRAND LAMAS OF TIBET

seventh] and the eighth Tālāi Lama passed away in the
ninth year of the reign of Chia-ching.

20. "Before the fresh incarnation [was found] the
Imperial Secretary, the Ho-thog-thu, and the Abbot-
Lama did their utmost for the doctrine, and prayed
for the early return ahead of the reflected apparition of
Buddha.

21. "In the first month of the present year [1808 A.D.]
the great imperial resident minister of Tibet [the
Amban] named Yui-ning-chan reported [as follows]: 'The
difficulties in the direction of Tibet are that there is
a doubt as to which is the perfect and right advent
of the sacred personage amongst nine children. The
imperial secretary and Ho-thog-thu have examined
these children, and have found three of them to be
miraculous. Amongst these, the son of T'u-si bsTan-
'ldzin, the defender-of-the-faith, of the religious circle of
Kham, was born on the first day of the second month
of the wooden-bull year [= 1805 A.D.]. He is now
under four years of age, but yet is extraordinarily clever.
He can repeat many things about religion, and clearly
remembers the birth of the fifth Tālāi Lama [192 years
ago], and recognizes the vajra-sceptre and bell of that
Tālāi Lama, so that all classes of men, high and low, in
China and Tibet, are astonished. Pan-ch'en Erteni also
has visited Lhasa, and having obtained proofs is delighted
and believes in him. I, Yul-ning-chan, also have tested
him, and have found that he is wanting nothing in
strength and power, also that he possesses all the wisdom
which His Sublimity the former Tālāi Lama had; and

1 These were the notoriously dissolute Grand Lama, who was deposed
and assassinated, and his successor.
2 བཁ་མ་, bChā-ch'in.
3 ཀྱེ་དྲུན་, rje-drun.
4 For Mongol khutuktu = an incarnation.
5 Doubtless the Abbot of Gahldan.
it seems to me that he has obtained it by inheritance. No deceit is possible in this case, as this reincarnated candidate has been able to state clearly concerning his death, also to recognize his kingdom. The Ho-thog-thu is unchangeably fixed in his conclusion that this is the genuine reincarnation. All people, therefore, should believe this reincarnation to be true.

22. "By the spell of the sunbeams of The Compassionate Lord, The Master of Tantric Mysticism,$^1$

The son of the Jina (Buddha) is inherently good, and saves thousands of his followers. Whenever there is difficulty in finding him, The augury of the urn should be consulted. O! minister of the interior lands,$^2$ attendants of The Five-times Fortunate One!$^3$

Rejoice that the highest-born messenger of the Gya-nom paradise is enthroned!

May happiness be complete, and new feasts and unbounded praise.

Be given on hearing these glad tidings of The Compassionate One!$^4$

23. “The golden urn has been instituted by the great Lord-Father [the emperor] for these reasons: that the doctrine of Buddha should be highly esteemed, and that all evils be averted. Now he is looking on all with celestial mercy, with never-dying love; therefore let this son of bsTan-'dsein, the defender-of-the-faith, who is

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$^1$ रजस्यान् यन्ने मन्ने निविद् = master of the tantrik Kalacakra.

$^2$ सम्नुष्ठ्रुण्डिति =

$^3$ सुव्रुणुष्ट्रुण्डिति = literally "possessed of the three fortunes or blessings, namely, grace, glory, and wealth." It is a common personal name, and is prefixed five times to the titles of kings like its equivalent the Indian Śrī.

$^4$ Avalokita incarnate is the Tālai.
the incarnation found to possess the highest miraculous
signs, be deeply reverenced by all living things.

24. "When our father was alive, if such circumstances
had been reported to him, he would have dealt kindly
and would not have considered it necessary to shake
the golden urn. Therefore, as this incarnation has given
absolutely clear proofs of his being the true one, and as
there is no doubt about it, the letter recognizing him to
be the incarnation is sent accordingly. The Pan-ch'en
Erteni has also prayed in front of the picture of the
emperor, and offered his thanks.

25. "The following presents have been given to the
new incarnation of the Talaï Lama: one scarf, one idol of
the Jina of Everlasting Life,¹ a dorje-sceptre and bell to
match, a rosary of ski-ya-shi² with ten pearls. These
have been sent to Lhasa by Khrin-thu-hi Chun-thei
Tshan-de.

26. "At the same time [? the Amban] Yul-ñing-chan
reported that the incarnation of the Talaï Lama was to be
set upon the throne on the 22nd day of the 9th month,
and he had sent the following persons to the ceremony:
the ministers of the interior, Tu-riñ dZun-dvañ, To-ro
Em-bu Mañju-vajra, Me-rin dZañ-gi Kur-bu, sByor-k'a-gi-
a-sri, Han-wan Bhan-chiñ, Hui-chan-chin, K'ya-me Ran-
dañ-gi luñ-p'u, and the Ho-thog-thu of the worshipful
Gahldan. The presents consisted of a golden letter,
dresses and other articles of great value, and ten thousand
silver sran³.

27. "Now [for the future, however] if such beneficent
deeds by the Lord-Father for the benefit of all living
things are to be continued, the golden urn must be
employed, as it removes all doubts and errors, and so
keeps the doctrine of Buddha pure. In the present case,

¹ जिन्नवा एवं
² Not Tibetan (byi-ru = coral); doubtless a Chinese word.
³ About an ounce each in weight and in value about 3s.
with the approval of the great Lord-Father [the emperor], it was not used because there were no doubts to be removed. But in the future such miraculous signs cannot be expected. So, the former custom of the urn is to be followed, and the names of the children written down and the urn shaken. If this be done there will be no deception whatever.

28. "This record is written holding to the old records as the foundation for the procedure. It is compiled by the owner of the [emperor's] confidence in the glad autumn in the eighth month of the earth-dragon year of the thirteenth year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing."

"This order is copied and engraved by me, Un-pis, Minister."
IV

GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

III. THE AUSPICIOUS MARKS ON THE FEET OF THE INCARNATE DEITY

BEFORE proceeding to the subject-matter of this paper,
I would ask leave to revert for a moment to the preceding article on the Bhāgavata system of incarnations.1 Several kind Bhāgavata friends have sent me criticisms on points of detail in what I then wrote, which will be utilized when opportunity occurs. I would mention one now, as it affects the question of terminology. On p. 624 I used the name Vībhu or Vībhava Avatāra as the name of one of the forms under which the Supreme manifests Himself. I can give authority for both these names from North Indian literature; but, writing from Mysore in the south, Paṇḍit Gōvindācārya, the translator of Rāmānuja’s commentary on the Bhagavad Gītā, informs me that the use of Vībhu in this connexion is incorrect. As a technical term of Bhāgavata theology, vībhu means “infinite”, in contradistinction to aṇu, “finite.” For the incarnation, vībhava is the only correct term. In this sense vībhava is explained as vividhēna bhavati, and means literally “many-becomingness”.

The sixth verse of Nāḥā’s text, and the second in chappai metre, runs as follows:—

TEXT.

Chappai.

(6) (2) The marks on the feet of Rāghu-vīra (i.e. Rāmacandra) are ever helpers to the Holy. Especially (1) the elephant-goad, (2) the vestment, (3) the thunderbolt, (4) the lotus, (5) the barley-corn, (6) the banner, (7) the cow’s foot-mark, (8) the conch, (9) the discus, (10) the svastika, (11) the

1 JRAS., 1909, pp. 621 ff.
rose-apple, (12) the pitcher, (13) the lake of ambrosia, (14) the half-moon, (15) the hexagon, (16) the fish, (17) the spot, (18) the upward line, (19) the octagon, (20) the triangle, (21) the rainbow, and (22) the man. These givers of blessedness aye dwell on the feet of the Lord of Sītā.

**Notes.**

Having celebrated the various incarnations of the Adorable, Nābhā, as becomes a member of the Hanumān family (see notes to verses 2–4, JRAS. for 1909, pp. 618 ff.), now turns to the incarnation to which he is particularly devoted—that of Rāma-candra. The belief in auspicious marks on the hands and feet is very widely spread in India. The full number of auspicious marks on Rāma's feet is traditionally said to have been forty-eight, twenty-four on each foot, arranged as follows. The numbers against some of them are those of Nābhā's shorter list:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RIGHT FOOT (TOES).</th>
<th>1. Anūkusa, the elephant-goad.</th>
<th>2. Ambara, the vestment.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Vajra, the thunderbolt.</td>
<td>4. Kamala, the lotus.</td>
<td>5. Tava (on great toe), the barley-corn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratha, the chariot.</td>
<td><em>Śaṭaka, the serpent of eternity.</em></td>
<td><em>Svastika, the Svastika.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musala, the mace.</td>
<td>Hala, the plough.</td>
<td>Lakṣmī, the Goddess Lakṣmī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Svastika, the Svastika.</td>
<td>18. Čakkha-drisṭha, the upward line.</td>
<td>19. Čakravāla, the octagon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RIGHT FOOT (HEEL).</th>
<th>6. Dhvaja, the banner.</th>
<th>7. Mukuta, the diadem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Chattrā, the umbrella.</td>
<td>9. Cakra, the discus.</td>
<td>11. Sinhāsana, the throne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamādanda, Yama's rod.</td>
<td><em>Jayamāla, the wreath of victory.</em></td>
<td>12. Nāra, the man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Chātra, the umbrella.</td>
<td>14. Yamādanda, Yama's rod.</td>
<td>15. Cāmara, the fly-whisk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Dhvaja, the banner.</td>
<td>17. Sinhāsana, the throne.</td>
<td>18. Čakkha-drisṭha, the upward line.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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LEFT FOOT (TOES).

17. Vindu (on great toe),
   the spot.
   Jīva, life.
   Gadā, the club.

20. Trikōṇa, the triangle.

15. Śaṭkōṇa, the hexagon.

8. Śaṅkha, the conch.

14. Ardha-candra, the half-moon.

11. Jambū-phala, the rose-apple.
   Patākā, the pennon.

12. Kulaśi, the pitcher.
   Bhūmi, the earth.

19. Candrikā, the moon-beam.
   Hava, the swan.
   Tenāra, the quiver.

21. Dhanuṣa, the bow.
   Vamūti, the flute.
   Vīnā, the lute.

13. Pūrna-candra, the full moon.
16. Mina, the fish.
   Trivalī, the three wrinkles.

18. Sūlā-kūḍa, the lake of ambrosia.
   Śakti, the sakti dart.

7. Gōspada, the cow’s footmark.

LEFT FOOT (HEEL).

In the above, we are supposed to be looking at the soles of the feet. Each mark is placed in its relative position. The marks are the creases, or lines, on the soles of the feet, corresponding to the lines on the palms of the hand employed in England for fortune-telling. The marks on Sītā’s feet are the same as the above, but are reversed, those on her right foot being the same as those on Rāma’s left, and vice versa.

Different Vaiṣṇava writers select different marks for special adoration. Nābhā, we have seen, mentions only twenty-two, eleven on each foot. In the Śrī-Raghunāṭha-nātha-carana-chhīna-stotra, attributed to the Muni Agasti, only eighteen are enumerated, being the same as Nābhā’s, with the omission of the rose-apple, the lake of ambrosia, the hexagon, the rainbow, and the man, and the addition of the bow. An anonymous Sūrathā, which is generally current, mentions eight, as follows:—
Bandā Ṣiya-pada-rēkha,
(1) Śrī-Lakṣmī, aru (2) Śrī-Sarayu |
(3) Saktī, (4) puruṣa-visēkha,
(5) svastika, (6) śara, (7) dhanu, (8) candrikā ||

In this they are recorded as the marks on Sitā’s (Siyā’s) feet. A verse of Yamunācārya, in the Ālavandārā-
stotra, communicated to me by Paṇḍit Gōvindācārya, mentions only seven, the conch, the discus, the kalpataru, the banner, the lotus, the elephant-goad, and the thunder-
bolt. Thus:—

Kadā punaś śaṅkha-rathāṅga-kalpaka-
Dhvaja-ravindā-ṅkuśa-vajra-lāṅchanaṃ, |
Trvikrama! tvac-carandā-ṅbuja-dvayam
Madiya-mūrdhānam alamkarisyati ||

Tulasī-dāsa, in Rāma-carita-mānasā, I, 199, 3, says:—
rēkha kulisa dhvaja ankusa sōhai |
nūpura-dhuni suni muni-mana mōhai ||

“The lines, the thunderbolt, the banner, and the elephant-
goad, are full of beauty; the tinkling of his anklets
charms the hearts of the saints as they listen to it.”
Here only three are named.

For further particulars regarding these lines see the
very elaborate account given by Bh. We shall see,
in the next article, how they are connected with the
Vaishnava niṣṭhās.

These marks become “helpers to the Holy” and “givers
of blessedness” through the good results which follow
meditation upon them. The following is a summary of
what P. says regarding the fruits of meditation upon
each:—

1. The elephant-goad. No man can control of his own
power that furious elephant, the thoughts of the heart.
Hence Rāma hath placed the symbol of the elephant-
goad upon His foot, that, meditating thereon in their hearts,
the Faithful may bring that elephant under subjection.
2. The vestment. Because Rāma's liegemen experience the frost of the cold of apathy, He put the mark of the vestment, that meditating upon and clothed in the thought of this, they may become warm and so be established in the faith.

3. The thunderbolt. Meditation on this teacheth how Rāma splitteth the mountain of sin as with Indra's thunderbolt.

4. The lotus. This is the seat of Lakṣmī, the divine mistress of the nine nidhis, or perfect treasures. Therefore meditation upon it accumulateth the perfect treasure of Faith (bhakti).

5. The barley-corn. He placed this upon His foot, because it giveth all wisdom and all perfections. It is the abode of a right mind, of a right conduct, and of a wealth of bliss. [Barley is a sacred grain. It is rubbed over the corpse of a Hindu and sprinkled on the head before cremation is performed. It is employed as an oblation at the śrāddha ceremony, and is the subject of an elaborate festival inaugurating the sowing of the winter crops, entitled the Jayī, or barley-feast. In folk-tales it appears as a magic remedy for barrenness. See Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, pp. 200, 115, 373, 134, and 143.]

6. The banner. When the Faithful see the wickedness of this present Kali age they are for a moment terrified. But meditation on the banner of victory giveth them the confidence of fearlessness.

7. The cow's footmark. The water that lieth in a cow's footmark is but a little puddle. He placed this mark that the wise man, who looketh upon it with the eyes of his heart, may remember that the shoreless ocean of existence hath no terrors to the Faithful, to whom it is but a puddle to be stepped across.

8. The conch. He placed this mark to remind the Faithful of their victory over the hosts of deceit and
wickedness. [The conch is commonly employed in India as a trumpet of victory.]

9. The discus. This is a sign of the slaughter of the demons of lust. [The discus is Viṣṇu's special weapon.]

10. The svastiku. This He hath placed for auspiciousness. [This is the well-known Svastika, or fylfot, familiar to antiquarians. As an auspicious emblem it is frequently met in India. See Crooke, op. laud., 7, 58, 104, 250.]

11. The rose-apple. Meditate thou on this, for it calleth to thy mind the "four fruits", and thus in many ways fulfilleth thy desires. [The four fruits are the well-known dharma, artha, kāma, and mokṣa, religious merit, wealth, pleasure, and final emancipation.]

12. The pitcher. 13. The lake of ambrosia. If a man meditate on these his heart becometh full of the nectar of Faith. Drink thou it from the pitcher (or cup) of the eyes of the soul and thou shalt live for ever.

14. The half-moon. Meditate thou on this, for thereby is thy faith increased and the three pains are diminished. [Pain is divided into three classes, viz., adhyātmika, that which is natural and inseparable from the personality; adhibhautika, that which is natural, but extrinsic; and adhidaivika, that which is non-natural or superhuman.]

15. The hexagon. 19. The octagon. 20. The triangle. In that ant-hill, the body, there dwelleth the serpent of the senses. That His liegemen be not bitten by it, hath He taken this labour of placing these amulets there. [These geometrical figures are commonly employed in India as amulets. Cf. Crooke, op. laud., 208.]

16. The fish. 17. The spot. Rāma-candra placed these upon His foot as subjugating talismans. Thus they who meditate upon the feet of Rāma subjugate the hearts of all men. [The fish is the ensign of Kāma-dēva, the God of Love, and therefore the subjugator of the whole
world. The spot is the bindī, or spangle, worn between the eyes of a woman, just over the nose. It is considered a great enhancer of beauty, and thus is looked upon as subjugating men’s hearts. The corresponding mark worn by men is nowadays known as the tilak. Cf. Crooke, op. laud., 202.]

18. The upward line. Who can cross, by his own efforts, the shoreless ocean of existence? Therefore by the upward line He signifieth the causeway which He hath built for His liegemen from this world to the next. [It is hardly necessary to point out that here we have a reference to Adam’s Bridge, the causeway which Rāma is said to have built between India and Ceylon.]

21. The rainbow. When He placed the bow upon His foot, He destroyed the grief of those who meditate upon Him. For with his bow He smote the pride of the proud, whereof Rāvana and others are witnesses. [With His bow Rāma slew the demon Rāvana. So also will He slay all the enemies of the Faithful.]

22. The man. When thou hast heard the beautiful reason wherefor He placed the man upon his foot, earnestly desire thou Rāma. Saith He: “The man who, pure in heart, pure in word, and pure in action, meditateth upon Me, him will I put, like this mark, in My foot (pada).” Be a man never so full of wisdom, be he never so full of the nectar of the wealth of Rāma’s form, still let him ever meditate in his heart on the marks on the Lord’s feet and carry His name upon his lips. [The word pada has two meanings, viz., “a foot” and “a position”. Hence when Rāma puts a servant in His pada the words may mean either that the servant has the high honour of being allotted a place at Rāma’s feet, or that he will have a position near Him in a future life, “forever with the Lord.”]

All the above, mutatis mutandis, applies to the marks on the feet of Kṛṣṇa.
IV. THE BHAGAVATA NISTHAS

The word nisthā means literally "position" or "attitude", and as a Bhāgavata technical term implies the special characteristic of a particular saint, as it strikes the observer from the point of view of a devotee. In the various catalogues of saints they are often grouped or classed according to the particular nisthā which distinguishes each. A saint may have many visible characteristics, and can thus belong to many nisthās. In such a case he is classed under the characteristic that most prominently strikes the devotee. For instance, Bh. refers to Brahmā, who is reckoned amongst the Vaiṣṇava saints (see verse 7 below) in the following terms:—"Although he is most excellent and chief in all nisthās, he is nevertheless most suitably included in the second, or dharma-pracāraka-nisthā, for he was the leader of the deputation that approached the ADORABLE, and induced Him to become incarnate." Again, a saint may change his nisthā. Thus Ali Bhagavān (Bhakta-māla, 94) at first belonged to the 24th, or prēma-nisthā, but was finally included in the 9th, or lilānukarana-nisthā.

Each nisthā is sacred to one or other of the twenty-four incarnations described in the preceding article, and is also associated with one of the marks on the ADORABLE'S feet, as detailed above. The following is a list of the various nisthās, together with the corresponding incarnations and footmarks. After each of the incarnations and footmarks I have added the serial number in Nābhā's lists:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Nisthā</th>
<th>Corresponding Incarnation</th>
<th>Corresponding Footmark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dharma. Morality, the Performance of good actions, which must be entirely niskāma, or disinterested, i.e. actions (karma) not done for the sake of reward in a future life.</td>
<td>The Fish (1)</td>
<td>The Elephant-goad (1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Niṣṭhā</td>
<td>Corresponding Incarnation</td>
<td>Corresponding Footmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dharma-pracāraka. The Spreading of the Bhāgavata gospel of Faith.</td>
<td>The Vyāsa (11)</td>
<td>The Thunderbolt (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sādhu-sēva and Sat-saṅga. Attendance on, and consorting with the Saints.</td>
<td>The Boar (2)</td>
<td>The Vestment (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Śrāvāna. Hearing the Word.</td>
<td>Kapila (23)</td>
<td>The Lotus (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Līlānukarana. Devotion to the earthly acts of the Adorable.</td>
<td>The Tortoise (3)</td>
<td>The Discus (9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Name of Niṣṭhā.  

19. Vātsalya. Tender Fondness for the Adorable, as that between parents and children.

20. Saubhārda. Affection for the Adorable, as that between friends.


22. Sākhya. Personal regard or friendship for the deity (higher than No. 20).

23. Mādhurya. Passionate Love, as that of a damsels for her beloved, or as that of the herd-maidens for Kṛṣṇa.


Corresponding Incarnation. 

Hari (11).

Kalki (10).

Manvantara (15).

Dhruva's Boon-Giver (19).

Kṛṣṇa (8).

Rāma (7).

Corresponding Footmark.

The Rainbow (21).

The Octagon (19).

The Umbrella and the Fly-whisk.

The Diadem.

The Triangle (20).

Hṛdaya, the Heart.

In the above, while the list of incarnations corresponds to Nābhā's, the list of feetmarks differs somewhat. Nābhā's Lake of ambrosia (13) and Man (22) are omitted, and there are five which are not in his list. Of these five, four, the full moon, the umbrella, the fly-whisk, and the diadem, are in the larger list given on p. 88, and one, the heart, is not recorded in any other list of feetmarks which I have seen. The connexion between these incarnations and feetmarks on the one side, and the niṣṭhās on the other, is clear enough in one or two instances, but in most cases it is quite obscure to me. Doubtless there is some mystic meaning in each case.

The 16th, 18th, 22nd, 19th, and 23rd niṣṭhas, viz., Śānti, Dāsyatā, Sākhya, Vātsalya, and Mādhurya, are the five rasas, or Flavours, of bhakti, as explained on p. 611 of JRAS, for 1909. They represent ascending grades, in the order here given, of the faith which is experienced by a holy man. Śānti is bhakti in its simplest form—a mere resignation. In dāsyat, it takes a more active
form in the obedience which the devotee takes upon himself, and so on for the others, as explained in the table. See also Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, i, 163.

V. THE TWELVE MIGHTY IN THE FAITH

The seventh verse of Nābhā’s text, and the third in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

**Text.**

*Chappai.*

(7) (3). (1) Brahmā, (2) Nārada, (3) Śiva, (4) Sanaka and his Brethren, (5) Kapila, (6) the royal Manu, (7) (Prahlāda) the Liegeman of the Man-lion, (8) Janaka, (9) Bhīṣma, (10) Bali, (11) Śuka, and (12) the Righteous One (Yama). He who knoweth, and he who telleth, of these most intimate followers of the Lord that sing His fame, obtaineth blessings from the beginning unto the end. Know thou the tale of Ajāmila as the ascertainment of the worth of the Supreme Duty. These twelve are the Chiefs. Moreover, by their mercy do all others gain understanding.

**Notes.**

Nābhā next celebrates the twelve *Mahābhaktas*, or those Mighty in the Faith, who are considered to be the founders of the *Bhāgavata* religion. Authorities are at variance as to whom the author intended as the twelfth. Some take the word *Dharma-svarūpa*, which I have translated “the Righteous One”, as merely an epithet of Śuka, and count Ajāmila as the twelfth. I have followed the explanation of Bh., who makes *Dharma-svarūpa* the equivalent of *Dharma-rāja*, i.e. Yama. He is the supreme judge of the value of duties performed, or not performed, in this life, and, if he is the twelfth in Nābhā’s list, he is quoted on account of the story of Ajāmila, for which see below. The word *prasāṅga*, which I have translated “tale”, is a technical term in these Vaiṣṇava works, and is equivalent to what lawyers would call a leading case.
Parama-dharma, which I translate by the "Supreme Duty", is a synonym for Bhāgavata-dharma. Ajāmila's case is a typical instance of the valuelessness of works (karma) as compared with faith (bhakti). So far as works went he was a gross sinner, but the accidental utterance of the name of the ADORABLE at the moment of his death was an act of faith, albeit a small one, and the ADORABLE, in His infinite mercy, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered, destroyed the sequence of all his evil works, and saved him.

We see here the same distinction between faith and works that exists in Christendom. I have dealt with this question at length in an article on The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works, on pp. 337 ff. of the Journal of this Society for 1908, and I do not repeat what I said on that occasion.

The following are the particulars regarding these twelve Mighty in the Faith:—

1. Brahmā (properly Brahmnā). As explained above, on p. 94, he is classed in the second, or dharma-pracāraka niśṭhā. A good deal has been already said about him on p. 637 of the article on Incarnations. Whenever any offence (vighna) occurs in the world, it is Brahmā who moves the ADORABLE to become incarnate in order to remove it. For the part taken by Brahmā in the creation of the universe, see Bhq. P., III, viii–xii. It should be observed that, although a deva, Brahmā is a finite being. According to the Bhāgavatas, there is only one eternal God—the ADORABLE.

2. Nārada. The well-known devarṣi, and chief of the heavenly musicians. For a full account of his important position in the Bhāgavata hierarchy, see pp. 637 ff. of the article on Incarnations. Although he can appropriately be classed under the second (dharma-pracāraka), or under the third (sādhu-sevā), or under the fifth (kirtana), or under the twelfth (mahāprasāda-mahimā), he most
peculiarly belongs to the fourth (śravāna) niṣṭhā. This is owing to his attentive listening to the conversations of saints in a former birth, as described in the former article.

3. Siva. He is fully dealt with on pp. 639 ff. of the article on Incarnations. As the founder of the Rudra-saṃpradāya, he is classed in the second (dharma-pracāraka) niṣṭhā.

4. Sanaka and his Brethren. These have been already dealt with on pp. 634 ff. of the article on Incarnations. Like the thousand sons of Dakṣa, who learnt the Sāṅkhya philosophy, and hence begat no children (MBh., I, lxxv), they, too, had no offspring (Bhg. P., III, xii, 4). Priyā-dāsa is here silent regarding them.

5. Kapila. Priyā-dāsa is also silent here about him. He is described in the article on Incarnations (p. 634). He is classed as one of the Mighty in the Faith, as being the original teacher to men of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The locus classicus for Kapila is Bhg. P., III, xxiv ff. He was son of Kardama and Dēvahūti. This would make him a Kṣatriya by caste, for Dēvahūti's father was the Rājarsī Manu Svayaṁbhūva (III, xxi, 26). It may seem strange that followers of so strongly monotheistic a cult as that of the Bhāgavatas should attach such great importance to the name of Kapila, making him actually an incarnation of the Adorable, for the Sāṅkhya is a system of pure atheism. The fact is explained by noting that what is really meant is the Yōga development of Sāṅkhya, usually attributed to Patañjali, but really much older. This is theistic, and it is worthy of note that while Patañjali calls his Īśvara, or Supreme Deity, a purusa-visēsa, in Bhg., I, iii, 1, care is taken to state that the Adorable took the form of Purusa before he became incarnate as Kapila. The Sāṅkhya philosophy also calls what is the nearest thing to a deity in its system by the same name. In the Bhg. P. and in the Bhakta-māla Patañjali's name is not mentioned, and Kapila is everywhere referred to as the founder of the
Yoga system. In the Narayaniya section of the Mahabharata (XII, cccxxvi–cccliii), while the intimate connexion between the Sankhya-Yoga and Bhagavata systems is over and over again insisted upon, the author of the Yoga system is said to have been Hiranyagarbha "and no other" (13,703). In Bhag. P., III, xxv ff., this system, with alterations to make it harmonize more closely with the bhakti-cult of the Bhagavatas, is explained at some length, the speaker being said to be Kapila himself. In the course of several chapters Kapila first explains what yoga, or concentration, means, and in the following chapters describes bhakti, and explains that it is the same as yoga, the Adorable, or Bhagavat, being the same as the Isvara of that system of philosophy. Yoga is divided into two kinds, action (karma-yoga) and contemplation (jnana-yoga). The Deity is given a much more important part in the system than in that of Patanjali. All this closely follows the teaching of the Bhagavad-Gita.

In Lokacarya's Artha-pañcaka, which is a summary of the doctrines of Ramanuja, five Upayas, or methods of salvation, are mentioned, viz., karma-yoga, jnana-yoga, bhakti-yoga, prapatti-yoga, and açaryàbhimana-yoga. The last is a resort for the weaker brethren, and need not concern us here. Karma-yoga is purification by ritual, followed by active methods of concentration. This concentration leads to jnana-yoga, which consists in fixing the mind on the Deity. This leads to the highest stage, or bhakti-yoga, which consists in seeing nothing but the Deity. Prapatti-yoga is absolute self-abandonment to the Divine mercy and love, and is prescribed for those who find the active exercise of devotion (bhakti) too difficult.

Cf. M. Senart's Origines Bouddhiques, pp. 21 ff., for a luminous account of the manner in which the religion of the Bhagavatas became mixed up with yoga. Also the Introduction to Professor Garbe's German translation of the Bhagavad Gita.
6. Manu. This is the well-known Svāyambhuva Manu, the son of Hiranyagarbha, to whom, as we have just said, the MBh. attributes the origin of the Yōga system of philosophy. He was a Rājarṣi (Bhg. P., III, xxi, 26), which connects him with the Kṣattriya caste. According to Tulasi-dāsa, his and his wife Śatarūpa’s mantra was ॐ namō Bhagavatē Vasudevāya. Their devotion was so intense that the Adorable revealed Himself personally to them under the form of Hari and blessed them, promising that Manu should be reborn as Daśaratha, and that He Himself would become his son in the person of Rāma.

7. Prahlāda. He belongs to the 18th, or dāsyatā niṣṭhā. His story is told in Bhg. P., VII. Jaya and Vijaya were Pārsadas of the Adorable, being gatekeepers of Viṣṇu’s heaven. One day they refused to allow Sanaka and his Brethren (No. 4, above) to enter. They were misled by their perpetual youth into thinking that they were children who had no business there. The saints cursed them each to be reborn three times as Asuras. Jaya was first reborn as Hiranyākṣa, and Vijaya as his brother Hiranyakaśipu. Then they were reborn as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna, and, finally, as Śiśupāla and his brother Dantavakra. Further information about Jaya and Vijaya will be found in the notes to verse 8. Cf. also Bhg. P., III, xv ff.

When the Adorable, in his Boar incarnation, had killed Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakaśipu, warned by experience, performed austerities, and obtained from Brahmā the boon that he should not die at the hand of any being of Brahmā’s creation; or in or out of doors; or by night or by day; or by weapons; or on the earth or in the sky; or by man or by beast; or by things with breath or by things without breath; or by gods, or by Asuras, or by Nāgas. His son, Prahlāda, was devoted to Viṣṇu, and was in consequence cruelly persecuted by his father. Prahlāda

1 Rām., I, dō. 148 ff., q.v. for the whole story.
recited to his father long arguments in favour of the Bhāgavata religion, which are duly recorded in the Bhāgava-

tata Purāṇa. When Hiranyakasipu was about to slay his son, Viṣṇu took the form of the Man-Lion incarnation (neither man nor beast) and seized Hiranyakasipu, took him to the doorway of the palace (neither inside nor out-

side), set him on his (the Man-Lion's) thigh (neither on the earth nor in the sky), and tore him asunder with his nails (not with weapons), in the twilight hour (neither by night nor by day).

Prahlāda was a devotee of the Adorable, because his mother, when she was pregnant with him, fell under the instruction of Nārada. Prahlāda's favourite utterance is said to have been "Śrī-Sitā-Rāma", which is an anachronism, as Rāma was a much later incarnation than the Man-Lion. His story is so well known that I have omitted details.

8. Janaka. Janaka is remembered by Bhāgavatas, not only as being the father of Sitā, but also as being in a special way a master of yōga. Śukadēva, the narrator of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (see No. 11, below), paid a visit to him, and was astonished at his powers in this direction. The Bhakti-prēmākara, in its commentary to this passage, gives a long account of the visit. The same visit is described in MBh., XII, ccxxvi–vii, where Janaka is even represented as teaching Śuka. This is quite in accordance with other Bhāgavata authorities, for his name is not only intimately connected with the origins of Yōga philosophy, but is also frequently associated with the Bhāgavata religion. Even in the earliest books of the sect he is mentioned as one of the old teachers (e.g. Bhg. G., iii, 20). He belongs to the 20th, or Sauhārda, nīśṭhā, owing to his having been Rāma's father-in-law.

9. Bhīṣma. The well-known hero of the Mahābhārata. Owing to the many occasions on which he followed the rules of Duty, he belongs to the 1st, or Dharma, nīśṭhā. It is sufficient to explain here that he is counted as one of
the twelve Mahābhaktas, because he recited the Nārāyanīya and other bhakti sections of the Mahābhārata, while lying on his arrow death-bed.

10. Bali. He was Prahlāda's grandson (see No. 7), and, like Bhīṣma, is included in the 1st, or Dharma, niṣṭhā. He conquered earth and heaven, and, at the intercession of Aditi, the Adorable took the Dwarf incarnation, and asked Bali for the famous three steps of land. Although a Daitya, Bali was, as became Prahlāda's grandson, a pious bhakta. He refused to listen to the objections of Śukra, his guru, and readily gave the area asked for. When the Adorable covered Heaven and Earth with the two first steps, there was nothing left for the third step, and so He condemned Bali to reign in Hell, as a punishment for not fulfilling his promise. At the same time he promised that, in his next birth, Bali should reign in Heaven (sūra-pura).

In acting as he did in the Dwarf incarnation, the Adorable committed the serious offence of cheating a bhakta. He therefore condemned Himself to become Bali's doorkeeper in Hell, in the shape of the Dwarf, thus, not only punishing Himself, but also giving Bali the bliss of having ever present to his view one of the Adorable's incarnations. The story of Bali will be found in Bhg. P., VIII, xv ff.

Bali's claim to be entered on the list of the twelve Mahābhaktas is based on the theory that he was not taken in at all by the Dwarf, whom he recognized from the first as an incarnation of the Adorable. So great was his bhakti that he refused to heed the words of his guru, and at once knowingly gave up to Him all that he had.

11. Śuka. He was son of the Vyāsa, and belongs to the 5th, or Kīrtana, niṣṭhā. One account of his birth, taken from BhK., pp. 107 ff., is that he was originally a parrot (śuka) in Śiva's paradise. One day Śiva was occupied in telling to Pārvati in strict privacy the mystery
of the name of Rāma. While he was telling her, Pārvati fell asleep, but Śiva did not notice it, for, by the will of the Lord, the young parrot was there, and kept saying at intervals, in Pārvati’s voice, “Yes, yes” (ḥū, ḍū). Owing to his hearing the story of the mystery of the name of Rāma, he became filled with the supreme wisdom, and, at the same time, immortal. After a time Śiva discovered that it was the bird that was saying “Yes, yes”, and in his anger tried to kill him, but he escaped and took refuge in the womb of Vyāsa’s wife. There he remained hidden for twelve years, but at length, being entreated by the gods and Rṣis, he consented to be born from her as Śuka-dēva. Directly he was born he began to wander about in the forest. His father, Vyāsa, ran after him crying “My son, my son”, but he would not stop or give reply. Then the trees of the forest cried out to Vyāsa that he was forgetting that there was really no distinction between the “I” and “thou”, happiness and unhappiness, father and son, all being but forms of the One, the Adorable. Vyāsa, convinced by these arguments, returned home, but, still wishing to find his son, taught a number of lads to recite the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and sent them repeating it into the forest in which Śuka was roaming. Śuka heard one of the lads reciting the ślokas, describing the forgiveness and salvation of the witch Pūtana, who attempted to poison Krṣṇa.

1 Tulasī-dāsa refers to this story as illustrating the power of the sacred Name in Rām., I, xxvi, 2.

2 According to Bhg. P., I, iv, 8, he never stayed in one house longer than the time occupied in milking one cow. He was so pure in thought that though he was naked the nymphs who were bathing as he passed by did not trouble even to blush, much less to put on any apparel. On the other hand, when Vyāsa, his father, passed by with all his clothes on in pursuit of his son, they hurried on their garments as fast as they could.

3 Cf. Bhg. P., I, ii, 2. The trees were inspired by Śuka’s spirit.

4 Bhg. P., X, vi, 35—

Pūtana lōka-bāla-gñit rākṣast rujhīrād śanā |
jīghāṁsayā ’pi Harayē sthānam datvā- ’pa sadgutiṁ ||

and ff.
He was so struck by the infinite grace shown by this merciful and forgiving act of the Deity that he asked the boys where they had learnt it. They referred him to Vyāsa. He went to his father, who taught him the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. He then, for the salvation of the world, taught it to King Parīkṣit.

MBh. XII, ccxxxiv–xxxiv, gives a different account of the birth of Śuka, and adds a long story of his wanderings and of his final emancipation.

Śuka's claim to be included in the list of the twelve Mahābhaktas rests on the fact that it was he who narrated the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

12. Yama. He is the ruler of the nether world, and sinners are his prey for torture after death. His title to be inserted in the list of the twelve Mahābhaktas is based on his readiness to forego his claim to carry off sinners, on hearing, at the time of their death, merely the name of the Adorable. The "leading case" on this point is the story of Ajāmila, given in Bhg. P., VI, i, ii. In iii, Yama recites a long account of the glory of the Adorable. P., who gives no particulars regarding any of the Mahābhaktas after Śiva, gives the following account, the translation being amplified, as usual, by the explanation of Bh. G. and K.:

Ajāmila was the son of a Brāhmaṇa. His parents gave him the name of "Ajā-mēla", which was a true name for him. For he became united to Ajā,¹ and abandoned his lawful wife of good Brāhmaṇa caste. He had taken to drinking wine, and therefore he seized his wisdom (i.e. his wife) and flung it far away. He joined his body

¹ According to Bh., "Ajā" here means "Māyā" or "illusion" in the person of a harlot. K. simply says that "Ajā" means "harlot". G. takes "ajā" as meaning "she-goat", and says that he became the servant of a butcher, and was associated with the offal of the slaughtered she-goats. K. adds that he was expelled from the town by the king, and lived in a hut outside the town on the earnings of the harlot.
to a woman that was a sinner whom he had taken to himself.

It chanced that holy men (sādhu) came to his village and asked where they should abide for the night. Some wicked fellows, as a joke, sent them to Ajāmila's house. When Ajāmila saw them his native wisdom returned to him, and instead of treating the holy men with contumely, he hospitably received them. As they departed in the morning, he laid his pregnant slave girl before their feet, and asked them to bless her. The leader of the holy men blessed her in the name of the Lord Rāma. He promised that the child within her womb should be a son, and commanded Ajāmila to call his name "Nārāyaṇa". When her time came, a son was born, and so he named him.

While he remained bound in the illusion of love for his mistress and her son alone, his fated hour came, and it was the time for him to die. Terrible demons, messengers from Yama, did he see around his bed, waiting to carry off his soul to torment. In his agony he called for that very son who had been given to him by the mercy of the saints. "Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa," he cried in terror. The Adorable's archangels (pārśada), who ever wander hither and thither on their Master's business, heard a poor human being calling in distress upon "Nārāyaṇa", and rushed to his aid. They tore open the nooses which Yama's demons had cast around him. When these demons asked them why they had released so great a sinner, they told them the glories of the name of the Adorable and drove them away. The demons hastened to Yama and complained, but he, when he had heard their tale, condemned them. "May the thunderbolt fall upon you," said he. "Hear ye me. No matter how great a sinner a man may be, go ye not near him if ye hear issuing from

1 One of the Adorable's names is Nārāyaṇa.
his mouth, even though it be in error, the Holy Name of the LORD.”

Note on the Power attributed to the Name of the Deity in the Bhāgavata Religion.

The sacredness and mystic power of the Name of the Deity, mentioned here by Yama, is much dwelt upon by Bhāgavata writers, and finds interesting parallels in ancient and mediaeval Christian compositions. Origen himself (Contra Celsum, i, 6) says that the power of exorcism lies “in the Name of Jesus, which is uttered as the stories of His life are being narrated”. He talks of a secret “science of names”, which confers powers upon the initiated. “The Name of Jesus,” he adds, “comes under this science of names.” Growse, in his translation of the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsī-dāsa (I, xxv), quotes several parallel passages from later theologians, viz., “The holy utterance, short to read, easy to retain, sweet to think upon, strong to protect” (Thomas à Kempis). (P. Pelbart) “By His most holy Name, which consists of five letters, He daily offers pardon to sinners.” (S. Bonaventura) “No one can devoutly utter Thy Name without profit,” and again, “Glorious and wonderful is the Name. Those who keep it, will have no fear when at the point of death.” (Ricardus de S. Laurentio) “The Name alone is sufficient for healing; for there is no plague so obstinate that it does not inevitably yield to the Name.” (S. Bridget) “Evil spirits flee, as if from fire, when they hear the Name,” and “All demons honour this Name and fear it. When they hear it, they at once release the soul which they have been holding in their talons.” (Honorious) “The Name is full of all sweetness, and of divine relish.” There are traces of this reverence for the name in modern Christian hymns.

So Tulsī-dāsa, like Thomas à Kempis, praises (Rām., I, xxiv) “these two gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world, and felicity in the next”. With Oriental hyperbole he (xxv) even maintains that the Name is greater than the substance. “The form is of less importance than the Name, for without the Name you cannot come to the knowledge of the form; if the very form be in your hand, still, without knowing the Name, it is not recognized; but meditate on the Name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion.” Again, Nānak says:

```
sabhī japa sabhī tapa sabhī caturāi
ujhaṛī bharamī rāhī na pāī
tīna sājhe kō thāi na pāī
nāma bhīk拥护 matthē chāī
data
```

All prayers, all austerities, all wisdom, are wandering in the waste and finding no way. Without the (true) vision man has no abiding place; for bereft of the Name, he hath but ashes on his head (i.e. he is a castaway).

1 Cf. S. Bridget's words quoted in the following paragraph.
VI. THE SIXTEEN ARCHANGELS

The eighth verse of Nābhā's text, and the sixth in chappai metre, runs as follows:

\[\text{Chappai.}\]

(8) (6). May the thoughts of my mind ever there dwell where the Archangels abide at the feet of Nārāyaṇa. (1) Viśvaksēna, (2) Jaya, (3) Vijaya, (4) Prabala, and (5) Bala, the givers of benison; (6) Nanda, (7) Sunanda, (8) Subhadra, and (9) Bhadra, the destroyers of the disease of the world; (10) Cāndya and (11) Pracanda, the humble; (12) Kumuda and (13) Kumudākṣa, the abodes of compassion; (14) Śīla, (15) Śuśīla, and (16) Susēṇa, the protectors of the loving Faithful,—all skilled in giving pleasure to the Lord of Laksṇī, the friends of the Faithful who delight in adoration.

The Author now celebrates the sixteen Pārśadās or Chief Attendants on the Adorable. Gōvindācārya well calls them "Archangels". They all belong to the 17th, or Bhagavat-sēvā, viṣṭhā. Of these Viśvaksēna, Jaya, and Vijaya are the best known. The word "Viśvaksēna" (He whose hosts are ubiquitous) is also used as a name of the Adorable Himself (e.g. MBh., VI, 2944, and Bhg. P., I, ii, 8; III, xiii, 3). As one of the archangels he is mentioned as their chief in Bhg. P., V, xx, 40. In VIII, xxi, 16, he is mentioned with Jaya, Vijaya, Prabala, Nanda, Sunanda, Kumuda, and Kumudākṣa as leading the heavenly armies against the troops of Bali. Jaya and Vijaya will be referred to more particularly below. In Bhg. P., X, lxi, 12, 17, they are referred to as sons of Kṛṣṇa. Prabala, Nanda, and Sunanda also appear in Bhg. P., II, ix, 14. In Bhg. P., X, vii, 15, Bala and Prabala are mentioned as sons of Kṛṣṇa. Nanda and Sunanda appear in Bhg. P., IV, xii, 24, as the messengers of the Adorable to tell Dhruva of his elevation to the Pole. In I, xiv, 32, they are referred to as prominent Sātvatas in attendance on the mortal Kṛṣṇa. In the preceding line Susēṇa is mentioned as Kṛṣṇa's son.
Bhadra and Subhadra are mentioned as sons of Kṛṣṇa in Bhg. P., X, lxi, 14, 17. Sunanda again appears, this time with Kumuda, in Bhg. P., VII, viii, 39, where they hymn the Man-Lion after he has killed Hiranya-Kaśipu.

P.'s commentary is to the following effect: The sixteen chief archangels are saved by Nature and store up service to Nārāyana, the Lord of Śrī, like wealth in the treasuries of their hearts. Very skilled are they in doing His pleasure. They meditate upon Him, and are devoted to protecting His servants as surely as the eyelid protects the eye.

Such joy have they in fulfilling the commands of their Master, that, when Sanaka and his brethren (see note 7 to the preceding verse) cursed Jaya and Vijaya to be born three times as Asuras, and when He Himself appeared to them and commanded them to accept the curse as though they were drinking nectar, so obedient were they to His command that they gave up the joy of His service, and gladly accepted a state which was hostile to Him.

1 Ordinary beings are divided, according to the Artha-pāṇicaka, into four grades, viz.:

1. *Buddha*, those who are tied to the things of this world, and are not on the way of salvation;
2. *Mumukṣu*, those who desire salvation, but have not yet become fit for it;
3. *Kṛvala*, the pure in heart, who are devoted to the Adorable alone, and who are thus on the way of salvation;

To these is added a fifth class—those who have never entered into the round of transmigration, but are saved (mukta) from the moment of their creation and for ever (nitya-mukta). This class includes the Pārśadas, as stated above, Garuḍa, and other semi-divine persons.

2 For a full account of this, and of the birth of Jaya and Vijaya in the womb of Diti, see Bhg. P., III, xiv-xix.

(To be continued.)
THE BABAR-NAMA DESCRIPTION OF FARGHANA

BY ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE

[THE following article contains a revised translation of Bābar's account of Farghāna, a passage discussed and quoted by many writers on Turkistān. Some mistaken inferences have been drawn from it as it stands in the Memoirs and Mémoires, because these both lacked a pure textual basis and modern local knowledge. I regret that, obeying a Turk in his Turki, an autobiographer in his style, my wording departs from Mr. Erskine's. The speech of some Englishmen can go straight into Turki; out of Turki, Bābar's should go straight into theirs. They are not schooled, nor was he. Neither blurs meaning by complex statement; neither throws "and" into the pause between two thoughts. Mr. Symonds' rule gathers force from the clearness of the mould of Turki speech: "A good translation should resemble a plaster cast, the English being plaqué upon the original, so as to reproduce its exact form, although it cannot convey the effects of bronze or marble which belong to the material of the work of art."\]
Yangi which (kim) in books they write Ùtrar, all is now desolate; there remains no settled population whatever, because of the Mughuls and the Ùzbegs. 7

Farghana is a small country, abounding in grain and fruit. Round about it are mountains; to the west there are none, that is, towards Khujend and Samarqand. During the winter an enemy can come in only from that side.9

The Saihun River (daryâ), commonly known as the Khujend Water [fol. 2], coming in from the north-east, flows westward through10 the country. After passing Khujend on the north and Fanakat,11 now known as Shahruchâ, on the south, it turns straight towards the north and goes to Turkistan. It does not join itself to any sea (daryâ),12 (but) sinks into the sand a good way below Turkistan.

Farghana has seven separate townships,13 five on the south of the Saihun, two on the north. Of those on the south, one is Andijân which (kim) has a central position and is the capital of the country. It produces much grain, fruit in abundance, excellent grapes and melons. In the melon season, to sell the fruit up at the beds is not the custom.14 Better than the Andijân nashpâti there is none.15 Its walled town (qurghân) is the largest in the Mawarâ’un-nahr after Samarqand and Kesh. It has three gates; its citadel (ark) is on its southern side. Into it water goes by nine channels; out of it, it is strange that none comes at even a single place.16 Along the outer side of its ditch17 runs a gravelled highway; the width of this same road separates the town from its surrounding suburbs.

Andijân has good fowling and hunting. Its pheasants [fol. 26] become so extremely plump that it is rumoured four people could not finish one they were eating with its stew.18

The Andijânis are all Turks—not a person in town or its bazaar but knows Turki. The speech of its people is
correct for the pen; hence, though Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawā‘i was bred and grew up in Herī, his writings are one with their dialect. Good looks are common amongst them. Khwāja Yūsuf who (kīm) is famous in music, was an Andijānī. There is malaria (ufūnat) in the air; people generally get fever in autumn.

Again, there is Üsh, to the south-east inclining to east of Andijān and distant 4 yīghāch from it by road. It has a fine climate; running water abounds; its spring season is very beautiful indeed. Many traditions have their rise in its excellencies. To the south-east of the walled town is a symmetrical hill, known as the Barā Koh. On its summit, Sultan Maḥmūd Khān built a retreat (hājur), and on its shoulder, lower down, in 902 (1496), I built one, having a porch. Though his lay the higher, mine was the better placed, all the town and suburbs being at its feet [fol. 3].

The Andijān torrent goes to Andijān after passing through the suburbs of Üsh. Garden-plots (bāghāt) lie along both its banks; all the Üsh gardens (bāghlār) overlook it. Their violets are very fine; they have running waters and in spring are most beautiful with the bloom of many tulips and roses.

There is a mosque, called the Jauzā Masjid, on the skirt of the Barā Koh; between this and the town a large canal flows from the direction of the hill; below its outer court is a shady and pleasant clover-meadow where every passing traveller rests. If anyone fall asleep there, it is the joke of the ragamuffins of Üsh to let water out of the canal upon him. In ‘Umar Shaikh Mirzā’s latter days, a very beautiful stone, waved red and white, was found on the Barā Koh; of it they make knife-handles and the clasps of belts and many other things.

For climate and pleasantness, no township in all Farghāna equals Üsh.
Again, there is Marghinān, 7 ɣīghāch by road to the west of Andijān. It is a fine township, full of good things; its grapes and pomegranates are most excellent. They call one kind of pomegranate, the Great Grain (dāna kalān); its sweetness has a little of the sub-acid of the apricot and it may be preferred [fol. 3] to the Sennān. Again, there grows an apricot which they dry after stoning it and putting back its kernel; they (then) call it subkānī; it is very palatable.

Marghinān has good hunting and fowling; āq kīyik are found close by. Its people are Sārts, boxers, noisy and turbulent. Their pugnacity is known all over Māwarā'u'n-nahr; most of the noted bullies (jangralār) of Samarqand and Bukhārā are Marghinānis. The author of the Hidāyat was from Rushdān, a village of Marghinān.

Again, there is Asfara, in the hill-country (koh pāya) to the south-west of Marghinān. It has running water, beautiful small gardens and many fruit-trees, but in its gardens mostly almonds. Its people are all Persian-speaking Sārts. Amongst the low hills, a sharī (circa 2 miles) to the south of Asfara (town), is a piece of rock called the Mirror Stone. It may be about 10 qārī (arms'-lengths) long; it is as high as a man in some places, up to his waist in others. Everything is reflected in it as in a mirror.

The wilāyat of Asfara is (in) four hill-country divisions (balāk). One is Asfara, one Warūk, one Sūkh, one Hushyār. When Shaibānī Khān had defeated Sultān Maḥmūd Khān and Alacha Khān, and taken Tāshkent and Shāhrūkhīa, I went into the Sūkh [fol. 4] and Hushyār hill-country and there, after nearly a year spent in great misery, I decided for Kābul.

Again, there is Khujend, 25 ɣīghāch by road to the west of Andijān and 25 ɣīghāch by road to the east of Samarqand. It is one of the ancient towns; of it were
Shaikh Maslahat and Khwaja Kamal. Fruit grows well there; the excellence of its pomegranates is well known; people talk of a Khujend pomegranate as they do of a Samarqand apple. Just now, however, Marghinan pomegranates are much more met with.

The walled town of Khujend is on high ground, the Saihun flowing to the north of it at the distance perhaps of an arrow's flight. To the north of both the walled town and the river is a range called Munughul; they say turquoise and other mines are to be found there; it has many snakes.

The hunting and fowling grounds of Khujend are first-rate; ag kiyik, bugha, maral, pheasants and hares are all had in great plenty.

The climate of Khujend is very malarious; in autumn there is much fever; they rumour that the very sparrows get fever. The cause of the malaria, they say, is the hill lying on the north.

Kand-badam is a dependency of Khujend; though not a township (qasba), it makes rather a good approach to one (qasbacha). Its almonds are excellent, hence its name

Between Kand-badam and Khujend lies a waste, known as Ha Darwesh. Here there is always (hamesha) wind; wind goes always (hamesha) from it to Marghinan which is to the east of it; wind comes continually (da'im) from it to Khujend which is to the west of it. It has violent, whirling winds (tund yillar). They say, some darwishes having met with this wind in this desert (bdiiya), and not being able to find one another again, kept crying: "Hay Darwesh! Hay Darwesh!" All perished, and from that time forth people have called the waste "Ha Darwesh".

Of the townships to the north of the Saihun Water, one is Akhsi. This in books they write Akhik; hence the
poet Ḡīrūd-din is known as Akhsīkītī. After Andijān, Akhsī is the largest township in Farghāna; it is 9 yīghāch by road to the west of Andijān. ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrzā made it his capital. The Saihūn River flows by below the walled town (qurghān). This stands above great (buland) ravines. It has deep (umīq) ravines in place of a ditch. ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrzā when he made it his capital, in several instances (martaba) cut other ravines from the outer ones. No walled town in Farghāna is so strong as Akhsī [fol. 5].

The suburbs of Akhsī extend a shar-i (circa 2 miles) beyond the walls (qurghān). The proverb, “Where is the village? where are the trees?” they seem to have said of Akhsī. Its melons are excellent; one kind they even call Mīr Timūrī; it is not known to have its equal in the world. The melons of Bukhārā are famous; I had some brought from there and some from Akhsī when I took Samarqand; they were cut up at an entertainment and nothing compared with those from Akhsī.

The Akhsī fowling and hunting are very good indeed. In the waste on the Akhsī side of the Saihūn āq kūyik abound; in the jungle on the Andijān side are to be had many būghū, marāl, pheasants and hares, all in very good condition.

Again, there is Kāsān, rather a small place to the north of Akhsī. The water of Akhsī comes from it in the way the water of Andijān comes from Üsh. Kāsān has excellent air and beautiful garden-plots. These, because they all lie along the bed of the torrent, they call postīn pesh bārah. There is rivalry between Kāsānis and Üshis about the beauty and climate of their townships.

In the mountains round Farghāna are excellent pastures. There and nowhere else grows the tabalghū, a tree (yīghāch) with red bark [fol. 5b]. They make staves of it,
they make whip-handles of it, they make bird-cages of it, they scrape it into arrows; 68 it is an excellent wood (yīghāch) and is taken away to distant places as a rarity. 69 Some books write that the mandrake 70 is found in these mountains, but for this long time past nothing has been heard of it. A grass called the heating (iq) grass and having the qualities of the mandrake, is heard of in Yiti Kinta; 71 it seems to be the mandrake under another name. There are turquoise and other mines in these mountains.

1 The foliation marked in the text of this article is that of the Haidarabad Codex of the Babar-nama.
2 In the Hai. and Elphinston MSS. the text begins here; in Kehr’s MS. an invocation precedes.
3 Pādshah. To translate pādshah by “king” or “emperor”, as if part of the style of any Timūrid, previous to 913 A.H. (1507), is an anachronism, because till that date even a ruling Timūrid was styled Mirzā (fol. 215), and then first did Bābar change his title. The word pādshah (it is hardly necessary to say) occurs frequently as a common noun in the writings of Bābar’s circle. He himself says, e.g., that his father was an ambitious pādshah, i.e. ruler (fol. 5b); it was proposed to make Jahāngiır Mirzā pādshah (ruler) in Farghāna (fol. 24b); Haidar Mirzā writes of Yūnas Khān as pādshah in Mughūlistān, i.e. having chief authority (Tārikh-i-rashidi, Elias & Ross, p. 74). Gul-badān Begam writes of an amir who was pādshah, i.e. commandant, in Bhakkār (Humayun-nama, trans., p. 148). I have seen an instance of its use for a chief boatman. In the Taṣkırat-i-būghrā the word pādshah is part of the style of a Mughūl nomad, Sātuq-būghrā Khān Ghāzi Pādshah and, it would seem, implies his supremacy amongst the Mughūl Khāns. Perhaps Bābar’s assumption of it as a title in 913 A.H. asserted his then supremacy amongst living Timūrid Mirzās.

4 Bābar was born on Saturday, February 15, 1483 (Muharram 6, 888 A.H.), and died December 26, 1530 (Jumāda i, 6, 937 A.H.). His father, ‘Umar Shaikh whom he succeeded in Farghāna, died on June 4, 1494 (Ramzān 4, 899 A.H.), “the year of Charles VIII’s expedition to Naples” (Erskine). Bābar was born nine months before Luther (b. November 10, 1483).
5 See Ain-i-akbari, Jarrett, pp. 44 ff.
6 Shahīrār bār īkān dār. The modern term suitting Central Asian towns is “Garden Cities”. Ālmaligh (lit. “apple-like”) was the old capital of Kulja; Ālmātā (var. Ālmāt, named also from the apple) is the Russian Vierny; the now ruined Utrār is on the Sir, somewhat below its intake of the Arīs (var. Urūs). “In the days of Timūr, Otrār was a place of great note; he died there” (807 A.H., 1405 A.D.) “while preparing for his expedition to China” (Erskine).
Of the clause here noted, there have been the following translations:—
Hai., Elph., and Kehr's MSS., "Mughul u Uzbek jihat din;" Wdqi'at-i-
babari (i.e. Pers. trans.), I.O. MS. 217, "az jiha't 'ubur Uzbek;" Erskine
(Memoirs of Babar, p. 1), "In consequence of the incursions of the
Uzbek;" De Courteille (Mémoires de Baber, i, 1), "Grace aux ravages
commis par les Mongols et Uzbek." The Persian 'ubur may be thought
to improve on Bābar, since the towns mentioned lay in the tide-way of
nomad passage between east and west, but they are a departure from
his words. The Persian text, here as elsewhere, has caused Mr. Erskine
to diverge from Bābar. It may be said (though not in this instance)
that some part of the deviation found in the French translation,
deviation both from the true Turkī text and from Erskine's, is the sequel
defect in Kehr's earlier and Persified pages. (Cf. JRAS., January,
1908, art. Bābar-nāma, for specimens of this Persification. For Erskine's
comments on the peculiarities of the Persian text see his Preface,
p. viii.)
8 kim (Samarqand u Khujend) būlgāhī. This frequent phrase of Bābar
I do not find mentioned in the Turkī grammars; it always, I think,
expresses apposition; "that is to say" may be its meaning.
9 Following the Persian trans. Abūl-faṣl and Erskine omit Bābar's
H. Beveridge, i, 221). For a description of the passes into Farghāna
see Kostenko's Turkistān Region, trans. Simla, 1882, vol. i, sect. i,
cap. 2 and 3.
10 Wilayat ning ichkāri bila; perhaps "through the trough of the
country" (de Meynard, ichkār, creux).
11 "A town in Mawarā'u-n-nahr, also called Shāsh, and in modern
times Tāshkent." (Rieu, i, 79). Bābar does not identify Fanākat (var.
Benākat, Fiākat) with Tāshkent; he does so with Shāhrukhā. As
he distinguishes between Tāshkent, i.e. Shāsh, and Fanākat, i.e.
Shāhrukhā while Rieu identifies the two, it may be that Rieu's statement
applies not to "modern" but to old Tāshkent which stood some 14 miles
nearer to the Sir than the newer town does. (Is its first syllable
Ar. fans, expressive of its bygone status?) Fanākat (Shāhrukhā) is
located by Bābar's and by Haidar's narratives near the Sir, perhaps near
modern Chināz. For a discussion on the origin of the name Tāshkent
see Von Schwarz's Turkistān, index s.n. Tāshkent; see too Kostenko,
i, 320; Parker, Asiatic Quarterly, 1909, art. Samarqand, pp. 2, 74;
JRAS., April, 1909, art. Bābar-nāma. Also Raverty's Tabaqāt-i-nāsiri,
index s.n. Tāshkent, Fanākat, Shāhrukhā.
12 Hech daryā gha qattilmās. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 1b), hech
daryā'i digar ham-rāh na shuda. E. and de C. have understood Bābar
to say that below Turkistān the Sir is not tributary to any other river,
but, although this is the fact, there is room for doubting if this is
what he meant. He may preface his clear (but erroneous) statement
that the whole Sir sinks (sinkār) into the sand by one denying an
alternative end of its course, i.e. fall into a daryā, a larger body of
water, presumably the Sea of Aral. His preposition is gha (to), and
E.'s "other" is the translation of the gloss digar of his Persian source.
Bābar, it is evident, did not know the whole course of the Sir. (See Schuyler, i, 550 ff., and Kostenko, i, 198, 218, amongst modern writers about it.)

13 Qaṣbalār. Bābar’s geographical unit is the township, or, more exactly, the village, the inhabited and cultivated oasis. Of frontiers he says nothing. 14 “i.e. passengers eat them gratuitously” (Leyden). Klaproth, “all ein es ist streng verboten sie zu verkaufen ehe sie reif geworden sind” (Archiv für Asiatische Litteratur, pp. 101 ff.); cf. T.R. trans., p. 425. See Timkowski’s Travels of the Russian Mission, i, 419.

From this point there is a gap of two folios in the Elph. MS.

15 One kind of melon is called the nāshpātī, but as Bābar has not mentioned the pear, nāshpātī here may mean this fruit. See Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, p. 6; Kostenko, i, 251; von Schwarz, p. 361.

16 Tūgaz tar nau sā kērār, bū ‘ajab tūr kim bīr yīr din ham chīqmās. Pers. trans., i.O. 217, fol. 2: nuḥ jūy āb dar gūta dar mī āyīd u in ‘ajab ast kah hama az yak jā ham na mī bar āyīd. Erskine (p. 2, using Mr. Metcalfe’s MS., see Rieu, p. 244), “The water-courses of the mills by which the water enters the city are nine, and it is singular that they all issue from the same place;” Erskine (p. 2 n., using his own MS., see Rieu, L.c.), “Nine streams of water enter the fort, and it is singular that they do not all come out at the same place;” de Courteille (i, 2), “Neuf canaux entrent dans la ville, et il y à cela d’étonnant qu’ils ne sortent par aucune issue.” Mr. Erskine had here only the Persian translation to guide him, there being still a gap in the Elph. MS. As he translated in India, the words tar nau took on their technical Indian meaning of channels or pipes serving mills. Bābar’s meaning is, I think, that all the water brought into the town of Andijān by nine artificial channels was consumed there, leaving no surplus to come out at even one place.

17 Khandaq nīng tāsh gānī. Pers. trans. (i.O. 217, fol. 2), dar kina r sang bast khandaq. E. (p. 2), “On the edge of the stone-faced ditch;” de C. (i, 2), “sur le bord extérieur du fossé.” There can be little doubt that the Persian trans. is wrong in its sang bast, both on the ground of the Turki wording and because Bābar’s point is the unusual circumstance of a road round a ditch; also because Andijān is built on loess and of loess.

18 Qırghāsul ashkina si bila. Ashkina is allowed by dictionaries to be the rice and vegetables commonly served with the bird. Erskine (p. 2) writes “broth” and adds, in a note, “a sort of stew, or rather, jelly-broth.” Ilminsky prints iskana, whence de Courteille (i, 3), “quatre personnes ne peuvent venir à bout d’en manger une cuisse.” Klaproth (p. 104), “so fette Adler dass vier Menschen von einem ausgewachsenen satt werden können.” For a recipe likely to be ashkina see Kostenko, i, 287.

19 b. 1440; d. 1500.

20 Heridā nashū u namā tāhib tūr. M. de Courteille applies these words to Nawārī’s writings: “quokque publiées à Herat, sont conçues dans cet idiom” (i, 3).
See Daulat Shāh’s Memoirs of the Poets, E. G. Browne, pp. 350, 351. Yūsuf was with Bāysanghar Mirzā; he may be one with Yūsuf Bādī’ of Farghana (fol. 181).

Gūzār ʿl bīzāk kūb būlār. The Pers. translator has read Turki gūz, autumn, to be Turki goz, eye, and adds (I.O. 217, fol. 2), asḥāb chāshm u waram ān bīzār mi shud u itībā ḍurrā gīvrat mi gūzā. There is no Turki basis for the above gloss. For statistics of autumn fever in Turkistān and for a novel febrifuge, see von Schwarz, index s.n. Fieber, and also Kostenko, i and iii, Table of Contents.

Pers. trans. farsang. Ujfalvy, (Expedition Scientifique, ii, 179), “L’igadji ou le farsang vaut environ 6 kilomètres.” Cf. von Schwarz, p. 124. From de C.’s Dict. s.n. yīghāch, may be quoted what shows the variable length of this measure: “Trois fois la distance à laquelle un homme, placé entre deux autres, peut se faire entendre d’eux, soit un farsang, soit un mille.” I cannot bring Bābar’s statements of distance in yīghāch to agree with the farsang of about 4 miles. They work out more nearly to 8 miles per yīghāch. Here if the yīghāch equal the farsang of 4 miles, the distance from Üsh to Andijān would be 16 miles, but Kostenko gives it (ii, 33) as 50 verst, i.e. 33 m. 14 fur.

 Ağār sā, the irrigation channels on which in Turkistān all cultivation depends. Major-General Gérard writes (Report of the Pamir Boundary Commission, p. 6), “Osh is a charming little town, resembling Islamābād in Kashmir,—everywhere the same mass of running water, in small canals, bordered with willow, poplar and mulberry.” He saw the Ağ Būra, mother of all these running waters, as a “bright, stony, trout stream”; Dr. Stein saw it as a “broad tossing river” (Buried Cities of Khotan, p. 45). Cf. Réclus, vi, cap. Farghana; Kostenko, i, 104; von Schwarz, index under related names.

Üsh ning fażīlatidā khaiti ahādīs wārid dār. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), Fażīlat Üsh ahādīs dar wārid ust; E. (p. 3), “The excellencies of Üsh are celebrated even in the sacred traditions”; de C. (i, 2), “On cite beaucoup de traditions qui célèbrent l’excellence de ce climat.” Many and various legends have gathered round Üsh; cf. e.g. Ujfalvy, ii, 172. It may be celebrated, as Mr. Erskine says, in the Sacred Traditions, because of places near it honoured of Musalmāns; it is open to question if Bābar’s fażīlat should be restricted, as M. de Courtetle restricts it, to climate only. Üsh has been distinguished for many centuries by its traditions, is a place of pilgrimage still and has revered objects of presumed curative power.

A good deal has been written about the position of the Barā Koh (e.g. Ritter, v, 432, 732; Réclus, vi, 540; Schuyler, ii, 43; and the references of the first and second. Also, Timkowski, ii, 49). It seems safe to identify it with the Takht-i Sulaimān Ridge, as e.g. Ujfalvy and Schuyler’s personal observations led them to do; but some considerations lead me to suggest that by Barā Koh Bābar does not mean the whole ridge, but one only of its four marked summits, i.e. the one shown in Madame Ujfalvy’s sketch of it as the highest and as being symmetrical (Bābar’s manzūn). “Il y a quatre sommets dont le plus
élevé est le troisième comptant par le nord" (Ujfalvy, i, 96). Madame Ujfalvy's sketch would seem to be taken from the north, because its third summit is the highest (De Paris à Samarcande, p. 330). A permissible meaning of the words Barā Koh is Pointed Hill; this meaning suits her sketch and Bābār's maunzān; it also helps out the identification of her third summit as the Barā Koh, since only this third is well-shaped and definite. There is this in favour of limiting the name Barā Koh; Bābār must have known that Takht-i Sulaimān was the name of the whole isolated rocky ridge. It would clear up a good deal of confusion about names and location, written of by Ritter, Réclus, Schuyler and others, if the name Barā Koh be taken as limited in the way I mention. (A suggestion made (i, 3 n.) by M. de Courteille that Barā Koh should be Bālā (high) Koh has no support in the MSS.)

22 Rūd, a precise word, since the Āq Būra, issuing as the Tūrq from the Kordūn Pass (13,400 feet), falls, after creating the Little Ālāī Valley, to Īsh (3040 feet) through a canyon 1000 to 2000 feet deep; and thence again to Andijān (1380 feet). Kostenko, i, 104; Huntington, in Pumpelly's Explorations in Turkistan, p. 179; French Military Map of 1904.

23 When Bābār uses a word twice, once with the Arabic plural āt, once with the Turki īrār, as here, or as elsewhere, bégāt u bégārār, he seems to mean "all, of every degree". Hence I translate bāghāt here by "garden-plots", not intending, however, to give it when it stands alone the meaning of bāghcha, small garden, but taking it as the complement of the closely following bāghlār, with the meaning of "gardens of all sorts". The point is small, but one does not follow Bābār's words without receiving the impression that it is safest to give each weight. He wastes none. Ujfalvy mentions that Īsh "est situé sur le versant d'une montagne ; presque toutes les rues sont en pente" (i, 96). Perhaps this explains why all the gardens were on the torrent and why Bābār mentions that they were so.

24 Madame Ujfalvy has sketched its probable successor. Schuyler found two mosques at the foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān, perhaps Bābār's Jauza (Twin) Mosques. (Klaproth takes Jauza Masjid to mean "Nuss-templ.")

25 Aūl shāh jāy din sū gūyārlār. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), az in shāh (var. shāh, sīh) jāy āb migrazōrand; Erskine (p. 3) tentatively, "carry across three streams;" de C. (i, 3), "verser de l’eau du torrent sur quiconque," etc.

26 Ribbon jasper, presumably.

27 Kostenko (ii, 30), 71½ versts, i.e. 47 m. 4½ fur., Postal Road.

27 "A town between Khūrāsān and 'Irāq, near Damghān" (Erskine).

28 The Persian translator inserts maγh-ī bādām, almonds, in the apricots, a fashion well known in khūbānī, bought in India, but the Turki words allow the return to the fruit of its own stoned kernel. Mr. Rickmers tells me that in the Zar-afšān Valley he has often met with apricots so stuffed. Steingass gives "jauz-āghand, a peach stuffed with walnut-kernels". My husband has shown me that Nişāmī seems
to allude in the following passage from the *Haft Païkar*, to the practice of inserting almonds in fruits:

"I gave thee fruits from the garden of my heart,  
Plump and sweet as honey in milk;  
Their substance gave the lusciousness of figs,  
In their hearts were the kernels of almonds."

35 Pers. trans. (I. O. 217, fol. 2b), *ahū-i varūq, "said to be the arkalī described in many books of Natural History. See *Voyages de Pallas*, iv, 325" (Erskine). If, however, as is done by some travellers, the arkalī (*arkhary*) be identified with *Ovis poli*, it cannot be Bābār’s *aq kiyik* (white or light-coloured deer or sheep) found at the level of the Sir, circa 2000 feet (cf. fol. 5), unless, indeed, the habitat of *Ovis poli* has changed. Parts of the Marghānān and Khujend *wilāyat* are high enough for the present limit (10,000 feet) of *Ovis poli*, running back as they do up the northern face of the Kok Sū and Khūtār which, moreover, have their southern slope to the Pamirs, a haunt of the great sheep. Perhaps the *aq kiyik* found at Akhsi were *Ovis Karetini*; the *aq* of the name not needing to be taken as pure white, light and whitish being common meanings of the word. Cf. Curzon’s *Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, p. 26; Shaw’s *Voc. s.n. kiyik*; Atkinson’s *Amur*, index under related names.

36 Pers. trans. Tājik. Bābār describes the Asfara people as Persian-speaking Sārts. Modern opinion distinguishes the Sārt as a settled resident, usually of mixed descent. This modern view would allow Bābār’s Marghānān Sārts to be Turki-speaking, settled Turks, and his Asfara Sārts to be Persian-speaking Tājiks. Cf. Shaw’s *Voc. s.n. Sārt*; Schuyler, i, 104 and note; Nalivkine’s *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p. 45 n.; von Schwarz, index s.n.


38 Asfara town is in the foot-hills of the Turkistān Range; Asfara *wilāyat* runs back too far upon this for ‘‘foot-hills” to apply. Wārub (4470 feet) lies 34 miles back from Asfara town, Hushyār (Curzon, Ushiyār; French Map, Ouchchyār) about as far. “Hill-country” suits for both Sūkh and Hushyār.

39 Measured on the French Military Map, the direct distance may work out at some 65 miles, but the road makes a *détour* round mountain spurs.

To the word *jāzang* of his source, Mr. Erskine here attaches an elaborate note concerning Indian measurements which, valuable as it is in itself, is made the less applicable here by the uncertain length of the *yūghāch*.

40 Būghā. Cf. n. 28.

41 Hai. MS. *Fārsī giy*, the word *Fārsī* being entered, apparently by the scribe of the MS., over the line, as if at first omitted. [The lacuna of the Elph. MS. still continues.] Kehr’s MS. has kōhī, but its earlier pages are Persified; the Pers. trans. (I.O. 217) has also kōhī, hence the “mountaineers” and “montagnards” of E. and de C. The *Fārsī* of the H. MS. would have been useful to Ritter (vii, 733–4) and to Ujfalvy (ii, 175).
Of this stone neither Fedtchenko nor Ujfalvy could get news.

Here Bābār distinguishes between Tāshkent and Shāhṛukhia. Cf. fol. 2, n. 11.

In 908 A.H. (first half of 1503). He left the hill-country above Sākh in Muḥarram, 910 a. H. (mid-June, 1504).

For an interesting account of Khuǰend see Kostenko, i, 346.

Kostenko, ii, 29–31. Andijān to Marghīnān, 47 m. 4½ fur.; Marghīnān to Khokand, 56 m. 2¼ fur.; Khokand to Khuǰend, 83 m. 2½ fur.; total, 187 m. 2 fur. from Khuǰend to Andijān. By help of the time-table of the Transcaspian Railway, the distance by rail from Khuǰend to Samarqand can be pieced out as 154 m. 5½ fur.

Both are still honoured in Khuǰend. See Kostenko, i, 348. For Khwāja Kamāl’s Life and dīvān see Rieu, ii, 632, and Ouseley’s Persian Poets, p. 192.

Kāb ārtaq dār. Perhaps this means that the fruit was the more taken to India where Bābār wrote. Pers. trans., biṣyār bihtar; Erskine, “greatly excelled;” de Courteille, “beaucoup plus en vogue.”

Hāi. MS., M(ī)nūq(h)ī; Pers. trans. and Erskine, Myoghīl; Ilmīnksy, M(ī)tūq(h)ī; de C., Moughīl; Réclus and Schuyler, Mogul Tāu; Nalīkvīne, “d'après Fedtchenko,” Mont Mogol; French Map of 1904, M. A. Muzbek; Kostenko, Mogol Tāu. This is, says Kostenko (i, 101), the western end of the Kurāmā Range (Kendir Tāu) which comes out to the bed of the Sīr. It is 26½ miles long and rises to 4000 feet. Von Schwarz says it is quite bare; various writers ascribe climatic evils to it.

Pers. trans. ahū-i safīd, a variation of its rendering (fol. 30) by ahū-i warāq.

The marūl is frequently mentioned by Atkinson who takes it to be the red or fallow deer. Von Schwarz mentions it (index s.m.), and Kostenko (i, 57, and iii, 70) writes of the export of its fresh horns to China and of the value of its skin. Under the word bāyḡū there stands in the Hāi. MS. (fol. 4) gawzwan-kohī and (fol. 5) tīka-kohī. De Courteille (i, 7) takes bāyḡū marūl to mean “cerf et biche”, and this they could do if it were not open to give them the fuller meaning of two kinds of game. A precise parallel of the double meanings of these two words is found in von Schwarz’s list of Turkistān game, where stand together Hirsch Dambhirsch, stag and hind, or two varieties of deer.

Here in the Pers. trans. recurs the misreading of “eye” for “autumn” noticed in n. 22.


Schuyler (ii, 3), 18 miles.

Hāi. MS. Hamesha ā bā desht tā yīl bār dār. Marghīnān yīh kīm sharqī dār, hamesha māndīn yīl bārār; Khuǰend yīh kīm gharbī dār, dā’īm māndīn yīl kilār. Bābār seems to say that the wind goes always east and west from the steppe as from a central generating point. E. and de C. have given it alternative directions, but in saying that wind goes east or west in a valley hemmed in on north and south there is little point. Bābār’s statement is limited by him to the steppe in the contracted mouth of the Farghāna Valley (pace Schuyler, ii, 51) where special climatic conditions rule. Of these, roughly put, are difference
of temperature on either side of the Khujend narrows, draughts resulting from this difference, the heating of the narrows by reflected sun-heat from the Mogol Tau and inrush of north-west wind through the pass near Mirzâ Rabâṭ. Bâbar calls the wind of Há Darwâsh a whirling wind and so modern travellers have found it. Thinkable at least it is that a strong westerly current (the prevailing wind of Farghâna) entering over Mirzâ Rabâṭ and becoming, on the hemmed-in steppe, the whirlwind it does become—perhaps by conflict with the hotter indraught from the Khujend narrows—might force that indraught back into the narrows, in the way e.g. that one Nile forces back the other. Local observation only can guide the translator; the directness of Bâbar's words compels belief in their significance and this most so when what he says is unexpected. The manuscript sources agree in having "to (gha) Marghinân" and "to (gha) Khujend". It is somewhat strange that Bâbar should take for his eastern wind-objective a place so remote and sheltered as Marghinân. Makhrâm, where, moreover, there is a "cleft" to which evil climatic influence is attributed would suit his context better, but it finds no mention in the Bâbar-nâma. Cf. Réclus, vi, 547; Schuyler, ii, 51; Cahun, Histoire du Khanat de Khokand, p. 28; Sven Hedin's Durch Asiens Wüsten, index s.n. berdûn.

56 i.e. Akhsî Village. Kehr, Akhsikit; Ilminsky, Akhsikes. Dr. Ethé mentions that in I.O. 1909, the diveân of Aşîru'd-din, the place-name is written clearly Akhsîkes, the form to which Ilminsky has departed from Kehr. The ancient name of Akhsî was Akhsî-kint; the three dots which have been taken as those of sî'î masallaga might be those of the nûn and the tâ in kint.

57 See Rieu, ii, 563; Daulat Shâh, l.c., p. 131; Ethé, I.O. 1909.

58 By measurement on the map the distance seems to be about 80 kilometres, i.e. 50 miles.

59 Modern information about the oasis towns of Turkistân allows Bâbar's description of Akhsî to be better understood than it has been either by earlier translators or by the numerous writers who have drawn inferences from their words.

1.—The Turkî passage is as follows: H., Elph., Kehr's MSS. (Ilminsky, p. 6), Saihûn daryâ sî qûrgûhû astûdû ûqâr. Qûrgûhû baland jâr aoustûdâ wâqi' bûlûb tûr. Khandaqû nûnû xunûsûha 'unûq jârlûr dûr. 'Umar Shaikh M. kim mûnû pây-takht qûldû, bûr ikû martaba têshriqûn dûn jârlûr sâldû.

Of this the translations are as follows:

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 3b), Daryâ-i Saihûn az pâyhâ qila'-i oû rezad i qila'-i o bar jâr balandt wâqi' shûda ba jây khandaq jârhâ-i 'unûq qfiûda. 'U. S. M. kah ûrnû pây-takht sûkhû, yak du martaba az bûlûn ham bûz jârhâ andûkhû.

(b) Erskine (p. 5, translating from the Persian), "The river Saihûn flows under the walls of the castle. The castle is situated on a high precipice, and the steep ravines around serve instead of a moat. When 'U. S. M. made it his capital he, in one or two instances, scarped the ravines outside the fort."
(c) De Courteille (i, 6, translating from Ilminsky’s imprint), p. 6, “Le Seihoun coule au pied de la forteresse qui se dresse sur le sommet d’un ravin, dont les profondeurs lui tiennent lieu de fossé. ‘U. S. M. à l’époque où il en avait fait son capitale, avait augmenté à une ou deux reprises, les escarpements qui lui eignent naturellement.”

2.—The key to Bābar’s meaning is provided by the word jar, taken in the sense, common in Turkestān, of a ravine cut by water or by man, in the loess of oases, below the general level of the land. Writing of Tāshkent, Kostenko (i, 321) says of one subdivision (in which is Jar Kūcha, Ravine Lane) that it is on level ground and is divided by a deep ravine. Of another he says that it is cut by deep ravines (Bābar’s ‘umiy jarlär). These statements, together with the information given by Kostenko and von Schwarz, about the plan of towns, the creation of oases and the characteristics of loess, allow Bābar to be understood as saying of Akhsi in the fifteenth century what Kostenko says of Tāshkent in the nineteenth, namely, that its ƣärghān stood above the ravines, natural or artificial, of the Kāsān Water and not on a precipice washed by the Sāihūn.

3.—Wanting this modern light on the word jar, Bābar’s meaning has not been clearly understood; of this there is sign in Erskine’s location of Akhsi on a precipice with its walls washed by the river, and in his and de C.’s uncertainty as to the nature of the work done by Umar Shaikh. It is now clear that what the Mirzā did was not escarpment but the excavation of water-channels, whether for the completion of a pseudo-moat or to meet the needs of a population augmented by his residence.

4.—Wanting modern information, again, it has been thought that the walled town abutted on the river, and it has been inferred that Bābar’s father, Umar Shaikh, met his death by falling into the Sāihūn (cf. fol. 6b). Bābar’s words, however, when taken with other available information, do not demand to be understood as locating the walls on the river’s bank. If Akhsi, i.e. the ƣärghān, stood back (as it seems to have done) up the riverain slope, the Sāihūn might be said to flow beneath it as the Thames flows below Richmond.

Circumstantial testimony is merely accessory to Bābar’s plain statement that Akhsi stood above ravines; the Sāihūn did not flow in a cleft near Akhsi; it could have been no part of the pseudo-moat. Circumstantial only, but weighty, since the permanent influence of the Kāsān Water fixes the site of Akhsi both in the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, is Yaqūt’s statement that Akhsi had gardens through “a whole parasang” and entered from every gate. So too is Bābar’s that the Akhsi suburbs stretched about 2 miles beyond the town (see infra, n. 61).

5.—It can be only in the passage under discussion that General Nalivkine found testimony by Bābar to what he sets forth in the following extract (Histoire du Khanat de Khokend, p. 53):—“L’emplacement que cette ville occupait alors était un lieu escarpé, assez élevé au-dessus du fleuve, par les eaux duquel il était constamment miné. Aussi la ville, au témoignage du sultan Bābar, recula-t-elle successivement vers le nord, ce qui obligea d’en reporter dans la même direction et à plusieurs reprises,
les murs et les fortifications. Il est très possible que cette destruction progressive du rivage par les eaux ait été l'une des causes qui firent abandonner l'antique capitale du Farghanah, réduite aujourd'hui à l'état de kichlak (gîshlak, winter quarters) insignifiant. Le site de celui-ci est à quelque distance de la berge, qui a cessé d'être affouillée par le fleuve, depuis qu'il s'est formé là un grand banc de sable.

An obvious objection to the theory that erosion has led to the retreat and dwindling of Akhsi, lies in the fact that the Kásân Water does not yet fall into the Saihûn. If in the fifteenth century the Saihûn was undermining the very walls of Akhsi, a town which in the twelfth century was, Yâqût says, one parasang from the mouth of the Kásân Valley, how is it that land on which it stood remains?

Against this objection it might be urged that the water issuing from the valley may have become less and less in volume, whether by general desiccation or because of increased cultivation on the higher reaches of the stream. These points raise problems requiring scientific adjustment between (supposed) erosion, lessened rainfall and increase of cultivation.

6.—Mr. Pumpelly has posited the search for the site of old Akhsi as an archaeological task of the future. Approximately, that site is fixed by the Kásân stream and its oeffakes. Perhaps the importance of Akhsi bulks too large in literature through the haze of imperfect information; the town was on and of loess; the valuables of past, as of present Turkistan, were movables; treasures of art or architecture are not to be looked for. Akhsi town in the fifteenth century was a small place; the measure of its gardens is the measure, not of its walled town, but of the oasis lands redeemed from the waste by the help of the Kásân Water. It became a "capital" by the caprice of one man; it ceased to be one because the boy Bâbar's advisers stayed in Andijân.

7.—Cf. p. 114 for distances which would be useful in locating old Akhsi if Bâbar's yîghâch were not variable. Ritter, vii, 3, 733 ff.; Réclus, vi, index s.n. Farghâna; Ujfalvy, ii, 168 ff., and his references to Yâqût; Nalivkine, pp. 14 ff. and 53; Schuyler, i, 324; Kostenko, Tables of Contents, for cognate general information, and i, 320, for Tashkent; von Schwarz, index under related names and especially p. 345 and plates; Pumpelly, pp. 18 and 115.

The maximum time during which Akhsi could have been his capital is twenty-eight years, i.e. from his appointment to the Farghâna Government, as a child, to his death (870 A.H. to 899 A.H.).

Maḥallūt ʔîrghân din bîr shar'i varaq râq tâshâbût. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 3b), maḥallūt o az ʔila' yak shar'i dârta urâda. From these passages E. and de C. have understood that the suburbs of Akhsi were a shar'i (circa 2 miles) from the walled town. The Turki wording is against this, however, (1) in its comparative din ... varaq râq, i.e. further than; (2) in its verb, tâshâbût, denoting extension; (3) in its use of maḥallūt, suburbs. It is far to go to Yâqût for support of what Bâbar says of Akhsi in the fifteenth century, but as in his century also the gardens depended on the Kásân Water, it is useful to know that Yâqût describes all the gates of Akhsi as opening on gardens and waters which stretched a whole parasang (Ujfalvy, ii, 180,
who refers to Yâqût, i, 162). For its mahallât not to adjoin a town would be not only a misnomer, but against the uniform plan of the oasis towns of Turkistân (cf. von Schwarz, pp. 133 ff.).

61 I do not see the point of the Persian proverb Bâbar quotes. As suits with his reading that the suburbs of Akhsi were 2 miles from their town, Erskine takes the questions as asked by a person coming out of town and looking for the suburbs. De Courteille (i, 8) translates by, "Ne me parlez plus de village! Ne me parlez plus d'arbres!" If with Erskine, he had not understood the suburbs to be 2 miles from Akhsi, he might be thought to express the fatigue of one making for the walled town and wearying of the long suburban road. As he has not translated accurately, his varied wording suggests that he knew the proverb elsewhere. His rendering supports my location of the suburbs rather than his own.

(N.B. The lacuna in the Elph. MS. ends before the râq tushâbâtur of the passage under discussion.)

62 Andâq qawûn mar'âm imâs kim 'âlamâd bûghâ'î, a characteristic idiom. 63 Pers. trans. yawan. So too H. MS. beneath the word bûghâ. Cf. fol. 3b and note, fol. 4 and note.

64 Sû, here and in some earlier instances seeming to be a common noun. It is used in Turkistân as we use "water" in "Allan Water" and "Water of Leith".

65 Sâ'tî. Leyden (B.M. MS. trans.) and Erskine have read this as Pers. sîyâ, and have translated by "entirely in the shade" and "are sheltered along the banks of the stream". I.O. 217, fol. 4, l. 4, has sâ'tî.

66 This Persian phrase has been found difficult of interpretation. It has been taken as follows:

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 4), postin pesh br( )rah.
(b) Pers. MS. quoted by E. (p. 6 n.), postin-i mish burra.
(c) Leyden’s MS. translation, "a sheepskin mantle for five lambs."
(d) Erskine (p. 6), "a mantle of five lambskins."
(e) Klaproth (p. 109), "postini pisch breh, d.h. giebt den vorderem Pelz."
(f) Kehr (p. 12), postin biss b( )rah.
(g) De Courteille (i, 9), "fourrure d’agneau de la première qualité."
(h) Pers. annotator of Elph. MS. under the pesh or bish, pany.
(i) Ilinsky (p. 6), postin biss b( )rah.

Erskine’s five lambskins carry on the notion of comfort started by his previous sîyâh. De Courteille also lays stress on fur and warmth, but flowery gardens bordering a torrent seem less likely to prompt a phrase emphasizing warmth and textile softness than one bespeaking ornament and beauty. If the phrase might be read as postin pesh-persî, what adorns the front of the coat, or as postin-pesh-i burdâh, the fine front of the coat, the gardens would be allowed to recall the gay, embroidered border of a leathern postin. Cf. von Schwarz’s plate, p. 9.

67 Shaikh Sulaimân (Konos) explains this as the tamarisk; if this it be, it seems likely to be the Tamarix gallica (Brandis, Indian Trees, p. 45, and Balfour’s Cyclopædia). Shaw (Vocabulary), "a mountain bush;" Redhouse, (a) a tree of the buckthorn tribe, (b) the red willow, Salix purpurea or Salix ruthra, (c) sappan-wood, the wood of the
Casalpina sappan. A rod-like plant such as the red willow would suit the several uses of it mentioned by Babar. "Tabalghū has the same meaning as tabarkhūn or tabarkhân. See Vallers, i, 420b, and Meninski, i, 1030, and ii, 3084, s.n., who quotes the Lughat Ḥalimâ and the Lughat Ni'matullâh. See, too, Rieu, Turki Cat., pp. 137, 142. It is the Hyrcanian willow." (H. Beveridge).

68 Erskine (p. 6), "They also cut it into forked tops of arrows;" de Courtelle (i, 9), "On la taille aussi en flèches." Steingass, s.n. giz., "a sort of arrow or dart without wing or point, the two ends being small, the middle thick," a description allowing the scraping (tardâh) of the Turki text. Babar distinguishes the târ-giz from the âug.

69 Tabarruklūq bīla yarâq jīrār kā ilâlār. Erskine (p. 6), "It is carried to a great distance as a rarity much in request;" de Courtelle (i, 19), "On le transporte au loin, où il trouve un débit avantageux." The text allows the statement that the trees (yîghāch) are carried afar, and this would allow the word yîghāch to be translated all through the passage by "tree" instead of both by "tree" and "wood." But if the tabalghū were rod-like, a statement about its wood would slip easily into the plural form. The Burhān-i qâšâ includes the tabarkhān, the uses of which suit the tabalghū.

70 Yâbriynâ's-yâmnân, "the mallow consecrated to idols." (Leyden). "The plant called mandragora or mandrake. See the Ufizū Uwdichy or Materia Medica of Nooreddin Muh. Abdalla Shirazy, published with a translation by Gladwin, Calcutta, 1793. The name aîkotî is derived from the Turki "(qy. Arabic)" word aîlek, vivacity, and (Turki) ot, grass. Mehergîâh seems to be merely the Persian translation of the name, from meher, affection, and ġîh, grass. It is, however, called aîkotî or dog-grass, a name which comes from the way in which it is said to be gathered. They have a fancy that any person who plucks up this grass dies; on which account they are said to dig round its roots, and when these are sufficiently loosened, tie it to the neck of a dog, who, by his endeavours to get away, pulls it out of the earth. See D'Herbelot, art. Abrusanam and Astefrenk. The same story is still told."


71 Seven Villages. Mr. Ney Elias has discussed the location of this place (T.R., p. 180 n.). He mentions that it is placed in Arrowsmith's map of 1878 as a district of Kurâma, in the elbow of the Sir. The Babar-nâma narrative where Yiti Kint is mentioned allows of Arrowsmith's location. Other names of similar form suggest, like this one, that the numeral in them denotes so many villages served by the same water. Biskent which is in the neighbourhood assigned to Yiti Kint, may mean Five Villages.
VI

BUDDHIST NOTES

VEDANTA AND BUDDHISM

BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

There is much to support the opinion of Rāmānuja, Dr. Thibaut, and many others, that Śaṅkara's doctrine of "illusion" is a biassed rendering of the old Vedānta, Bādarāyaṇīk as well as Aupanishadic. If that be granted, it is by no means self-evident that Buddhism has been without influence on Śaṅkara's speculation; and the last writer on the subject, Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, a very able pupil of Professor Jacobi, does not conceal his opinion, or his surmise, that Śaṅkara is indebted to Nāgārjuna.¹ That may be true, but I would object that we really know little or nothing about the history of Vedānta, and that conclusions based on philosophical parallels are by no means definitive. Autonomous developments—autonomous if not absolutely independent—are admissible. Nāgārjuna (or his predecessors, the anonymous authors of the oldest Mahāyānasūtras), by the very fact that he proclaims "voidness" to be the real nature of things, was prepared to distinguish the relative truth (samvrtisatya) and the absolute one (pāramārthika); and his nihilism coupled with "idealism" might lead to the Vijñānavāda: "existence of pure non-intelligent (?) intellect." On the other hand the Aupanishadas, from their main thesis (tattvam asī, etc.),² could derive the distinction of the

¹ The Teachings of Vedānta according to Rāmānuja (Inaugural Dissertation, Bonn, August 12, 1908; Wien, Druck von Adolf Holzhausen, 1908).

² I think that no unprejudiced reader will admit Rāmānuja's interpretation of the old pantheist or monist sayings of the Upanishads. Against Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar (p. 13), I adhere to the opinion of Dr. Thibaut: "The fundamental doctrines of Śaṅkara's system are manifestly in greater harmony with the essential teaching of the
two brahmans, of the two vidyās. Both developments are natural enough; the conception of the universal void (○) and the intuition of the infinite (∞) are convergent, in the end; but parallel and convergent as they are, these developments do not lose their primitive tinge. The *qualis ab incepto* is true of every evolution, political (as M. de Kérallain has proved) or doctrinal: the *samvrtisatya*, "erroneous truth," of Nāgārjuna is really "untruth"; the *vaiyavahārika satya*, "practical truth," of Śaṃkara is truth, provisory indeed, but truth _qua_ mème. Māyā is. Śaṃkara's "magic play" is caused by a magician, and this magician is a Lord. Nāgārjuna's *samvrti*, the Buddhist counterpart of the Vedāntic māyā, is like the son of a barren woman: it is not, it cannot be. But the two systems bear _un air de famille_, which has been taken into account more than once and from both sides.

This problem is of paramount importance in the history of Indian thought. It would not be imprudent to say that as long as we have not ascertained the chronological relations between primitive Buddhism and the Aupani-shadic-Sāmkhya theories, between the system of Nāgārjuna and that of Śaṃkara, between Dignāga and "orthodox Nyāya", we cannot boast of even having traced the cardinal lines of the spiritual and intellectual history of India.

It is not my present object to discuss the claims of Upanishads than those of other Vedantic systems" (S.B.E., xlv, p. cxxiv). The "essential teaching" of the Upanishads is not their spiritual undogmatic or polydogmatic enthusiasm (the chief part from the point of view of the history of religion), but their ontological surmises.

1 M. de K. is the French translator of Sumner Maine, Sir Frederick Pollock, and Sir Alfred Lyall. One will find in the *Études sur les moeurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrème Orient* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1908) a splendid translation of the *Asiatic Studies* of Sir Alfred, with many notes, illustrations, and appendices of no small interest.

2 It is a pity that M. Th. de Stcherbatskoï is writing in Russian.
Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja to Aupanishadic orthodoxy, or to unravel the problem of the relations of Buddhism to Śaṅkara’s monism, to specify the possible or probable loans on both sides. I only intend to give a few references, some of which are already well known.

I

The common opinion of the Dvaitavādins or “dualists” (Śaṅkhyas, Viśiṣṭādvaityavādins) is that the Māyā-doctrine is not Vaidic, i.e. Aupanishadic: māyāvādam avaidikam, says Śiva; na . . . tad Vedāntamatam, argues Vijñānahikṣu. This doctrine is “Buddhism in disguise”, a doctrine of “crypto-Bauddhas” (as says Dr. Thibaut)—

māyāvādam asac chāstraṃ prachannam bauddham eva ca.

The theologians who maintain the “Neo-illusionism” (ādhunika māyāvāda) and style themselves Vedāntin (Vedāntibrva) are, in fact, Buddhists; more precisely, they belong to that branch of the Buddhist school which is named Vijñānavādins, “who maintain the sole existence of thought” (bauddhaprabhedāḥ, Vijñānavādyekadesitaya). They assimilate the “data” of experience, merit, and demerit, etc., to the “data” of a dream, and, using the (Buddhist) phrase sānvrtika (erroneous) as the exact connotation of the “particular”, they admit that the world, the whole of the “knowable” (prapañca) is produced by Ignorance. Therefore they ought to be styled Nāstikas (miscreants, or Buddhists). Thus Vijñānahikṣu.¹

Yamunācārya, too, the guru of the guru of Rāmānuja,

¹ See Śaṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya, edited and translated by Professor Richard Garbe, index sub voc. buddha, prachannabuddha, vijñānavāda. With I, 22 (p. 16, 6–7), compare the readings of Padmapurāṇa (xlilii) apud Anfrecht, Cat. Oxoniensis, p. 14: “māyāvādam asac chāstraṃ prachannam bauddham ucyate, mayaiva kathitaṃ devi kalau brahmaṇa-rūpiṇā . . . parātmajāvayor aikyāṃ mamātra pratipādyate, brahmaṇo ’sya param rūpaṃ nirguṇam vaksyate mayā, sarvasya jagato ’py atra mohanāya kalau yuge.”
clearly refers to Dharmakirti in his *Siddhitrayam*, when he compares a thesis of the "avowed Buddhists" (*prakatāh saugatāh*), with the formula of the "Buddhists in disguise".

The first say—

"Although the pure intelligence is free from differences, it is understood, by people whose view is troubled, as multiple: object of knowledge, subject of knowledge, knowledge."  

The second say—

"The pure reality is not the cause of the development [of names and forms, of the intellectual contingencies], because it ceases not to be [what it is, pure]: therefore it is Illusion who is the mother of this distinction, knower, knowable."

It is only just to say that Rāmānuja could hardly avoid the reproach of dualism, and may be styled "Saṃkhyā in disguise".

II

Whilst Brahmin nihilists (*māyāvādins*) are charged with the crime of Buddhism, Buddhist monists (*vijñānavādins*) have to apologize for their "Brahmic" speculations.

As has been said in this Journal (1908, p. 889), Buddhists are aware of the close relation between Vedāntism and some of their systems. The Vījñānavāda, at least in some of its ontological principles, is very like

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1 Chowkamba S.S. (No. 36), p. 19. For this reference I am indebted to Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, p. 19, who also refers to Rāmānuja, Śrībhāsya, ii, 2. 27.

2 This line occurs in *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, p. 16 (Bibl. Indica, 1858), and elsewhere; it is extracted from the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* of Dharmakirti (see *Museon*, 1902, and Bouddhisme d’après les sources brahmaniques, p. 34; add reference to Śuklavidarśana). It runs as follows: *avibhāgo 'pi buddhyātmā viparyāśītadarśanaiḥ, grahyagrāhākānāvittībhedavān iva laksyate* (or *kalpyate*). Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar understands buddhyā ātmā: the Buddhist attributes the false distinction . . . to buddhi, as the Pseudo-Buddhist attributes the same distinction to māyā. I prefer my translation.

3 Śākyamuni has condemned Vījñānavāda-Vedānta, *Majjhima*, i, p. 329; *viññānāni anidassanāni anantaṁ sabbatopahāṇaṁ*. 
Vedāntism in disguise, or, to be more exact, it is likely to be understood in a Vedāntic sense: as Mahāmati said to Buddha in so many words. We cannot forget that Vijnānavādins are divided into several schools, which are not without analogy with the schools of Vedānta. Some of them believe that the prime spirit or thought remains pure, untouched by the development of contingencies [prapañca, i.e. manas, manovijnāna (= nāma, nāmarūpa)]: does not this resemble vivartavāda? Others will admit that the development is real: does not this resemble viśiṣṭādvaita?

I will not miss this opportunity of avowing that I have been perhaps unfair in my review of my friend Suzuki's book, Outlines of Mahāyāna (see Journal, 1908, p. 885). The claim of the Buddhists to be sūnyatāvādins, "doctors of the voidness," not brahmaṇavādins, cannot be set aside: philosophers must be credited with the opinions they profess to cherish. And I have strong objections, as an historian, to the Buddhist modernism of the Japanese scholars, of P. L. Narasu, etc. But there may be some slight portion of truth in Modernisms (they may develop old, unconscious ideas: much that is believed to be modern is old),¹ and, as a matter of fact, sūnyatā turns out to

¹ I have just read a good book, written from the "intellectualist" point of view, but very "matter of fact", Pragmatisme, Modernisme, Protestantisme (Paris, Bloud, 1909; by A. Leclère, Dr. es-Lettres, Prof. agrégé à l'Université de Berne). The author says, p. 217, note—"Il vaudrait la peine, après avoir rapproché le modernisme catholique du Protestantisme libéral moderne ou modernisme protestant, d'étudier le modernisme israélite et le modernisme mahométan. On sait qu'il s'est récemment formé à Paris une association israélite en vue de mettre le Judaïsme, en le-simplifiant, à la hauteur de la pensée contemporaine; ce mouvement a déjà une littérature; il s'est constitué par un minimalisme assez analogue à ceux que nous avons signalés. D'autre part, le Babisme, si tant est que ses meilleurs représentants avec la pure religion naturelle, et si bienveillant à l'égard de toutes les religions positives, qu'il prétend dépasser, modernise avec ardeur le vieil Islam. Autant de dissolutions des formes positives de la religion. L'écart est moins grand qu'on ne le pense généralement entre celles de ces dissolutions où on a l'illusion d'approfondir l'esprit de la doctrine qu'on
be very like brahma, and nirvāṇa, "translated" as it is by bodhi or *buddhabhūya, has the same religious import as brahmabhūya.

III

One cannot read the Gaudapādakārikās without being struck by the Buddhist character of the leading ideas and of the wording itself. The author seems to have used Buddhist works or sayings, and to have adjusted them to his Vedāntic design; nay more, he finds pleasure in double entendre. As Gaudapāda is the spiritual grandfather of Śaṅkara, this fact is not insignificant.1

The fourth chapter bears a distinctly Buddhist tinge. It has been happily summarized by Professor A. A. Macdonell: "It is entitled Alātasānti, or 'Extinction of the firebrand (circle)', so called from an ingenious comparison made to explain how plurality and genesis seem to exist in the world. If a stick which is glowing at one end is waved about, fiery lines or circles are produced without anything being added to or issuing from the single burning point. The fiery line or circle exists only in the consciousness (vijñāna). So, too, the many phenomena of the world are merely the vibrations of the consciousness, which is one."2 One could add that, really, knowledge (jñāna) or brahman is free from the threefold determination; knower, knowable, and knowledge. If we are not to rest on syllables—appamattakaṁ kho pan ētaṁ yad idam byājananā! mā āyasmanto appamattakehi vivādaṁ āpajjitha3—

transforme [as it is apparently the case with Nāgārjuna, with Śaṅkara], et celles où l'on a conscience d'évoluer tout à fait en dehors de la tradition." (Neo-Buddhists ought to be aware that they are pouring new wines, and, alas! sophisticated alcohols, into old bottles.) A historical study of Neo-Buddhism would be very interesting, as an episode of the intellectual conquest of the East by the West and vice versa.

1 The following notes are by no means exhaustive.
2 Sanskrit Literature, p. 242.
3 Majjhima, ii, p. 240. "Syllables are of little importance: do not, O monks, dispute on mere trifles."
this transcendent knowledge is like the absolute blank of the Vijñānavādins.

The simile of the firebrand circle occurs in Maitry-upaniṣad, iv, 24: “He beholds Brahman flashing like the circle of a whirling torch, in colour like the sun . . .”; but it can also be traced in Buddhist books as one of the numerous symbols of unreality, namely, in the Lankāvatāra—

*tadyathā Mahāmate acakram alātacakram bālaiś cakrabhāvena parikalpyate na panditair, evam eva Mahāmate kudṛṣṭītirthyaśayapatitā ekatvānyatvobhaya-
tvānubhayatvam parikalpasyanti sarvabhāvotpattau:*

“The firebrand circle is not a circle, and is wrongly supposed by the ignorant, not by the wise, to be a circle. In the same way, heretics will suppose that beings originate from themselves, from others, from both, without both.”

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1 Cowell's translation. Alātacakram iva sphurantam ādityavarjanam . . . brahma . . . apasyat. (Comm.: tasya brahmaṇa ātmabhedaiva-
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khyaṇanāya punplināvīśeṣaśāya viśiśtaḥ.) *Id est,* the unreal qualifications of brahma, “flashing like a firebrand circle,” are in the masculine “to show the identity between the neuter brahma and the masculine soul”, says Rāmatīrtha (and also to spare the undenotability and the unconcern of the Absolute). As a matter of fact, Brahman does not flash into unreal solar protuberances, but it appears, it appears to itself, to be flashing. Cf. vi, 17: *Brahma . . . ekanteṇaḥ.*

2 *Mahāvyutpatti,* § 139, 21.

3 Buddhist Text Society, p. 95.

4 The simile of the firebrand is also of use in the Sautrāntika school, to explain the quomodo of the “compound perceptions”. See Wassiliév, *Buddhismus*, p. 284 (312): “The forms of the object penetrate one after the other into the understanding: the illusion of simultaneity is caused by the swiftness of this proceeding. Just so an arrow passes through the eight leaves of a flower, as it were, at the same time, and firebrand appears as a circle.”

From another point of view it is evident that any compound perception (i.e. every perception) is “born from imagination”, or subjective: “The notion of a cloth or a straw mat is gradually produced: therefore this notion has for real object the parts of the cloth or straw mat, and as such, as cloth or mat notion, it results from imagination. As in the case of a firebrand. The notion of a firebrand circle has for real object a firebrand which obtains successively different places owing to a rapid
Nevertheless, the title of the fourth chapter of the Kārikās cannot be said so far to be Buddhist (the phrase *alātaśānti* has not been traced in Buddhist books); but the main idea that there is no birth, production, jāti, *utpāda*, that causation is impossible since the cause cannot be identical with, nor different from, the effect, since neither being, nor nonbeing, nor being + nonbeing, can originate, is thoroughly Madhyamaka. Gauḍapāda maintains *ajāti* (once *anutpatti*), and denies *ucceda*, with the same emphasis as Bhagavat in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā praṃāṇa-vānta* or in the *Laṅkāvatāra*; and he supports his thesis by Nāgārjuna’s or Buddhāpalita’s favourite arguments:

II, 32. *na virodho na cōttattār na bodho na ca sādhakah na mumukṣur na vai mukta ity esa paramārthatā*.

“There is no destruction, no birth, no bound, no endeavouring [for release], no desiring release, no released: such is the real truth.”

Or again—

IV, 59. *yathā māyāmaya-d bijāj ājyate tanmayo ’ukurah nāsau nityo na cōchedi tadvad dharmeṣu yojaṇa*.

“From a magical seed is born a magical sprout: this sprout is neither permanent nor perishable. Such are things, and for the same reason.”

It is the *sūnyebhyā eva sūnyā dharmāḥ prabhavanti dharmebhyyah*,” from void things, void things are born,” each

motion. Just so. Argument: cloth is not real, because the grasping of it depends on the grasping of its parts, as is the case with the fire-brand circle” — *yasmāt kramaṇa paṭabuddhik koṭabuddhira vā tasmād avaya-vāya eva paṭavya-vāya koṭavya-vāya eva tadbuddhik paṭabuddhira vā vikāryavacād bhavati, alātacākravat, yathālāte āśha-vāṣcārata tatra tatrocāpyāvānāye lātacākrabuddhir bhavati, tadvat, sādha-rañ acātra na dravya-vat paṭo ‘vayavagrahanāśa-pṛyagragrahantuvid, alātacākravat (Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, MS. Soc. As., fol. 267a).

1 Quoted more than once by Vijñānabhairu; see Garbe’s indexes. Madhyamaka, xvi, 5: na budhyante na mucyante.
according to its causes, for "illusion is manifold, being produced by manifold causes".¹

As concerns the wording, let us compare—

1. Gaudapada, ii, 38²—

\[ \text{tattvam ādhyātmikaṁ dṛṣṭvā tattvam dṛṣṭvā tu bāhyataḥ tattvibhūto tadārāmas tattvād apracyuto bhavet.} \]

Comm. bāhyam prthivyādi tattvam ādhyātmikaṁ ca dehādilakṣanām rajjusarpādivat svapnamāyādivad asat; ātmā ca sabāhyāntaro hy ajo nirguno niskalo niskriyas tat satyam sa ātmā evam tattvam dṛṣṭvā.

Bhagavat (quoted Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 348)³—

\[ \text{cūnyam ādhyātmikaṁ paśya paśya sūnyam baḥirgatam na vidyate so'pi kaś cид yo bhāvayati sūnyatām.} \]

2. Gaudapada, iv, 1—

\[ \text{jñānenākāśakalpena dharmān yo gaganopamān} \]
\[ \text{jñeyābhinnena sambuddhas tam vande dvipadāṁ varam} \]

Comm. ayam evēsvaro yo Nārāyanākhyas tam vande dvipadāṁ varam dvipadopalaksitānām puruṣānām varam pradhānaṁ puruṣottamanam ity abhiprayāḥ... jñāna(jñeyajñātrbhedarahitam paramārthatattvadarśanam...}

It is probable that this śloka is a Buddhist one: the excellent biped is Śākyamuni.

3. Gaudapada, iv, 7—

\[ \text{prakṛter anyathābhāvo na katham cид bhavisyati.} \]
Nāgārjuna, Madhyamaka, xv, 8 (Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 271)—

\[ \text{prakṛter anyathābhāvo na hi jātupapadyate.} \]

4. Gaudapada, iv, 17, 18—

\[ \text{aprasiddhāḥ katham hetuḥ phalam utpādayisyati? yuḍi hetuḥ phalat siddhiḥ phalasiddhiś ca hetutah katarat pūrvanispannam yasya Siddhir apekasayā?} \]

¹ Sūpi nānāvidhā māyā nānapratyayaanaṁbhavā, Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 12.
² Ānandāśrama edition.
³ Bibliotheca Buddhica.
Nāgarjuna, *Madhyamaka, x*, 8 (Madhyamakārīṭti, p. 207)—

*yadindhanam apekṣyāṅginr apekṣyāṅgīnim yadindhanam katarat pūrvanispammaṇaṃ yad apekṣyāṅginr indhanam?*

5. Gauḍapāda, iv, 19—

*evas hi sarvathā buddhair ajātiḥ paridipitā.*

Comm. *evas hetuphalayoḥ kāryakāraṇabhāvāvānapatīra ajātiḥ sarvasyānuttattīḥ paridipitā prakācitāntyonyāpeksadōṣaṃ bruvadbhir vādibhīr buddhāḥ paṇḍitair ity arthah.*

Laṅkāvatāra (p. 78)¹—

*anuttapāṇaḥ sarvabhāvāḥ.*

Satyadvayaṁvatārasūtra (quoted Madhyamakārīṭti, p. 375)—

*evas eva devaputra ... samśāro ṗy paramārthato tyantānuttapādatā yāvan nirvāṇam api paramārthato tyantānuttapādatā.*

6. Gauḍapāda, iv, 22—

*svato vā parato vāpi na kim cid vastu jāyate sad asat sadasad vāpi na kim cid vastu jāyate.*

Nāgarjuna, *Madhyamaka, i*, 1 (Madhyamakārīṭti, p. 12; cf. i, 6–7, p. 82)—

*na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyaṁ nāpy ahetutāḥ utpāṇā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kva cana ke cana.*

7. Gauḍapāda, iv, 93—

*ādiśāntā hy anuttapāṇaḥ prakṛtyaiva sunivṛttaḥ sarve dharmāḥ samābhinnā ajāṁ sāmyam viśāradam.*

Comm. *ādiśāntā nityam eva sānta ... ajāś ca prakṛtyaiva suśūparatasvabhāvāḥ ... sarve dharmāḥ samāś cābhinnāś ca ... ajaṁ sāmyam viśāradam viśuddham ātmatațvam yasmāt tasmāc chāntir mokṣo vā nāsti kartavya ity arthah.*

Madhyamikas, too, maintain that *nirvāṇa* or *sānti* or *mokṣa* is not to be acquired, as says Bodhisattva Sarvanīvaranāvāsikambhīn in

¹ Buddhist Text Society.
Ratnameghasūtra (quoted Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 225)—

ādiśānta hy anupannāḥ prakṛtyaiva ca nirvṛtāh dharmās te vivṛtā nātha dharmacakrapravartane.

8. Gauḍapāda, iv, 98—

alabhāvaranāḥ sarve dharmāḥ prakṛtinirmalāḥ ādau buddhās tathā muktā budhyanta iti nāyakāḥ.

Comm. alabdham aprāptam āvaranam avidyādīnibandhanam yesaṃ te dharmā alabhāvaranā bandhanaraḥītā ity ārthaḥ. prakṛtinirmalāḥ svabhāvasuddhā ādau buddhās tathā muktā yasman nityasuddhabuddhāmuktasvabhāvāḥ, yady evaṃ katham tarhi budhyanta ity ucyate. nāyakāḥ svāmināḥ samarthā bodhūṁ bodhāsaktimatsvabhāvā ity ārthaḥ. yathā nityapraṇāsasvarūpo 'pi savitā prakāśata ity ucyate yathā vā nityanirvṛtagatayo 'pi nityam eva śālās tīsthāntity ucyate tadvat.

Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 104—

sattvāḥ prakṛtyā parinirvṛtāḥ.

Pañjikā ad ix, 108—

sarvadharmāḥ ... anupannāniruddhasvabhāvatvāc ca prakṛtiparinirvṛtā ādiśāntā ity ucyante.

Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 151—

nirvṛtānirvṛtvānām ca viśeṣo nāsti vastutah.

Comm. nirvṛtā ye sarvadharmāvaranaprahānād vinirmitasvabandhanāḥ. anirvṛtā ye rāgādiklecappāsāyattatascalapātata cāṃsāracārāntargatāḥ. tesaṃ ubhayesam api viśeṣo bheda nāsti na saṃbhavati ... vastutah paramārthaḥ sarvadharmānāṁ niḥsvabhāvatā prakṛtiparinirvṛtavat. nirvṛtāḥ svabhāvasūnyatvād utpādanirodharaḥītāḥ. paramārthena paramārthasatayataḥ prakṛtinirv一般人 yā 'diśāntatvāt.

Laṅkāvatāra (p. 80)—

prakṛtiprabhāsvarasiuddhyādiviśuddha ... tathāgatagarbha.

Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā (p. 47)—

ādiśuddhatvād ādipariśuddhatvāt sattvasya.

9. Gauḍapāda, iv, 99—

kramate na hi buddhāsya jñānam dharmesu tāyinah sarve dharmās tathā jñānam naitad buddhāna bhāṣitam

Comm. yasman na hi kramate buddhāsya paramārthadārśino jñānam viśayāntaresu dharmesu dharmasamsthaṃ savitarīva prabhā. tāyinah,
tāyō 'syāstetti tāyī, saṃtāyavato 1 nirantarasyākāsakalpasyety arthah, pūjāvato vā pra+jāvato vā. sarve dharmā ātmāno 'pi tathā jñānavad evākāsakalpa+ān na kramante kvacid apy arthāntara ity arthah. yad ādāv upanya+ān jñānenaκāsakalpenetāyādi 2 tad idam akāsakalpa+ā tāyino buddhasya tadananyatvād akāsakalpa+ā jñānam na kramate kvacid apy arthāntare. tathā dharmā iti. akāsām ivācalam avikriyān niravayavanā nityam advitiyam asa+āgam adṛṣṭyam agrāhyyam acānāyādyatīta brahma+matattvam "na hi dra+ētṛ drēṣṭvīr pari+lopo vidyata" iti ārute, jñānajñeyajñātṛbhṛdara±ītan paramārtha+attvam advayam, etan na buddhena bhāṣītam. yady api bāhyārthanirākara+ām jñāna+mātrakalpanā cādvayavastusūmīpyam uktaṁ, idam tu paramārtha+attvam advaitam vedānte+v eva vijñeyam ity arthah.

"The knowledge of an Awakened (Buddha), id est of a seer of reality, does not bear on things, id est on any extraneous object; it resides on things itself, as does light in the sun. Awakened = Tāyin. The Awakened one is, indeed, homogeneous (tāyin), id est endowed with homogeneity, possessed of continuity, without interval or difference, space-like. Tāyin can also be understood in the meaning of Adorable or Sage. Such are all the things, id est all the souls; just as the knowledge [of a Buddha], they are space-like, and do not bear on anything outside themselves. What has been said at the beginning of this treatise (Gaudapāda, iv, 1), ‘by a space-like knowledge,’ that space-like knowledge of a space-like homogeneous Awakened who is nothing else than this knowledge 3 does not bear on anything outside. Such are [also] things [whatever they are]. This [knowledge] space-like, immovable, unmodifiable, without parts, fast, sole, free, not to be seen, not to be grasped, beyond hunger and the like, essence of Brahma-ātmā, according to the Scripture ‘there is not discontinuity of seeing to the seer’ (Brhatt, iv, 3, 23), free from the opposition knowledge-knowable-knowner, reality, non-duality, has not been taught by (Śākyamuni) Buddha. When denying the existence of the external world and supposing the sole existence of knowledge, he came very near the essential non-duality: but this non-dual reality can only be learned in the Upanishads.’

As a matter of fact, this knowledge, without ‘knowable-knowner-knowledge’, is the knowledge of a Buddha, according to the Mahāyāna. And a Buddhist may say nai+ad buddhena bhāṣītam, “This doctrine has not been taught by Buddha,” for Buddha does not teach anything.

1 Editor has tāpi(y)naḥ tāpo(yo) saṃtānavato; MSS. tāpi, tāyī, tāpo, tāyō, saṃtānavato—see M.W. 2; tāy = to spread, to proceed in a continuous stream or line, Dētup., xiv, 18. See Mahāvyutpatti, i, 15; 96, 6; Nāmasamgiti, = trāṭar ; Burn., Intr., p. 227; Kern, ad Lotus, i, 47 (mighty, able, clever), iv, 40 (strenuous); Pān, i, 3, 38, kramate, tāyante, ix, 4 (mighty saint); Speyer, ad Divyāvadānā, Wien Z. xvi, p. 349.
2 See above, p. 137, No. 2.
3 tadananayatvāt (3).
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION A

In view of some remarks which have been made to me, it seems desirable to give a note, which did not seem necessary when I edited the record (this Journal, 1909, 1087), on the term Kāśiputa, which we have as the metronymic of king Bhāgabhādra.

Dr. Bloch, whose unexpected death has removed a promising worker in the field of Indian epigraphy, took the vowel of the first syllable as a damaged ō, and read K[ā]śiputasa, which he interpreted as meaning “of the son of a lady belonging to the Kautsa gōtra”. To that, however, there is, even apart from the point that the reading is distinctly Kāśiputasa, the following substantial objection.

It is the case that there are various words in which ts, and the chchh which results from t + ś, become ss, and sometimes s with lengthening of a preceding short vowel; e.g., utsagga = utsarga, ussukka or ussunka = usschhulka,1 vasantāsava = vasantōtsava, sūsāsa = söchchhāsā: see Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 327a. But that change takes place only in compounds, when t is the final letter of a syllable. That is not the case in Kautsa. And from the feminine Kautsī we could only have, with the usual change of ts to chchh (op. cit., §327), Kochchhī, which in the Bēsnagar inscription would have been written Kochhī. This is, in fact, the established corruption: we have it in the instrumental, written Kochhīye, in the Mathurā inscription of the year

1 The word ussunka, ussunka, ‘free from customs’, comes from the Kalpaśītra, ed. Jacobi, §102. The same passage gives also ukkara = utkara, ‘free from taxes’. This is worth noting in connexion with uhalika = udbalika, ‘free from the bali’, in the Rummindē inscription: see this Journal, 1909. 467, 760.
72 (EI, 2. 199, No. 2), and in the metronymic, written Kochhiputa, in the Kuḍā inscription No. 20 (ASWI, 4. 87).

Dr. Bloch would seem to have been misled by a belief, not confined to him, that in a metronymic formed with putra the first member must be necessarily the feminine form of the name of a gōtra. But that is not the case. It is sufficient to cite the well-known metronymic of king Ajātaśatru; namely, Vedēhiputta = Vaidēhiputra, "son of a lady of the Vaidēha (Vidēha) people", or "son of a daughter of a king of the Vaidēha people": e.g., Mahāparinibbānasutta, this Journal, 1875. 49; Vinayapitaka, Chullavagga, 11. 1. 8. But we can also point to other such metronymics in which the first component is probably not the name of a gōtra: for instance, one of the Pabhōsā inscriptions gives us Tēvaniputra and Vaihidariputra (EI, 2. 243): as regards the first of these terms, there was, indeed, an ancient teacher named Traivāni; but the name Traivana, fem. "ni, seems, according to the Gaṇa and comments under Pāṇini, 4. 1. 112, to be derived from Trivāna as a substitute for Triveṇi, a well-known name of a place.

The Kāśiputasa of our text stands quite naturally and regularly for Kāśiputrasa. And king Bhāgabhadrā is described as "son of a lady of the people of Kāśi, Kāśi (Benares)", or as "son of a daughter of a king of Kāśi".

J. F. Fleet.

A Second Note on the Rupnath Edict

In this Journal for 1909, pp. 728–30, I proposed to take the word pakama of the Rūpnāth edict (for which the Sahasrām version reads palakama) in the sense of the Buddhistic term pabbajjā. This is, however, hardly admissible; for, as stated by Dr. Fleet in his recent article on "The Last Words of Aśoka" (p. 992 above), the sixth and tenth rock-edicts distinctly employ the word parākrama as a synonym of appamāda, 'diligence.'
In this way my suggested explanations of vivāsayati, vyutha, and sata-vivāsa, lose their main support, and the view that the figures 256 mark the number of years elapsed since Buddha's renunciation falls to the ground. While thus confessing to have gone astray, I would like to submit a few additional remarks on the ambiguous word sata at the end of the Rūpnāth edict, and on the meaning of chhavachhare at the beginning of it.

In my previous note, I proposed to take sata = Pāli mahāsatta or bodhisatta. Dr. Fleet (loc. cit., p. 1007) explains it as standing for samta = śanta, 'tranquil.' It must be granted that this rendering is equally possible. Dr. Fleet would find this very form samta = śanta in a passage of the eighth rock-edict, where he takes the words samta ayāya sambodhim of the Girnār version to be a quotation from some verse (loc. cit., p. 1008). But the Kālsī text reads samtaṁ nikhamithā sambodhi, which is not metrical; the Dhauli version omits samta altogether; and—last not least—none of the different versions exhibits after the supposed quotation the particle iti, which is elsewhere used for marking the end of a quotation. Consequently, samta has to be explained here quite simply as the Prākṛit form of the present participle saṁ, and has to be construed with the preceding nominatives.

The preamble of the Rūpnāth edict was originally translated by Bühler as follows (Ind. Ant., vol. vi, p. 156):—"The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus: (It is) more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer (of the law), and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community (of ascetics), and that I have exerted myself strenuously." Professor Oldenberg showed that, instead of "thirty-two years and a half", the original has actually "two years and a half". M. Senart's
translation (Ind. Ant., vol. xx, p. 165) runs:—“Thus saith the (king) dear unto the Devas:—During two years and a half was I an upāsaka (Buddhist layman), and did not display great zeal. A year has passed since I visited the Saṅgha (the monastic community), and I displayed great zeal.” Bühler’s revised text of the same edict (Ind. Ant., vol. xxii, p. 299) introduced a fresh complication. He believed to recognize in the Sahasrām version the form sadvachhale, and this reading seemed to support the form chhavachhare, ‘six years,’ of the Rūpnāth edict, which he had previously corrected to samvachhare, ‘a year.’ Mr. Rice’s discovery of the Mysore versions brought two further variants: the insertion of the three words husāṁ ekāṁ savachharam after pakamte, and the use of samvachhare instead of chhavachhare. Naturally enough, Bühler considered the former to be an equivalent of the latter and translated now (Ep. Ind., vol. iii, p. 140):—“The Beloved of the gods issues (these) commands:—More than two years and a half (have elapsed), since I (became) a lay-hearer; but, indeed, I did not exert myself strenuously. One period of six years,—but, indeed, more than a period of six years, (has elapsed), since I have entered the community of the ascetics (and) have strenuously exerted myself.” Dr. Fleet has quite appropriately objected to the translation of ekāṁ savachharam by ‘one period of six years’, and has translated “one year, but, indeed, a period of six years and somewhat more” (above, 1909, p. 1001).

To all the above renderings, besides the very first one, the following points may be raised in objection:—

(1) In the Aśoka inscriptions the particle tu is invariably the second word of a fresh sentence. Hence the two words ekāṁ savachharam, before which Bühler introduced a full stop, may rather be expected to form part of the preceding sentence.
(2) As ekam savachharam cannot reasonably be made to mean anything but 'one year', those who continue to translate the word sanvachhare of the next sentence by 'six years' are forced to assume that Asoka propounded a riddle to future generations, by employing in the second case the word vatsara instead of sanvatsara, and using the compound shadvatsara in the sense of shatsanvatsara, though its Prakrit form is identical with that of the preceding sanvatsara.

(3) Bühler's first translation correctly renders the word sumi, in the second sentence of the inscription, by 'I am'. In all subsequent translations it has been tacitly changed into 'I was' or 'I became'. If we adhere to the literal translation of sumi, it follows that the 2½ years of Asoka's upasakatvam do not precede the second period, but include it. This point was already recognized by M. Senart in 1892 (Journal Asiatique, sér. 8, vol. xix, p. 481).

Thus I would now translate the opening part of the Rūpnāth edict as follows:—

"Devānāmpiya speaks as follows:—More than two and a half years (have passed) since I am a lay-hearer. But [the Mysore edicts insert: I had] not exerted myself strongly [the Mysore edicts add: for one year]. But more than a year (has passed) since I have joined the clergy and exerted myself strongly."

This would imply a period of somewhat more than 2½ years, to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period.

But there still remain two difficulties: the reading chhavachhare at Rūpnāth, and the supposed sadvachhale at Sahasrām. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Thomas (Ind. Ant., vol. xxxvii, p. 23) in considering the former a clerical mistake for savachhare. But I would explain its origin differently: the engraver may have at first left
out the two symbols sava; he found out this omission after engraving the chha and added va after it, intending to correct the preceding chha into sa, but forgot to make the required alteration. Regarding sadvachhale, it will be best to wait for a mechanical copy of the Sahasrām rock: I see no trace of the d of the supposed dva on the published plate (Ind. Ant., vol. xxii, p. 299), though Professor Bühler found a basis for it in the estampage supplied to him with the impression from which that plate was made.

Halle (Saale).

E. Hultzsch.

Remarks on the Above Note

On the points that the Dhauli text, in its version of the saṁto ayāya sambōdhiṁ of the Girnār text, omits the word saṁto, or at any rate appears to do so, and that the Kālsī text presents, instead of ayāya, a word which gives one syllable too many for the metre, I have already made my observations in this Journal, 1909. 1008, note 2. I would only repeat that the word saṁto, in the sense of san in apposition with abhisito = abhishiktah, is not found in any of the other passages, fifteen in number without reckoning duplicates, in which it might have been used, and add that such use of it would be unnecessary and, in fact, bad. The absence of an iti after sambōdhiṁ to mark the three words as a quotation, or rather, in this case, to state a fact as a reason for what follows, does not appear to me to be of any importance: various instances could be cited from the edicts, in which the adverb stands in some of the texts, to fulfil several purposes, but was omitted from other recensions of the same passages. The want of an iti here is well supplied by the tēna, 'therefore', which follows the three words. Moreover, if those words are not a quotation and from a verse, why does the verb ayāya stand before its
accusative?: in the preceding clause, ūayāsu occupies the usual position for prose, after the accusative which is governed by it.

The Mysore texts introduce also a third variant in the opening sentences of the Last Edict: they omit sumi, 'I am', after upāsake. It is this omission, coupled with their use of husam, 'I was', in the next clause, which has led me to follow M. Senart and practically Professor Bühler, and to regard sumi as the historical present; as indeed, did Professor Hultzsch himself in his previous note on this record.

The word tu, 'but', may introduce a subordinate clause of a sentence, quite as much as an entirely new sentence. On the other hand, in support of what Professor Hultzsch argues, it may be remarked that in ēkam savachharam we can find an accusative (of the duration of time) quite as well as a nominative, if not, indeed, better.

But the important point is this. Can we get rid of the dv which gives us sadvachhale in Sir A. Cunningham’s lithograph of the Sahasrām text, and was found by Professor Bühler in the impressions used by him in 1893? As long as that reading remains, we can only take the chhavachhare of the Rūpṇāth text in its straightforward meaning of 'six years', and treat the Brahmagiri text on that understanding. In support of the possibility of amending it, we may observe that the supposed dv stands in such a position that the v is on the line of the writing, instead of lying below it in the place which it would occupy better as a subjoined letter.

To dispose of that detail either way, we must await fresh impressions of the Sahasrām text; or better still, if we should ever be so fortunate, the discovery of yet another recension of the record. Meanwhile I may say this. If the Sahasrām reading can be reduced to savachhale, then there will probably be no reason to decline to follow Professor Hultzsch, and to take the
chhavachhäre of the Rūpāṇth text as a clerical mistake for savachhäre, made in the circumstances suggested by him. In that event, we would accept all that results; altering our rendering of the passage in the Mysore texts to match.

To this, as I have previously remarked (this Journal, 1908, 819, note), there is no chronological objection. The position would simply be changed as follows. Instead of Aśoka becoming a formal convert to Buddhism, and assuming the status of an Upāsaka about half-way through the 30th year after his anointment to the sovereignty, he did that about half-way through the 35th year. He abdicated, and passed into the religious life soon after the end of the 37th year (as already laid out in this Journal, 1909, 28). And his dying speech was delivered some eighteen months after that, in (as already laid out) the course of the year 256 expired after the death of Buddha. But, as I have indicated, this rearrangement of details is only hypothetical at present.

If, on the other hand, this record does contain anything so ambiguous as to amount to a riddle, it is by no means unique in that respect amongst early Indian inscriptions: and we may attribute the feature, not to any intention on the part of Aśoka, but to clumsy drafting by those who reduced his words to writing, coupled with a generally prevailing great laxity in the matter of orthography. The record is, indeed, in any case enigmatical. It says that Aśoka became an Upāsaka, joined a Saṅgha, displayed application or diligence, and established the falsity of gods who had previously been held to be true gods. But it does not tell us who those gods were; nor even the nature of the Saṅgha which Aśoka joined: and the Jains had a Saṅgha and Upāsakas, just as the Buddhists had. It leaves us entirely dependent on other clues. For the knowledge that it was the Buddhist Saṅgha that Aśoka joined, we have to turn to the Bhabra edict: and
even from that record we learn the fact, not so much from its mention of Asoka's respect and favour for "Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha", — so far, the record might be Jain quite as much as Buddhist, since "Buddha" was an appellation or epithet of Mahāvira as well as of Gautama,—as from its mention of certain texts which are identified as Buddhist texts. In the Last Edict, however, there is absolutely nothing to disclose any sectarian nature, except the statement at the end, dating it, somewhat obscurely, 256 years after the death of the founder of Buddhism.

J. F. Fleet.

THE KELADI RAJAS OF IKKERI AND BEDNUR

In 1908 was published at Mysore, in the Vīra-śaiva-grantha-prakāśikā Series, the Vīra-śaiva-dharma-śivomani of Shaḍakshari Mantri. This worthy was a minister of Basavappa Nāyaka, the Raja of Bednur, and has prefixed to his book a metrical pedigree of his patron's family. As this account in some respects differs from the details given by Mr. Sewell in his List of Antiquities, Madras, vol. ii, p. 177, it may be worth while to summarize it here.

Shaḍakshari mentions two sons of the elder Saṅkaṇṇa, Rāma-rāja and Veṅkaṭa, as having reigned successively; Mr. Sewell does not appear to know of the former. Shaḍakshari gives the name of Veṅkaṭa's grandson and successor as Vira-bhadra; in Mr. Sewell's list he is Bhadrappa, which is really his father's name. According to Shaḍakshari, the younger Saṅkaṇṇa had a son Siddappa, whose son Śivappa succeeded Vira-bhadra; in Mr. Sewell's list Śivappa is the brother of Siddappa. Shaḍakshari states that Śivappa was succeeded by his younger brother Veṅkaṭa, who is omitted in Mr. Sewell's pedigree. Shaḍakshari gives the name of Soma-śekhara's consort as Channamāmbū, Mr. Sewell as Doḍḍa Chinna-māji. The son of this pair was Praudha-śri-Basava, who,
according to Mr. Sewell, was adopted by them; but Shadakshari explicitly calls him the tantraja of the queen. The whole pedigree as given by Shadakshari is accordingly as follows:

![Pedigree Diagram]

The additional information derivable from this list is of some interest. A considerable amount of historical literature exists in Mysore which is hardly known in Europe, and it is much to be desired that a critical scholar like Mr. Narasimhachar should publish a digest of it in English or Kannada.

L. D. Barnett.

NOTES ON THE DYNASTIES OF BENGAL AND NEPAL

I. The chronology and names of the Pala dynasty of Bengal are still far from being definitely settled.¹ A small fact may be gathered from the colophon of the MS. Or. 6902 in the British Museum, a beautiful copy of

¹ Some additional information from Tibetan sources has been recently collected by Mahamahopadhyaya Satischandra Vidyaabhushana in Appendix B of his History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic. Reference may also be made to an article by Mr. V. Smith in Ind. Ant., 1909, 233 ff.
the Ashtasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. The words in question are as follows:—parameshvaraparamabhaṭṭaraka-
paramasaugatamahārājādhīrājasyarāmaḍgopāladevapravar-
dhamānakalyāṇavijayarājyātī samvat 15 asmine [sic]
dine 4 śrīmadvīkramāśiladevavihāre likhiteya[m] bhaga-
vatī. Now this volume very closely resembles the MS.
Or. 3346, especially in its colophon. The latter was
written in the reign of Vigrāha-pāla, whom Mr. Bendall
with great probability identifies with the second king of
that name. Accordingly we may conclude that the king
mentioned in MS. Or. 6902 is Vigrāha-pāla's immediate
predecessor, Gopāla II.

II. The MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 6903 is a calligraphic copy
of the Pañcha-rakshā, which, according to its colophon,
was written at the Mani-saṅgha Vihāra of Khatmandu by
the Vajrāchārya Jinachandra in the Nepal Samvat 624
(A.D. 1504). It was a gift of a certain Jīvarāja Simha,
and its colophon, with barbarous grammar, informs us that
it was written under the joint reign of Jayaratna Malla and
Yaksha Malla:—rājādhīrājaparameshvaraparamabhaṭṭa-
rakau śrīśrījayaratanamalladevasya śrīśrījakshendra-
malladevasya rāje.

L. D. Barnett.

Grammatical Notes

I. Bhū with the Accusative.

There are a few cases in which bhū appears to govern
the accusative, and which are perhaps worthy of a little
consideration. The St. Petersburg Dictionary ¹ cites,
besides some passages from the Epic, three distinct cases
of its use in Vedic texts, to which no addition appears to
have been made elsewhere.²

¹ v, 318.

² Böhtlingk's Dictionary and Monier-Williams' Dictionary add nothing.
The occurrence of bhū with accusative is specifically denied by Delbrück,
Synt. Forsch., v, and no example is cited by Gaedicke, Der Accusativ im
Veda, or by Speijer, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax.
In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i, 13, occurs: yo vai bhavati yah śreṣṭhatām aṣṇute sa kilbisam bhavati, which is rendered "der gerät (leicht) in Verfehlung"; in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i, 7, 7, 4, there is: Pythir Vainyo bhysicyata sa rāṣtram nābhavat sa etāni pārthāny apasyat tāny ajuhot tair vai sa rāṣtram abhavat yat pārthāni juhoti rāṣtram eva bhavati | Bārhaspatyam pūrvesām uttamaṃ bhavati | etc.; in the Taittiriya Samhitā there occur several passages of the type, ii, 4, 3, 1: te (the gods and Asuras) 'manyanta | yatarān vā iyam (the Gāyatri) upāvartsyati ta idāṃ bhavisyantī | So also ibid., vi, 1, 3, 1; 6; 2, 7, 1, which are held to give the sense "Glück haben". Further, in a considerable number of cases from the Epic and Kāvyā,1 bhū with an accusative of an abstract noun forms a periphrastic perfect.

The examples are of interest, but not conclusive. Those of the periphrastic perfect we can safely discard, for not one can be cited from the Vedic literature. The form was originally made with the perfect (cakāra, cakre) of the root kṛ, and āsa appears merely very sporadically in the later texts of the Vedic literature,2 when no doubt the precise sense of the compound had ceased to be felt, just as by Pāṇini’s time3 the real origin of the second future had been forgotten.

The examples with idāṃ bhavisyanti or bhavisyati are surely cases of the simple nominative. He will, or they will, become all this, i.e. will have the highest place. Mere good fortune is not in point; the question at stake is

1 Cf. Böhtlingk, Dictionary, iv, 272; Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata, pp. 46, 47.

2 See Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1073. The example from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii, 17, occurs in the later portion of that work, and, even assuming that it is genuine, no conclusion can be drawn as to the lateness of the Aitareya as a whole. Moreover, a sporadic case is no good proof of date, as the linguistic possibility of such a case is always present; cf. Whitney, JAOS., xi, p. exlvii; Liebich, Pāṇini, pp. 80, 81.

3 See Whitney, AJP., xiv, 184; Böhtlingk, Sācś. Ber., 1893, pp. 7-9; Gurupājākānmuḍi, pp. 18 seq.
existence, and literally the phrase means that the one side
or other will be reality, the world. This is, I think,
preferable to Delbrück’s suggestion,⁴ that the idam is
adverbia", "der wird hier—in dieser Welt—gedeihen,"
though, of course, this view is quite possible, and idam
is sometimes adverbia² in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaṇiṣads.
On the other hand, it can often be taken as meaning
"this universe", e.g. in Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii, 4, 1: ātmā
vā idam eka evāgra āsit, where "the Ātman was formerly
alone, composing the universe", is good sense, though the
transition to the adverbia use is easy.

If idam is a nominative, we may compare Tāṇḍya
Mahābrāhmaṇa, xx, 14, 2: Prajāpatir vā idam eka āsit |
tasya vāg eva svam āsit | vāg dvitiyā | sa aikṣatemām
eva vācaṁ visṛjā ivaṁ vā idam sarvāṁ vibhavanty
esyatiti | Here idam is again doubtful, but svam is
clearly a nominative neuter, and idam sarvam seems
to be a nominative; indeed, the St. Petersburg Dictionary³
appears to take it as such. Lévi’s version,⁴ "se transformant
ten toute chose," is ambiguous. In Aitareya
Āraṇyaka, v, 1, 1, in Mantras we have:

mana ivāpūrvam vāyur iva ślokabhūr bhūyāsām | and
ahar iva svam rātir iva priyo bhūyāsām |

But in these cases attraction of the predicate to the object
of comparison is an adequate explanation.⁵

Sa kilbiṣaṁ bhavati now presents fewer difficulties, and
it is fair to accept Delbrück’s suggestion that kilbiṣaṁ
is a nominative, "he becomes a reproach." Compare e.g.
Iliad, xvi, 498: σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ . . . κατηφείη καὶ ὀνειδος,
while Sophokles, O.T., 1494, makes Oidipous call his
daughters τοιαύτη ὀνειδη, or Iliad, iv, 235: οὗ γὰρ ἐτί

² A good example is Maitrāyanī Saṁhitā, ii, 4, 8; cf. Tāṇḍya Mahā-
brāhmaṇa, xx, 14, 5.
³ v, 332.
⁴ La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 23.
⁵ Delbrück and Speijer ignore the usage, it seems. Cf. cases in Latin
like Coriolis oppidum captum, Livy, ii, 33, 9.
ψευδέσσα "πατὴρ θεὸς ἐστιν ἀρωγός. Another possibility, but for the presence of the other examples, sa or tu idam bhavisyati or bhavisyanti, would be to find here the adverbial sa seen in sa yadi of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and elsewhere,² but the usage, though it goes to examples as strange as Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i, 6, 3, 3; sa yat soma-pānam (head) āsa tatāḥ kapīṇjalarāḥ samabhavat, seems yet not to be found thus except with yat, yadi, ya, yāvat, and similar expressions.³ This is natural, for the history of the case is simply that of an anacoluthon: the sentence begins with the logical subject, but in the course of its development the whole form is changed, and the sa remains in the air, with the result that in some cases sa yadi becomes a mere meaningless phrase.

There remains sa rāstram nābhavat, followed by tair vai sa rāstram abhavat, and rāstram eva bhavati. I have little doubt that in the absence of the context the last sentence would be taken by any scholar as "the kingdom becomes (his)", nor do I think that even in the context this is wrong. Bhavati occurs twice in the remainder of the section in its normal sense and construction, and there is no need to doubt the sense. But the two remaining sentences can only be explained by assuming a slight textual corruption. I would read in the second sa rāstram ābhavat, an easy and no doubt an old error, and

1 There seems no need to alter the accent as suggested by Aristarchos' reading. The word is concrete here and not abstract (cf. Leaf, ad loc., with Monro, Homeric Grammar, p. 105). So in Iliad, iv, 242, we have ἔλεγγες, "ye reproaches"! And cf. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii, 1, 3, 7: ātur vīś purṇah, "the man is a wound"; Wackernägel, Altindische Grammatik, ii, 1, p. 5.

² Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., v, 215, 216, stated that the use could only be found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, from which instances were cited by the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana, p. 46, adds examples from that Śrauta Sūtra, and reiterates Delbrück's assertion. But see my Aitareya Āranyaka, p. 246, and for a similar development in Early English, Kellner, English Syntax, pp. 68 seq.

³ See a list in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, vii, 452.
then take the verb as ābhavati. Then all is in order, and ābhavati naturally governs an accusative, as in Rgveda, x, 153, 3: śā víśvā bhūva ābhavaḥ, and in prose Aitareya Aranyaka, ii, 3, 7: atha kena ṛuppenemat lokam ābhavati 3 m. The accusative has the sense necessary through the preposition as Gaedicke¹ has sensibly pointed out, and the same sense is usually given by abhisambhavati, as in the passage immediately preceding the last citation from the Aitareya, and often in the Brāhmaṇa style.²

Whether the construction with the accusative has any real existence is doubtful. The instance, Maitrāyani Upanisad, vi, 10, referred to by Hopkins,³ is one of the accusatives of specification, indriyārthāṇ paṇca svādāni bhavanti, and even if correct—which I do not believe, for we know that the text of the Upaniṣads is often wrong⁴—is no parallel to the construction assumed in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Hopkins⁵ ignores the two Epic examples (one a v.l.) given by the Dictionary, but cites bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam, Mbh., xv, 62, 30, but this is from the pseudo-epic, and stands on the same footing of honour as drṣyate 'drṣyate cāpi, ibid., xiii, 14, 160, though that has the dignity of a Vārttika⁶ to conceal its demerits. Such an accusative is merely bad Sanskrit and of no syntactical value, any more than the extraordinary productions of later Sanskrit, like the Paṇca-dandachattraprabandha.⁷

¹ Der Accusativ im Veda, p. 94.
² St. Petersburg Dictionary, v, 338.
³ Greek Epic of India, p. 473; cf. JAOS., xxviii, 286.
⁴ Cf. my Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka, p. xiv, and the absurd upaniṣavāda in Aitareya Aranyaka, ii, 2, 3; Max Müller, S.B.E., i, p. lxxii.
⁶ On Panini, vi, 3, 73, see Aufrecht, JRAS., 1906, p. 993. The Epic passage remains, so far as I know, the earliest certain example in Sanskrit. The passages from the Vedānta referred to by Franke, ZDMG., xlviii, 84, are disposed of by Thibaut, ibid., 540. The Pāli and Prākrit passages are all late, and some doubtful.
⁷ Weber's ed., pp. 2 seq.
II. THE CONDITIONAL.

The use of the conditional in Vedic presents some interesting traces of a tendency to develop a natural form of indirect speech, as compared with the clumsy expedient of repeating the form of the direct speech usual in Vedic and Sanskrit. It is well known that in Homer the indirect is expressed, not by the artificial present or future tenses of Attic syntax, but by the more natural pasts, and in the case of the future by a periphrasis with μελλω, as in the Iliad, οὐδὲ τὸ ἡδη ὃ οὗ πείσεσθαι ἐμέλλειν. Now in the Vedic for this use we find a precise parallel in the use of the conditional, and the disappearance of the use is due to the same facts which prevented the growth of a regular system of indirect speech in Sanskrit.

In RV., ii, 30, 2, we have: yo Vṛtrasya sinam atrābharisyat pra tan janitri viduṣa uvāca | The sense is doubtful, but the abharisyat is clearly a past of a bharisyati in the mouth or mind of the janitri. I do not think that the example shows the proper and original sense of the conditional as denoting that something was going to be done. It seems to me no more than a past form of bharisyati. This appears very clearly from Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii, 7, 3, 1: ciraṁ tan mene yad vāsah paryadhāṣyata | The sense “was going to” is quite impossible, and it is equally impossible to treat this as conditional, as does Whitney. The idea in Purūravas’ mind was paridhāṣyāmi; in the past that becomes paryadhāṣyata by a natural analogy. Quite similar are Maitrāyanī Samhitā, i, 8, 1; 9, 3: sa tad eva nāvindat Prajāpātir yatrāhōṣyat; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 11, 8, 7:

1 Monro, Homeric Grammar, p. 245.
2 Ludwig takes the mother as Indra’s mother; the natural sense is Vṛtra’s mother. Cf. Oldenberg, Rgveda, p. 211.
3 So Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 339; cf. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., v, 365-7. If this theory of the origin of the conditional were correct, it would be very strange that there should be such a very limited use of the form in that sense.
sa vai tām nāvindad yasmāi tām daksīnām aneṣyat; and the same principle—and not the conditional or "was going to be" sense—explains Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii, 7, 3, 1: na ha vā etasmā agré paśavās cašsamire yad annam abhavisyan; viii, 6, 2, 1: na haiṣo 'tāḥ purā tasām aśa yac chriyam adhārayisyat; in either case a future is before the mind of the subject of the main clause; the same principle explains ibid., iii, 7, 3, 12: ete etasmā ādhāriyanta yad havir abhavisyan.

The transition in sense to a conditional proper is a natural one, and notoriously that use—of a past unreal condition—is the only abiding use of the conditional. But its real origin as a reflected future is neatly illustrated by the alternative form used in Maitrayani Samhitā, iv, 1, 9: te vai devās tam nāvindan yasmin yajñasya krurum mārṣyāmahāḥ iti. In the face of that example the force of the conditional as a future thrown into the past can hardly be denied. Accordingly I do not regard the akarīsyam of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vi, 33: satāyum yām akarīsyam sahasrāyum purūṣam, as does Whitney, as a case of "was going to", but with Delbrück I prefer to take it as a conditional with suppressed protasis: the suppression is very natural, as the immediately preceding words make it plain, apehi alasā 'bhūr yo me vācam avadhāk, and in the Gopatha it is actually supplied (prāgراhīyakah).

There remains Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv, 4, 2, 3: tata evāsa bhayam viyāya kasmād hy abheṣyat. That may be interpreted either as bheṣyāmi (a common use in questions\(^2\)) thrown into the past, or as a conditional proper. In Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad, vi, 1, 3, uta tam ādesam aprāksyah, Speijer\(^3\) reads aprāksyah, and renders "Would

\(^1\) So emended by Whitney and Delbrück from ārṣyāmahā of von Schroeder's text.
\(^2\) Delbrück, op. cit., pp. 290 seq.
\(^3\) Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax, p. 60.
that thou hadst asked the instruction”, but I agree with Böhtlingk \(^1\) in rejecting this rendering.

The use of the conditional in the case of present unreal conditions is not primitive, but follows naturally from the use in past conditions; just as probably the use of the imperfect subjunctive in present unreal conditions in Latin is derived from the use in past conditions, which necessarily are unreal. In many cases the transition is very easy: if in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi, 5, 3, 13, yad evam nāvakṣyo mūrdhā te vy apatisyat occurs, the sense “If thou hadst not spoken so, thy head would have fallen” passes by a natural development into “If thou wert not to speak so, thy head would fall”\(^2\), and even in the Brāhmaṇa literature the Śatapatha has the use; see vi, 7, 3, 9; viii, 3, 3, 7. In many passages of the later literature either sense will do quite well, e.g. in the passage of the Sakuntalā\(^3\), kim vābhavisyad Aruṇas tamasāṁ vibhettā tam cet sahasrakirāno dhuri nākarisyat, the sense may be equally “How could Aruṇa have become the destroyer of the darkness?” or “How could Aruṇa now be?”

The transfer of the use to the present leads naturally to confusion with the optative, as an expression of a possible condition, and the optative on its part becomes transferred to the unreal condition, a function which it has not in the Vedic language, so that instances\(^4\) like Mbh., viii, 70, 27, bhṛtāram jyeṣṭham adya yadi hanyāḥ kim uttaram akarisyah\(^5\), or vii, 72, 71, yady evam aham

\(^1\) ZDMG., xli, 187.
\(^2\) Indeed, Whitney, op. cit., p. 339, cites the passage in this sense from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
\(^3\) Cited by Whitney, loc. cit.
\(^4\) Cf. Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata, pp. 36, 37; Böhtlingk, ZDMG., xli, 187.
\(^5\) Cf. Manu, vii, 20 (Böhtlingk, Sāches. Ber., 1896, p. 250), yadi na pravajeyd vājā daṇḍam daṇḍyey avatarditaḥ śāle mātreyam ivāpaksyaḥ durbalam balavattarāḥ (so Medhātithi and Govindarāja, with the v.l. ivākṣīsyaḥ), where the condition is possible.
ajñāsyam asaktān raksane mama putrasya Pāṇḍupāńcālān mayā guptō bhavet, which are present and past conditions respectively, are found, and the conditional can alternate with a decidedly future form, as in v, 48, 55, yadā draśā ... tādā yuddhaṃ Dhārtarāstro 'nvatapsyat.

Holtzmann cites also two strange examples from the Mahābhārata where an aorist replaces a conditional, viz., viii, 68, 5, idam yadi Dvaitavane 'py acakṣah-vayan tataḥ prāptakālam ... upaśyāma, and xiii, 1, 12, aham samare gamitaḥ śatrubhiḥ kṣayam abhavisyaṃ yadi purā na tvām evaṃ sudhūkhārtam adrāksam. Neither case seems to me very probable: in the latter adraksyam presents itself as irresistible, for the error to adraksam was inevitable,¹ and then a facile conjecture would bring adraksam. In the former case, acakṣyah is palaeographically very easy: it is true that the form cakṣyati is not found and is irregular, but rakṣye occurs in Rāmāyana, i, 61, 19; rakṣyāmi in Brhatkathāmaṇjarī, ii, 2, 2, 241; iksyati in Rāmāyana, iv, 40, 39, and cf. didhaksyāmi, ibid., iii, 68, 27;² and I have little hesitation in reading acaksyah. It is true that past tenses (imperfect and pluraperfect) have a marked force in similar conditional sentences in Latin, but the evidence in Vedic or Sanskrit is inadequate to support such a usage in them.

A. Berriedale Keith.

The Translation of the Term "Bhagavat".

The word "Bhagavat" is the principal name applied by Bhāgavatas to the Supreme Deity. It is by origin an epithet, and has a number of allied meanings. Monier-Williams' Dictionary gives the following: "possessing fortune, fortunate, prosperous, happy; glorious, illustrious, divine, adorable, venerable; holy."

¹ See references in my Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 245, 246.
² See Michelson, JAOS., xxv, 135, 142.
As a name of the Deity the question arises whether it should be treated as a proper name, and not translated, or whether it should be treated as an adjective, and translated. Most writers on the subject follow the latter alternative. Thus, in their translations of the Bhagavad Gītā, Cockburn Thompson uses "The Holy One", Telang "The Deity", Barnett "The Lord", and Garbe "Der Erhabene". Only Gōvindācārya employs "Śrī Bhagavān".

All native writers use the word with an underlying consciousness of a meaning contained in it. I think, therefore, that those who translate follow the right course. The question accordingly arises as to what is the best translation. We should consider, not what is in our opinion the true meaning of the word, but what the word, as an epithet, connotes to a Bhāgavata—not what it ought to mean to him, but what it does mean to him. Now the meanings fall into two groups. These deal with it, respectively, as qualifying the Deity either subjectively or objectively. If He is qualified subjectively, then the word must mean "Blissful", "Holy", or something of that kind. If He is qualified objectively, then it must mean "He Who is blessed by others", or "He Whom others consider as Holy", and so on. I think that Indian ideas all follow this latter interpretation, and therefore, in dealing with the Bhāgavatas, after much consideration and much vacillation, I have taken to using "THE ADORABLE" as the equivalent of "Bhagavat". The reason for my adopting this translation is that the word is etymologically connected with bhakta and bhakti, and that Bhāgavatas are aware of this and lay stress upon it. For numerous examples from Bhāgavata Sanskrit literature see the Šabdakalpadruma s.v. Bhagavadbhakta. That the root idea of the word "Bhagavat" is "Some one to be adored" is borne out by that work and also by the Vācaspatya, both of which, after quoting the verse aśvarasya, etc., reproduced below, give as the equivalent
or sum of all the meanings catalogued pūjyaḥ. Similarly, in the 45th chapter of the Devī-purāṇa (quoted in the Vācaspatya), Devī is called Bhagavatī because—

śevatā yā suraṁ sarvaiḥ tām cai 'va bhujatē yatah
dhātur bhajē 'ti śevāyāṁ, “Bhagavaty” ēva sā smṛtā.

A full account of what the word “Bhagavat” means to a Bhāgavata will be found in the Viśnū Purāṇa (VI, v, 69 ff.). Most of the text is printed in the notes to Wilson’s translation, and it is curious that attention has not been more directed to this important passage. The essential part, quoted by all Bhāgavatas, is—

aiśvarasya samagrasya dharmasya yaśasah śriyah,
juññā-vairāgyayōś cai 'va. saṁnāṁ “bhaga” iti ‘ṅgana.

This is based on an absurd comparison of bhaga with bhau-ga, but it is valuable as expressing what a Bhāgavata thought the name implied. In the 71st verse it is said that the word “Bhagavat” is used in worship (pūjāyām “Bhagavac” chabdah kriyatē hy aupacārīkāh). In the 77th verse it is specially said to be “the general denomination of an adorable object” (pūjya-padārthōktil-paribhāsāsamanvitāh), “used in a special signification with reference to the Supreme,” i.e. as a proper name of the Supreme. Ratnagarbha’s commentary on this passage makes the meaning quite clear.

For these reasons I do not think that any adjective signifying merely a condition, such as “Blissful” or “Happy”, indicates correctly the idea felt by Bhāgavatas in applying the word “Bhagavat” to the Supreme. I think we must use some adjective implying worship, or adoration, due to be paid to Him, and hence, as at present advised, I think “ADORABLE” is the most suitable word. If, however, a better one is suggested, I shall be ready to adopt it. These remarks are put forth to invite criticism. The point is not unimportant, and it would be well if all scholars could agree upon the same translation.
The word "Bhagavat" is also employed in Buddhist theology, but, as this lies outside the region of my studies, I do not venture to make any suggestion in regard to its use in that religion. "Buddha" itself is also, of course, an adjective, but in Europe its use as a proper name is now so firmly established that it would be hopeless to advocate its translation wherever it occurs. But the general remarks made in regard to "Bhagavat" apply with equal cogency to it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
November 11, 1909.

THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN POLITE IMPERATIVE.

The origin of the so-called "Polite Imperative" of Hindōstānī and other cognate languages has never yet been definitely determined. It usually ends in iyē, as in māriyē, please to kill; but sometimes in Hindōstānī, and almost always in the western languages, in jiyē, jē, or some similar termination commencing with a j, as in H. dijiyē, please to give; hūjīyē, please to become, and so on. Lassen (Inst., pp. 355 ff.) and Trumpp (Sindhi Grammar, p. 268) doubtfully attribute the forms to the Sanskrit Prepositive, and in this they are followed by Beames (C.G., iii, p. 111). Hoernle (G.G., p. 340) derives the iyē forms from the future, and the jiyē forms from the passive. There is no doubt that the latter is a possible phonetic equation. The Apabhramśa Prakrit form of diyāte is dijjai, from which we can at once derive dijē or dijiyē.

A suggestion made some time ago by Dr. Konow has given me a clue which has led me to the conviction that Lassen's conjecture was right, and that both the iyē and the jiyē forms are derived from the Sanskrit Prepositive. A reference to p. 330 of Pischel's Prakrit Grammar
will give all the necessary materials for coming to a conclusion.

The second person singular of the Sanskrit Precative ended in yās. Thus bhūyās, mayst thou be; déyās, mayst thou give; māryās, mayst thou kill. In Apabhrāṃśa this yās assumed two forms. Sometimes it became jjahi and sometimes ḫahi, so that we find forms such as hojjahi (from bhūyās), mayst thou be; dejjahi, mayst thou give; and māṛiḥi, mayst thou kill. From the first set are descended Hindōstānī forms such as hūjiye and dijiye, while, from the second, we have forms such as māriye.

This explanation does not account for a few forms of common occurrence which are usually looked upon as polite imperatives with special idiomatic meanings. Such are Marāṭhī mhanajē, that is to say, videlicet; pāhiye, it is necessary; Gujarāṭī jōiyē, it is necessary; Hindōstānī chāhiye, it is necessary; and jāniye in phrases such as kyā jāniye ki, how does one know that?

Here I think that Hoernle’s explanation gives the right clue. These are not imperatives or precatives, but are simple present passives, the derivation of which offers no difficulty, while their modern forms happen by accident to coincide with those of the modern polite imperatives. These passives are common in Bājasthāni, and in the Aryan languages of the Himalaya, in the case of all transitive verbs. As passives:—

mhanajē means literally “it is said”.
pāhiye and jōiyē mean literally “it is looked after”.
chāhiye means literally “it is desired”; and
kyā jāniye ki means “what is known that” or “how is it known that”?

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Indonesian Alphabets

On p. 113 of the Report of the Committee on the Organisation of Oriental Studies in London (1909) I notice the statement that “the people of the Malay Archipelago invented nine different written characters before their general conversion to Mahomedanism”.

This is a curious survival (or revival) of an exploded idea. Its original author, I believe, was John Crawfurd, who maintained it unswervingly, from the first of his works (History of the Indian Archipelago, 1820, vol. ii, pp. 75 seq.) to the last (Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands, 1856, passim). In this respect he was like the Bourbons, he learned nothing and forgot nothing.

As a matter of fact, the Indonesian alphabets are of Indian origin. Half an hour’s study of Holle’s Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten (1882) and Kern’s commentary thereon (Eene Bijdrage tot de Palaeographie van Nederlandsch Indië, Bijdr. tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 4th Volgr., vi, p. 133 seq.) will suffice to convince anyone of the relationship of these scripts inter se and their common descent from an early South Indian form of alphabet.

C. O. Blagden.

Who is the Author of the Dhvanikārikās?

The learned editors of the Kavyamālā, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Durgāprasād and Mr. Kāshināth Pāndurang Parab, were the first to remark the distinction between the Dhvanikāra and the Vyrtikāra Anandavardhana, which was not carefully noted or was even forgotten by writers like Jayaratna, the commentator on Ruyyaka’s Alamkāra-sarvasva (p. 119, Kavyamālā edition of the Alamkāra-sarvasva). Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta generally distinguish carefully between the two. Dr. Jacobi of Bonn
has also taken up this important question in his Introduction to the translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 14–18); but he has not come to any conclusion as to who composed the *Kārikās*, although he thinks he may place the author of these *Kārikās* about 820 A.D., or more than a full generation after Udbhata Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkārarasārasamgraha*, who in ch. vi, 17 of the same work pronounced Rasa to be the soul of poetry (कर्त्तारं तद्भसारं काव्यालं व्यवस्थितम). The writer of this note thinks that the author can be traced, as may be seen from the following considerations.

The *Dhvanyāloka* is otherwise called सहद्रयालोकनामा काव्यालंकारः (MS. ग) and काव्यालोक (MS. क), as can be seen from the variants given in the footnotes of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 59, *Kāvyamālā*). Aufrecht’s *Catalogus Catalogorum* gives the additional title सहद्रयहर्द्यालोक. Now we know that the titles of commentaries end in चालोक, प्रत्येक, प्रकाश, दोपिका, etc., and they are explained as चालोकते भेनेन इति चालोकः, प्रत्येकति or प्रकाशति भेनेन (or ‘चन्या’) इति प्रत्येक: or प्रकाश: or दोपिका, etc. This is quite natural, since the commentaries are considered as mediums of help (or “Hilfsmittel” as the German scholars call these). Can we explain these titles similarly, then?

The third line in the penult. verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* runs thus: काव्यालोक खिलमीख्यातं विवेद्योबाने ध्विन्दुर्धिंशतः। which helps us to explain काव्यालोक and ध्वयालोक as काव्य or ध्विन्य: चालोकते भेनेन इति। But how shall we explain सहद्रयालोक?

We find the last verse thus:—

सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसङ्कर्मः
कल्य मन:मु परिप्रक्कलितं यद्मानीतः।
तद्वाकरोदव्रयोदयालोकऽद्भिन्तोऽरान्यवर्धने इति प्रथितभाषानिति।

The third line of this verse, too, may solve the riddle,
which we find it does. We find that Ānandavardhana expounds the truth about (or nature of) good poetry (सत्कायत्तम) in order to make सहद्य rise (from obscurity) (lit. "to obtain rise" (from obscurity) for Sahṛdaya). May not, then, सहद्यालोक mean "commentary which illumines the poet सहद्य" (i.e. his work, viz. the Dhvanikārikās, which Ānandavardhana reclaimed from death due to obscurity)?

Further, we find that Abhinavagupta, the commentator on the Dhvanyāloka, is also not negligent in mentioning the author of the Dhvanyāloka. In his benedictory stanza—

श्रूतः शहदू प्राचर्यति विना कारणकला
बिग्रामण्यं निग्रस्यभरात्सारयति च।
स्मात्रायोपाक्रमयक्षरसरसम्यं भासयति ततः
सर्वस्यात्रवे कविसहद्याक्षं विहयतात् (म)॥

Abhinavagupta in this beautiful verse, which defines poetry as Shakespeare does in his play A Midsummer Night's Dream ("The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling," etc.), makes a bow to the poet सहद्य (कविसहद्य), who was the first to propagate, or publish, the novel (or marvellous) truth about poetry (श्रूतः शहदू प्राचर्यति).

The concluding verse about the Dhvanyāloka, quoted above, shows that this truth flashed on the minds of those whose minds were ripe by consideration of poetry before the Dhvanikāra, but then it again disappeared (सत्कायत्तविनेष्यं स्पुरितप्रमुक्तवयं मनः सू परिप्रकाशियं चद्दावीत).

The word सहद्य in the title, as given by the valuable MS. ग, is very important, as it occurs not only in the title of Abhinavagupta's commentary, which is called सहद्यालोकलोचन, but also occurs in the title of Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka's work Hṛdayadarpana, which Dr. Jacobi, on the authority of some MSS. perhaps, calls सहदयदर्पण in his Introduction to his translation of the Dhvanyāloka (p. 12). This work was shown to be a criticism on the Dhvanyāloka.
in my paper on "What is the Hṛdayadarpāṇa?" (JRAS., April, 1909). Mahimabhaṭṭa in his Vyaktiviveka (ch. i, v. 4) refers to this work of Bhaṭṭanāyaka (चन्द्रदर्पण सम धी: स्तान्यारविभक्तप्रकल्पे वैति कथितमिवावधम), i.e. he feels unable to criticize the Dhvanyāloka properly, since he has not seen the सहदर्पण of Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

V. V. SOVANI.

IBRAHIM B. ADHAM

In continuation of Mr. Beveridge's note (JRAS., 1909, p. 751) my recent studies enable me to say that the subject of Colonel Hanna's picture, which had been erroneously interpreted as being "Angels ministering unto Christ", was quite a commonplace topic for the artists of the Indo-Persian or Mughal school, and was treated by them with considerable variation of detail.

I have noticed the following instances:

B.M. Add. 11,747, folio 30. — Ibrāhim b. Adham is approached by four angels on foot bearing vessels of food, but there are no flying angels, and the discontented darvish is lacking. The scenery is among hills. The picture dates from the eighteenth century, and belonged to Sir Elijah Impey. The label is Tašwīr Pādshāh Sultan Adham Nawāb Muzaffar Jang.

Johnson Collection, I.O., Bk. vi, No. 5.—Here, too, the visiting angels are four in number. The darvish sits sulking at the mouth of a cave.

Ibid., Bk. xiv, No. 1.—Five angels standing, two flying, and the darvish in the right-hand corner.

Collection of C. Hercules Read, Esq.—Several variants, some with the saint's name appended.

In all cases the traditional likeness of Ibrāhim is preserved, and any picture dealing with the legend can be instantly recognized, whether labelled or not.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

November 13, 1909.
In Part IV of JRAS. for 1909 (p. 1122) Dr. Grierson, referring to a previous note of Professor Kielhorn (Part II of JRAS. for 1908, pp. 502 ff.), states the Professor's view to be "that Patañjali therefore implies that here the word 'Vāsudēva' is merely an ordinary proper name, and is not the name of a god". This does not appear to me to be quite what Professor Kielhorn says. For his words are "the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being". Professor Kielhorn, here, does not deny its applicability to a divine being; but it must be confessed that the trend of his argument is towards making out Vāsudēva to be an ordinary individual. For he says (Vāsudēva) "is the proper name of an individual called Vāsudēva... In either case the word, 'tatrabhavataḥ,' by which 'saṁjñāaishā' is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being". Neither does it, I assert, suggest that he was not a divine being; and this is plain from Dr. Kielhorn's own statement that the word is equally applicable to a human being. "Equally" with whom? It must be "equally" with divine beings. And certainly the word "tatrabhavat" means "respected", "revered", "worshipful", and may be applied to men as well as gods. And in the very passage in Patañjali, with which Professor Kielhorn compares the Vāsudēva passage, "tatrabhavataḥ" is used of Prajāpati, who is called "Sarva", i.e. "all". Prajāpati can be "all" only in the sense that he is the material cause (उपादान) of all that exists. This sense is assigned to Patañjali's words "सर्वं च प्रजापति: " by Kaiyata. Prajāpati therefore is the creator, and to him is applied the epithet "tatrabhavataḥ". Why not, then, may the same expression be understood to imply that Vāsudēva was a god or a divine being?
I do agree with Professor Kielhorn in thinking that the correct reading is "tatrabhavataḥ", and not "tatra-
bhagavataḥ", which I accepted on a former occasion on
the evidence of the Benares edition. But "tatrabhavat"
is applicable equally to gods and men, Paññjali himself
having used it in the case of the god Prajñāpati.

In all the passages, containing forms of the word"tatrabhavat" referred to by Professor Kielhorn, except
three, the grammatical connexion gives the substantives
which are qualified by the epithet "tatrabhavat". In
two of these three, the wording of both of which is
संभिष्या तत्तभवत्:, the grammatical connexion does not bring
out the substantive qualified by the epithet, and the sense
is: "This is the name of the worshipful." Thus stated,
the word "worshipful" indicates one who is pre-eminently
worshipful, i.e. a god. In the passage under P. IV, ii, 25,
Prajñāpati is mentioned as equivalent to ka; but in
connexion with another argument, and not with that
which ends with "संभिष्या तत्तभवत्: " . And this mention
enables us to determine in the manner indicated above
who it is that is meant by the epithet "worshipful"
not followed by any substantive. If the general epithet
"worshipful" thus indicates a god in this passage, there
is every reason for understanding that that expression
indicates a god in the Vasudeva passage (IV, iii, 98).

Vasudeva is here associated with Arjuna, and in the
whole literature in which they are so associated Vasudeva
is the name of a divine being. And the traditional inter-
pretation of Paññjali's passage is that by "tatrabhavataḥ"
is meant such a being. The instance from the Kāśīka,
which I found out for myself when Professor Kielhorn's
note first appeared, has already been given by Dr. Grierson.
Kaiyāta's explanation is "निभ: परमाभ्यवताविनिधिय द्वारा वासु-
देयो गृह्यत तवकर: " i.e. the sense is, Vasudeva is to be
understood as a certain eternal deity which is the
supreme soul. The "tatrabhavataḥ" occurring in the
third passage is taken by Professor Kielhorn as used in an ironical sense. But even here, since it is used without a substantive, “tatrabhavatalḥ” is understood by Nāgōjībhaṭṭa in his explanation of Kaiyāṭa’s comment on Patañjali’s text as equivalent to Īśvara or God. Īśvara is supposed to have taken upon himself the role of an opponent of the Vedas to delude the Daityas, and to have uttered the verse quoted by Patañjali. Thus in all the three passages in which “tatrabhavatalḥ” is not followed by a substantive, i.e. is itself used substantively, the sense is “of God, or a God”, on the evidence of Patañjali himself, Kaiyāṭa, and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

Patañjali, for these reasons, and on his evidence Pāṇini also, may be safely taken to speak of Vāsudēva as a divine being. I understood them in this sense in an article I wrote formerly; and propose so to understand them in writing a work for the Grundriss, which I intend doing if my eyesight is restored.

R. G. Bhandarkar.

Vasudeva of Panini

When taking part in the joint discussion, which ensued in connexion with the papers which Messrs. Grierson and Barnett read at Oxford (September, 1908), at the Congress of “History of Religions”, I mentioned what Dr. Grierson has now published in the JRAS (1909, p. 1122). I quoted then from memory the two Sutras, one relating to Bun and the other relating to Buñ, and cited the following line from Kāśikā Vṛtti: Na catra Bun-Buñorviṣeṣo vidyate kimartham Vāsudeva grahaṇam, etc.

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Dr. Grierson was present at the aforesaid discussion. But I fear he soon forgot what I stated; and so it is that he has not mentioned in his note that I had pointed out that the Sūtra of Pāṇini referred to does not relate to Kṛṣṇa.

In the year 1905 (Āṣārh 1311 Beng. Era), I published an elaborate paper in the well-known Bengali Journal Pravāsi (pp. 111 et seq.) to establish the point that even in the middle of the second century B.C., Kṛṣṇa—a god of the Ābhīras—was not being worshipped as a deity by the high-class Aryans. The Sūtras referred to above have been fully discussed in that paper.

At the same time I must assert (as I did when I took part in the discussion I have spoken of at Oxford) that we can get enough material, even in the Vedas, to prove that "religion of love" has been in existence in India from the remotest antiquity. Besides the text I cited at Oxford from memory, I refer readers to those Riks of the Rigveda, where a god has been worshipped as a father, and has been stated to bear love towards the worshippers—the sons: e.g.—i, 1–9; i, 31–10; i, 31–14; i, 31–16; etc., etc.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

CALCUTTA.
November 10, 1909.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE

I regret that, when writing the note referred to by Mr. Mazumdar, I had no recollection of the remarks made by him at the Oxford Congress. Possibly this was due to my not immediately recognizing Pāṇini's suffixes under the forms bun and bun. If I had remembered that he was referring to vun and vun, I should certainly have taken an early opportunity of drawing attention to his observations, for the matter is of considerable importance in fixing the dates of the religious history of India. I have not had an opportunity of reading the
article in the Pravāsī mentioned by him, and must therefore leave its discussion in other, and more competent, hands.

I quite agree with Mr. Mazumdar that in the Ṛg Veda there are several hymns which contain sentiments that it is difficult to distinguish from bhakti. He will find this point discussed by me on p. 239 of the Indian Antiquary for 1908.

In conclusion, may I give voice to the satisfaction which will be felt by all students of the Bhāgavata religion at the news that Professor Bhandarkar looks forward to completing his long-promised contribution on the Bhakti-mārga to the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. His paper read in 1886 at the Vienna Oriental Congress opened the way for all subsequent researches in the subject, and no one is so fitted to complete the edifice, of which the foundations were then so well and truly laid, as its learned and generous author.

GEORGE R. GRIERSON.

Camberley.
November 29, 1909.

BURMA SOCIETY

This Society has been in existence for some four years, but its aim and work are still but little known in this country or in Burma. Its objects are—

1. To form all Burmans in England, and all interested in Burma, into one united body;
2. To provide a common meeting-place in London for members of the Society;
3. To assist, with information and advice, all Burmans who may be in England, or about to come to England;
4. To maintain a Magazine, to be called "The Journal of the Burma Society";
5. To further the interests of Burma generally.
Mainly through its instrumentality Pali has been substituted for Latin, for Burmese students, in the Previous Examination at Cambridge; and the Society has under its consideration at present the desirability of raising the question of the extension of University Local Examinations to Burma, as well as the establishment of a residential club for Burmese students arriving in England.

The first number of the Journal of the Society, dealing with educational and social movements, will be published shortly.

Information about the Society can be obtained from the President, Mr. E. J. Colston, I.C.S., 30 Clarendon Court, Maida Vale, W., or from the Treasurer, Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, Cecil House, Holborn Viaduct, E.C. All Burmese students, and English gentlemen on leave from Burma, or interested in Burma, are eligible as members of the Society.

NOTE. A communication from Professor Jacobi, in reply to his critics in the October Journal, was received too late for insertion. It will appear in the April Number.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


Mr. Marsden's work claims respectful notice as a learned and most conscientious summary of modern knowledge concerning pre-Muhammadan India, in which a high standard of accuracy has been sought and attained. There are, of course, some slips, but no book of the kind ever can be immaculate, and the errors are remarkably few. Mr. Marsden avowedly writes "for schoolboys and not for scholars", being guided by the syllabus prescribed in slightly variant forms by the Indian Universities. He says that recently the standard has been raised considerably and the amount of detail required largely increased. His book seems to me to err in giving far too much detail, an amount beyond the carrying capacity of even a young Hindu's memory. Hardly anything is passed over, and had I the misfortune to be an Indian schoolboy I should feel very sorry for myself if I were expected to remember particulars about Kakatiyas, Eastern Gangas, and innumerable other local dynasties. But, supposing such detail to be demanded by some of the University authorities, the student attempting to master it will find a safe guide in Mr. Marsden. My second general criticism is, that there is rather too much speculative ethnology, a subject ill adapted, I think, for schoolboys.

As always happens, vowel-marks are frequently misplaced, and other small errors in spelling occur. Passing over such matters, it may be well to notice certain passages which will require correction in a new edition.
It is, I believe, a serious error (p. 26) to follow Sir H. Risley in placing Dravidians in Northern India. The Asoka inscriptions are not written in Pāli (p. 85), in the sense usually attributed to that term. It is not quite correct to write "Taxila or Taksha-sila (now Rawalpindi)" (p. 114). Pātaliputra stood on the Son, not on the Ganges (p. 123). Pushya-gupta was not "the king's brother-in-law" (p. 124). Professor Kielhorn corrected that translation. The names of the Kanauj kings were Chakrāyudha and Indrāyudha, compounds of āyudha, "weapon," and not Chakra-yuddha and Indra-yuddha (pp. 227, 232).

I am not aware of any reason for regarding the Andhras or Āndhras as "an Aryan tribe" (p. 243). Chandragupta Maurya (p. 244) is an obvious slip. There is no authority for the assertion that "Bānāvasi is mentioned by Asoka in his inscriptions" (p. 254). The reference to the Vatsas (p. 269) is erroneous; the king conquered was Vatsarāja Gurjara.

A book which presents no mistakes worse than those noted deserves the highest commendation for its laborious accuracy. Even if it should prove to be too elaborate for schoolboys it will have permanent value as a scholarly short history for independent students.

V. A. S.

October 5, 1909.


"LURIN. Oui, je sais lire la lettre moulée, mais je n'ai su apprendre l'écriture."

The importance of an acquaintance with the cursive forms of the Chinese written character was recognized at a comparatively early period. Already in Dr. Morrison's great dictionary of the Chinese language, the publication of which was completed before 1825, we find an extensive
collection of these forms. In 1861 R. J. de St. Aulaire and W. P. Groeneveldt, pupils of the well-known pioneer in Japanese studies, Dr. Hoffmann, brought out at Amsterdam A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, especially as it is used in Japan. It was divided into two parts, the first containing "square characters" arranged according to the radicals, with the corresponding cursive forms; while in the second part were presented the cursive forms, arranged according to the shape of the first and last strokes, either of the whole character or of one of the elements, radical and phonetic, of which it is composed. In this way the characters dealt with were distributed under sixty-six classes. The scheme was not carried out quite consistently, because the authors did not always know which was in reality the first stroke, and it must have been difficult to apply with certainty of a correct result. To the student in Europe who found himself in the presence of a text in cursive writing it may perhaps have proved useful, but to the learner who resided in China or Japan its utility was less marked, inasmuch as he would only have to refer to any ordinarily well-educated Chinese or Japanese in order to obtain immediately the answer to his question, what is the corresponding square character.

Cursive writing in China (and Japan) is usually called hsing or ts'ao (giō or sō) according as it departs more or less from the standard form usually employed in printed books. But in practice this distinction is not observed. A document may be written partly in the one and partly in the other, according to the caprice of the calligraphist. In a well-known Japanese dictionary, the Shinso Tibiki, or Dictionary of the True and Hasty Characters, first engraved on blocks in 1707 and reissued in 1820, the greater part of the forms given are hsing-shu (giō-sho), and the compilers of the work just referred to followed the same practice. So that a help to the study of the Chinese
character, as used in both countries in ordinary correspondence, i.e. the ts'ao shu, was still wanting.

The work of M. Millot shows a remarkable advance on that of his predecessors, and is calculated to stimulate the study of these forms, which has been a good deal neglected by students of Chinese. He relates in his preface that in 1900, after the capture of the Taku forts on the 17th June, a letter was intercepted which was addressed to a Chinese admiral, then a prisoner on one of the foreign men-of-war. Not even the Japanese officers were able to decipher it, but the author was enabled, by the study which he had made of cursive writing, to furnish, though with some difficulty, the desired interpretation. His dictionary contains far more ts'ao shu than that already mentioned, and is arranged on a better system, since, instead of endeavouring to refer the characters to their first and last strokes, he classifies them by the form of their most prominent parts. It contains altogether 7259 cursive forms, some of them duplicate variations, considerably more than are in common use, which may safely be estimated at not more than 2000 in number. These characters, with their corresponding "square" forms, occupy the first 119 pages. They are succeeded by twenty tables, of which the first ten give characters classified in their entirety, as not being easily decomposed into two parts, the second ten supplying those of which the radical is at once distinguishable from the phonetic. A careful study of these tables ought to enable the student to find the corresponding square form of any cursive character he meets with. On p. 136 the author has thought it necessary to set forth the Japanese kana, analysed in the same fashion as the Chinese cursive characters. This seems rather superfluous, since the whole number, including variants of the hiragana, is not greater than can be learnt by heart in a fortnight. These are succeeded by various useful tables calculated to assist the decipherer, and at
p. 197 will be found an instructive example of the method to be followed in using the dictionary.

It is impossible to withhold a tribute of hearty appreciation of the untiring labour devoted by the author to the compilation of this work, which cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance to students either of Chinese or Japanese who may wish to complete their knowledge of the written language of those tongues, though it is sincerely to be hoped they may never be confronted with a task similar to that which, as he has told us in his preface, he encountered on an occasion of the liveliest interest to the forces of civilization.

Ernest Satow.


I am afraid that the Shāhnāma never will be popular in the West. Firdūsī was a great genius, and some of his tales are as exciting and as well told as those rehearsed by Ulysses to the Phaeacians, but for Western readers they lack the charm of association. For Persians and Orientals generally the work will always have a charm, and there are many lines in it which haunt their memories and are often quoted by them. Thus we find Bābar, on the eve of his battle with Rānā Sāṅga, quoting to his officers the couplet which says—

“If I die famous, ’tis well
A name I must have, for my body is Death’s”;
and Jahāngir, in his Memoirs, quotes, after Sa’dī, a couplet from Êraj’s pathetic appeal to his brothers, and which has been thus rendered by Sir William Jones—

“Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain,
It lives with pleasure, and it dies with pain.”
Sa’dī invokes a blessing upon Firdūsī’s tomb for this
couplet, and, indeed, it might well be a motto for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

But to Western readers the Shāhnāma must seem somewhat dull and tedious. As Turner-Macan justly says: "The principal defect of the poem, and that with which most others are connected, is its intolerable length." To my thinking the most living of all Firdūsi's verses is his satire on Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It has come straight from the heart of the indignant poet, and is as spirited as anything in Pope, or in Byron's English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. In the Shāhnāma itself the most interesting passages are those which contain Firdūsi's reflections on life, his allusions to himself, and his lament for his son. There is also a striking passage in which Khusrau assigns his reasons for refusing to give to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Constantinople, the sacred relic of the True Cross, which was said to be in his Treasury.

Mr. Rogers has made a gallant attempt to introduce Firdūsi to English readers. His translation is much closer to the original than Joseph Champion's, and it also covers much more ground. It seems, however, to be a mistake for anyone who is not a master of metre to try to combine literalness with an observance of the exigencies of rhyme. To borrow a phrase of Lord Derby's, the result commonly is to make a botch. The line by line and unrhymed version by Mr. S. Robinson of the episode of Zāl and Rūdābah is more dignified and gives a better idea of the original than Mr. Rogers' rhymed couplets. Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Rogers' book is the prose abstracts which fill up the gaps in his translation.

In some instances Mr. Rogers has, I think, mistaken the meaning of the original. For example, at p. 22, after wrongly styling Žohāk Bilvarāsp, instead of Bewarāsp, he has the lines—
"And he two parts of ev'ry day would ride,
And not for vengeance sake, but in pure pride."

Is not the poet's meaning rather that "day and night two squadrons (or, perhaps, two-thirds) (of Zohāk's 10,000 Arab steeds) were kept in saddle, not for war, but for display"? The phrase ďā bahraḥ seems to me to refer to cavalry, and not to the portions of day and night. If so, the lines are an Oriental parallel to those in The Lay of the Last Minstrel, which, in describing the custom of Branksome Hall, say—

"Thirty steeds both fleet and wight
Stood saddled in stable day and night."

However, Mr. Rogers' version has the support of Mohl, who translates, "Il était jour et nuit presque toujours à cheval pour acquérir du pouvoir, mais non pour faire du mal." According to Nöldeke, Mohl was "kein strenger Philologe", and made many lingual and metrical mistakes. Still, I hesitate to set up my view against two such authorities as Mohl and Rogers, and must leave the point in doubt. The passage will be found at p. 22 of Turner-Macan's edition. [Here I may express my regret that Captain Turner-Macan's name has no place in Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography.]

In the prose abstract at p. 62 Mr. Rogers speaks of Minūchihr as being the son of Īraj, but according to Firdūsi (Macan, p. 70) he was Īraj's grandson. His mother was Īraj's posthumous daughter by Māh Āfrīd, and was given in marriage by her grandfather, Farīdūn, to Pashang, who was Farīdūn's brother's son. Such also is the statement of D'Herbelot, s.v. Manougeher, though the Rauzatu-ş-Safā says that Minūchihr was really the son of Īraj.

At p. 72 Rūdābah's maids are represented as taunting her with having fallen in love with a man whom her own father had cast away. But for "thy" we ought to read "his", the allusion being to Sām's having exposed his
son Zāl on Mount Elburz (see Macan, p. 113). At p. 77 Mr. Rogers represents the falcon's remark about the eggs as unintelligible, but is it not explicable by the double meaning of the word for egg (khāyāh), and is not this how Mohl understood it (see Macan, p. 116)? In the same page of Mr. Rogers' translation Zāl's Turkish boy is represented as saying, "The brave man looks for virtue in his wife," etc., but does he not rather mean that a wise man abstains from marriage lest his wife should have a daughter? He is chaffing the girls who try to make out that Rūdābah is superior to Zāl (see Macan, l.c.). The boy is joking, but he expresses a sentiment current in his time and country, for when Mehrāb hears from his wife about Rūdābah's having fallen in love with Zāl he laments that he did not cut his daughter's head off as soon as she was born, and says his present trouble is the result of his not having followed the custom of his ancestors! See Rogers, p. 91, and Macan, p. 132.

At p. 87 Mr. Rogers has the couplet—

"They come to him and with a smile disclose
From his own fortune there have come two foes."

To this he adds the note: "This is a literal translation, but the passage is unintelligible." The meaning, however, seems to be plain enough. Sām, the father of Zāl, objects to the marriage of Zāl and Rūdābah on the ground that they are opposite elements or substances (gohar, which does not mean gems here), like fire and water, Zāl being a Persian and a servant of Minūchihr and Rūdābah being a daughter of Mehrāb, who is an Arab and a descendant of Zohāq. The astrologers, however, come to him smiling, and tell him that two foes have, by good fortune, been united with one another. The result will be glorious, for Rustam will be born of the marriage. Mehrāb made a similar objection to the marriage, when talking to his wife Sindokht, to which she made the
sensible reply that Faridūn had chosen wives for his sons out of Arabia. The remark of the astrologers is to be found in Turner-Macan's edition, p. 127, but it is omitted in Mohl both in the text and the translation. At p. 183 Mr. Rogers says of Rustam—

"That if upon a stone he down would sit
Both of his feet at once would sink in it.
From that day," etc.

But what Firdūsi says is that Rustam was so strong and ponderous that when he walked his feet pierced the stones. This strength (zor, not roz) was such an inconvenience to him that he prayed God to diminish it.

H. B.


Apparently this volume on Hazara is a private issue of the official gazetteer recently compiled by Mr. Watson, with the addition of some fifty-four illustrations.

The original series of district gazetteers, of which the compilation began about forty years ago, varied greatly in quality; not only when comparing those of one province with another, but one district volume with another belonging to the same province. We had the well-ordered, but dry, lucidity of Sir W. Hunter's Bengal series; the over-elaboration of Mr. Atkinson in one half, followed by perfunctory official task-work in the concluding half, of the (then) N.W.P. volumes; and the almost perfect work turned out for Bombay under the inspiration of the late Sir James Campbell. Out of all the provinces the gazetteers of the Panjub districts were beyond comparison the worst.

If what Mr. Watson has produced on Hazara is to be taken as an average specimen of the revised district
gazetteers for the new N.W. Frontier province and the Panjab itself, a welcome change has been effected. The several subjects have been well chosen, so as to cover the whole ground; while their treatment is well balanced, each subject obtaining a due allotment of space. We have a descriptive chapter, then chapters on the people, the economic condition, revenue and administration, and the history of the district. Separate chapters are allotted to several important aspects of that history, which differ very widely from each other: (1) The Hazara Frontier; (2) Feudal Tanwal and the Family of Amb; and (3) The Kagan Valley. Then follow the usual place directory, seven appendices, thirteen selected official tables of statistics, and a glossary of vernacular terms. Altogether we have a complete and satisfactory account of this interesting region.

The early history is given with fair fullness, though I daresay for that period more information could be added by patient expert research. But the Sikh period (1818–47) is admirably dealt with. Best of all is the account of our early occupation of the country, comprising the doings of James Abbott, who belongs to the heroic age of Anglo-Indian history. Such a man was perhaps bound to suffer the fate of heroes when times of quiet return. He was superseded in 1852 (partly by his own fault), and in 1896 passed away almost forgotten at the age of 89.

The tribal history, which is most important in a district like Hazara, is gone into with the requisite detail. There are many admirable photographs of tribal groups, Utmanzais, Awans, Mishwanis, Kagan Gujars, Hasanzais, Swáthis. But the most charming feature of the book is the many photographs of beautiful scenery. A man who has passed all his service in the ordinary districts of the Gangetic plain, grows envious of those happier mortals, who can lighten at least some years of their long exile by dwelling in what seems, from these pictures, to be a terrestrial paradise.

William Irvine.

This book of seventeenth century adventures comes to us in very questionable shape. John Smith, who is not really John Smith, was the son of a notorious actress, name not given, by a clergyman of note, name equally suppressed. The supposed original MS., as is to be inferred from pp. 5, 6, was sent to his two half-brothers in Europe upon John Smith's death in Patani in the Malay Peninsula about the year 1626. If we are to deal with the book as a real contemporary record, we should at least be vouchsafed some information as to the history of the MS. since 1626, and be told the exact place where it is at present deposited.

But it is not in the least necessary to trouble our heads about such matters. The book is a pure romance of adventure, and, accepted as such, must be given very high rank indeed. The author is a master of the method in which the best of such books have always been written, and as regards the details of Malay history and character he seems to have added wide reading to considerable personal experience. The title-page bears the name "A. Hale", with no further indication of position or quality; perhaps we may assume him to be identical with the "Hale" named by Dr. M. Moszkowski as an authoritative writer on the races of the Malay Peninsula (this Journal, 1909, p. 705).

The story of what happened during the detention of the ships on the West Coast of Africa is most exciting, and as we read we are persuaded that all these things must have happened. We learn to know and like the race of dwarfs whom the sailors befriended, and follow eagerly the incidents of the successful campaign against the big savages, their oppressors (p. 21 to p. 122). In due time we reach Malay waters and the plot thickens; until at
last we arrive at Patani in the Peninsula (p. 167). From this point to the end the author is at his very best.

John Smith is left at Patani, a solitary white man, to look after the trading interests of the expedition. The old queen is kind to him; he is provided with two lovely wives; and is then promoted to be a sort of Minister for Foreign Affairs (p. 178). The old queen wants to marry the hero, but he prudently declines the honour. For what read as very insufficient reasons he resists conversion to Mahomedanism. In fact, Mr. Hale seems to think Mahomedanism is a faith far superior in most respects to Christianity. John Smith is next chosen for a mission into the interior, with orders to counteract the intrigues and encroachments of the neighbouring Perak king and his feudatories. The account of this mission, which was finally successful, gives occasion for charming pictures of Malay scenery, social life, and character, and as a contrast, an absorbing narrative of a vigorous raid into the enemy's country.

If only one or two rather warm passages were excised, this work could be issued as a book for boys, when it would certainly become an enormous success. What higher praise can I accord than this: that it reminds me throughout of Daniel Defoe and his Adventures of Captain Singleton?

WILLIAM IRVINE.


The preceding volumes of this stately and important work have been reviewed in the pages of our Journal with so much authority and completeness—vols. i and ii over the respected initials "H. B." in 1907, and vol. iii
by Mr. Donald Ferguson in 1908—that the present writer feels himself incompetent to attempt more than a very brief and simple notice of this, the concluding volume of Mr. Irvine's meritorious and successful undertaking. It, of course, carries on the narrative of Manucci to its close; but it does much more than this. The final 200 pages contain a large number of "Additional Notes and Emendations", in which Mr. Irvine shows how carefully he has noted the various suggestions of his critics; then a very full bibliography of authors cited or referred to; and lastly an index of most satisfactory completeness to the whole four volumes. The first 400 pages carry on the chatty and gossipy journal of the shrewd old Venetian adventurer right up to the death of the aged Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707.

As to the matter of this volume, it falls, like that of the preceding ones, into two distinct parts, which are presented alternately in sections, apparently on no particular plan beyond that of varying the interest of the narrative and so maintaining the reader's attention. The two parts are, of course, the continuation of the history of the Mogul Empire, under the shadow of which Manucci lived so long, and the fortunes of the Christian missions in the South of India. The former part, as in preceding volumes, is a curious combination of historical matter and Court gossip, much being of a most amusing character. But in the present volume the part devoted to the Christian missions assumes very large proportions, and unfortunately is of anything but an edifying character. A great amount of it consists of a most minute and frequently tedious account of the deplorable quarrels between various parties of the Christian missioners themselves and their converts. It is perhaps not easy at this distance of time to assign blame to one or the other side in these long-continued disputes between members of different religious orders and their friends. It can
scarcely be denied that Manucci writes with considerable bitterness, and, it is to be feared, not without prejudice, largely of a political or national character. He is all through extremely severe against the Jesuits and their partisans; his sympathies are no less strong in favour of the Capuchins. As a result, much of his curious narrative is distinctly disedifying. How far we can trust Manucci's accuracy or impartiality, we cannot undertake to discuss, nor have we at this time the materials to help us to a full judgment. Whatever can be done to elucidate his narrative, and especially the very considerable amount of argumentation concerning the canon law in which he indulges, has been done with singular patience and impartiality by Mr. William Irvine, who deserves our warmest congratulations on this successful completion of his difficult and laborious task.

If all the subsequent volumes of the well-conceived "Indian Texts Series" rise to the level of this first instalment, there can be no question of its value for the study of the history and civilization of the Indian Empire.

L. C. Casartelli.


In this splendid and beautifully illustrated work, a monument of German accuracy and literary conscientiousness, I find much more than a collector's record. The volume is, in fact, a complete treatise, absolutely unique in its comprehensive and scholarly dealing with its subject, upon that unapproachable wonder of Japanese art—the netsuké. Ivory and wood carvings are of course common enough all the world over, but beyond the borders of the Dragon-fly Land, one might almost say outside of
the limits somewhat widely understood of the three "fu", Tòkyò, Osaka, and Kyòto, no such work has ever been executed as that of the netsuké-shi of the Tokugawa period, to which their productions alone suffice to lend an artistic glory of the highest rank. But to appreciate netsuké, to understand them even, no little study is necessary, and in the present volume will be found as complete a guide to that most fascinating branch of artistic erudition as at the present day is possible. In view of the importance of the subject in the history of Asiatic civilization, I venture to occupy a page or two of this Journal with some account, necessarily inadequate, of Herr Brockhaus' superb work.

The word netsuké is usually written 根附, characters which taken literally mean "root-fastener" or "stud". But read rebus-wise, as many Japanese scripts are, they might mean "bone" ([kô]nê) "button" or "disk". It is, however, possible that they were originally nothing but oddly or conveniently shaped natural knobs of hard wood or root, worn above the folds of the girdle or obi to prevent the slipping of the himo, the single or double cord rove through one hole or two holes in them, to the other end of which were attached the koshisage or trousseau the dweller in Old Japan commonly carried about with him—tabako-ire, tobacco pouch, intro, lacquered drug-case, hi-uchi-bako, tinder-box, yatate, inkhorn, etc., kinchaku, purse, etc.—one or more of these. The himo was usually further adapted to its purpose by a smaller ojime or odôme, a one- or two-holed disk or ball which served to constrict the loop. It is not improbable, indeed, that the netsuké (another script for which was 墜子 or "pendant") was a development of the ojime. The material used was a hard, close-grained wood, lacquered or plain, or ivory or walrus tusk, or bone, coral, tortoise-shell, agate, amber, shibui-chi (an alloy of copper and silver), shakudo (silver-bronze, with a little gold to give it tone), sentoku (bronz
containing zinc and lead), or some pure metal, even soft iron. In character the netsuké, which might be rendered "disk", "stud", "knop", or "button", were manju or cake-shaped, a disk variously chased or carved in relief; kagamibuta, mirror-lidded, inset with a metal plate elaborately decorated with lines, scrolls, or figures; or it represented some natural object, or element or scene of the life and tradition of Japan or China. Of the last-mentioned class many are rather okimono, "figurines," or groups, than true netsuké, and are not adapted for wearing with the koshisage.

One has but to examine a single netsuké to understand the uniqueness of these most fascinating objects. Before, however, attempting some brief survey of their attractions a word or two may be said as to the history of this form of glyptic art. Roughly speaking, their production (in Old Japan) is conterminous with the rule of the Tokugawa Shōguns from 1603 to 1868. It is doubtful whether any pieces can be certainly ascribed to a period earlier than the seventeenth century, though the author gives to his first period the wide limits of 1450–1720. The glyptic work of much of this long tract of time was confined to Buddhist sculpture, the execution of bronze and wood statues of a colossal character, chiefly of Buddhas, and the carving of masks more or less artistically grotesque in Ruskin's sense. The second period is comprised between 1711 and 1817, and during it the best netsuké work was produced, especially after 1780. The artists now began to attach their names, often their place of residence, and, more rarely, the object or dedication of the piece. Of this intricate and difficult division of netsuké erudition, Herr Brockhaus has mastered the complicated secret, but it were vain to attempt here any account of so esoteric a portion of the subject of his book. Greater mastery over material, perfection and fluency of line, richness and variety of conception, above
all insight, observation, and the peculiar humour of the
folk characterize the production of this period. The
principal names are the various Shuzan, especially
Yoshimura Shuzan (1764–81), Ogasawara Isai (1781–8),
Miwa, still a name to conjure with among Japanese
bric-à-brac dealers, and the several Minkō of Isé, with
the hōgen (a title of honour) Shūgetsu, and members of
the Okano family, these latter-named flourishing in the
early years of the nineteenth century. The third and last
period extends from 1818 to the date of that contact
with the West which was the beginning of the end of
true Japanese art. The art of the netsuke-shi scarcely
advanced in quality during this period, but its production
enormously increased: Herr Brockhaus' list comprises
some 500 names belonging to these thirty odd years.
Among the principal names are Ryûkei, Tomochika,
Naga-i Raitan, Okatomo, and Gyûka. Some collectors
prefer the ivory netsuke of this generation to those of
any other period. I am myself inclined to think that
the most elegant and decorative work of the Tokugawa
dynasty was produced towards its close; the craftsman-
ship is then often most delicately and daintily fine and
perfect; but few are the new flights of fancy or points
of the peculiar humour of the Japanese glyptic artist to
be found in nineteenth century examples—the range of
subjects had by that time become exhausted, and even the
modes of treatment were approaching a natural limit.
The figurines—to quote an instance—of Shôki, the goblin-
queller and his quelled goblin, a contrast of virtuous power
with the real weakness of evil, show little novelty, and
are largely replicas of a common idea.

To me much the most interesting netsuke are the figures
or groups representing a scene of common life. One now
before me shows two men amusing themselves with a trial
of strength, palm against palm. It is the psychological
moment—one will win, but it is impossible to say which;
both figures have quite different expressions and attitudes. The artist has caught the very moment before the contest is decided, when of course the interest would be over; a hundred times I have watched the struggle, as it were, always with the same interest, the same admiration of the artist's power. The author gives a coloured plate of a netsuké forming part of his own collection: a nearly naked man crouching over a trap in which he thinks he has caught a rat, who, however, has got on his back and mocks him. Here again, with infinite humour, the exact instant is seized when the man has found the trap empty but not yet perceived—he soon will—the escaped animal on his back. Such subjects appear, and of course are, trivial; it is their treatment that makes them works of art; just as, in a different way, is the case with many of Wordsworth's lyrics. Many examples of this peculiar and essentially Japanese humour are given in Herr Brockhaus' volume. The reader, after a little practice in close examination of the illustrations and a careful reference to the text, will not fail to be, one might almost say, startled into admiration, much more so had he the actual netsuké before him. He would turn them over and over, view them from every side, top and bottom; he would not find a single detail neglected, every point of the story told or suggested, a multum in parvo indeed, and every element of the multum perfectly rendered, a marvel of compression, fullness, vigour, and fluency, and so well worthy of ranking as an artistic achievement. Even in the figures of fruits or flowers, or animals not being quadrupeds, he will find the same dynamic quality of life united with complete, almost meticulous truth to nature, often a sly bit of humour indicative of the artist's quiet joy intermingled, as it were, with the composition. Perhaps, however, only the collector can really know this feeling to the full; it needs experienced observation and that
familiarity with the netsuké artist's environment, physical and moral, with his aim and method, which this volume so amply renders possible, to see the whole of what is visible to the eye bodily or mental. The hand of the true artist is equally seen in the gesture, attitude, and drapery of the figurines, be they of god or goblin; but the human face, the human form, the shapes of quadrupeds, the beauty of man or woman, are not well rendered either in Japanese glyptic or in Japanese pictorial art. It is in this respect that Japanese art so widely differs from the art of ancient Greece.

It remains briefly to describe the contents of Herr Brockhaus' volume. A general account of the netsuké, full of accurate learning, is followed by a history of its development, for which all available sources of information, Japanese and Western, have been consulted. Next we have brief biographies of the principal artists, with an elaborate explanation of the various methods, in which they hide rather than reveal in Chinese script their ever-varying personal and artistic names, thus giving the amplest guidance possible towards the date and authorship of particular examples, together with a list of many hundreds of names with their Chinese scripts and the needful indexes. Lastly comes a very full and valuable presentment of the various motives and subjects of the netsuké-shi's art, followed by a descriptive catalogue of Herr Brockhaus' own extensive collection of nearly 1800 pieces. There is also an exhaustive list of other collections, and a full bibliography, with interesting notices of prices realized at sales. The largest collection in existence probably is that of Mr. H. Seymour Trower, who says: "I find the charm . . . as fresh [as] and perhaps even keener than when I began." The estimation in which these exquisite productions are held is shown by the enormous prices often given for a single netsuké. At the Bing auction in Paris in 1906 prices ran from
60 to over 5000 francs—many of the netsuké then sold might have been bought twenty years earlier for two or three dollars or even less. It should be added that the Japanese themselves do not attach a very great value to these or to other examples of ukiyo or living art.

The black and white illustrations in the text, after drawings and photographs, are excellent; the full-page coloured photogravures to my mind are not always quite so good. Some of the latter might have been better had the electric light been used more efficiently. The type is in roman, comfortable for English eyes, and the text is absolutely free from the ponderosity that sometimes spoils German prose. I do not quite like the hot-pressed shiny paper, which is not pleasant to the eye, and somewhat injures the "japanesy" character of the illustrations, but probably its use is unavoidable. I should add that a very good general account is given of Japanese art and interesting comparisons drawn with Greek and mediaeval art, and lastly that this fine quarto volume affords throughout most profitable reading to the student, artistic or not, of Eastern life.

F. Victor Dickins.

Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'Histoire de la Dogmatique.
Par L. De la Vallée Poussin. Paris: Beauchesne, 1909. 4s.

This is a reprint of lectures delivered before the Institut Catholique in Paris, last year, by the well-known Ghent professor. The lectures themselves are one of a series of lectures on the history of religions delivered in that institution. Monseigneur Roy, Bishop of Alinda, has dealt with the religious beliefs of modern savages, and the Baron Carra de Vaux with Islam; and others are to follow. M. Poussin (p. 10) considers the study of the history of religions as chimerical, and the Hibbert
Lectures in particular as presumptuous in their aims. It is all the more remarkable as a sign of the times to find that his own Church is moving in this direction, and he himself taking part in so chimerical and presumptuous a branch of historical inquiry.

After an introductory lecture the author discusses in Lecture II (called chapter 1) the original teaching of the Buddha. His main point is that Pali scholars are wrong in supposing that the doctrine of the Three Signs (or more especially the last of the three, the doctrine of \textit{anatta}) involves any denial of the soul. He, on the other hand, supposes the Buddha's own teaching on the question of the soul theory to have been agnostic—neither affirming nor denying the existence within the body of a separate and eternal entity called the soul, but simply saying that that was a question not worth discussing. The difference does not seem to be very great.

There is one passage which the author quotes as favouring his view—the well-known Sutta on the Burden-bearer, which was discussed in this Journal for 1901, pp. 308 and 573, by the late Professor E. Hardy and the author of these lectures. The former there pointed out that the passage is entirely in accordance with the \textit{anatta} view put forward in so many others. Every human is a burden-bearer. True. But it does not at all follow, which is the very point in dispute, that he has, in the view of the early Buddhists, inside of him a minute creature, the size of a thumb, called an \textit{attā} or soul, which will escape from the body at death through an aperture in the suture of the skull. Quite the contrary. The \textit{puggala}, or person, is distinctly stated, in this very passage, to consist solely of the five khandhas, or mutually supporting groups, of material and mental qualities. It is strange that, through the whole of the chapter, the discussion in this Journal is quietly ignored; and it is throughout taken for granted that the Sutta
referred to (S. iii, 25) maintains the existence of the soul or mannikin.

The next lecture gives a clear and popular account of some of the main tenets of various later schools, so far as that is possible considering the very small number of texts that are as yet published. The following lecture discusses the whole evolution of the ideas concerning the Buddha, and the Buddhas, from the fifth century B.C. down to the time of the rise of the Amitābha theory, which is dated, very problematically, about the first century A.D. On both these subjects there are interesting remarks which lead to the regret that the lecturer's time and space were so very limited.

Another lecture deals with the future Buddha, and more especially with the conception, so fully worked out in mediaeval Buddhism, that everyone should endeavour to become a Buddha in the future, should enter upon the career, not of Arahan, but of Bodhisattva. And, finally, we have a sketch of the rise and meaning of the Tantra beliefs and practices so far as they were Buddhist.

In the Preface, we are glad to see, the author announces his intention of publishing a larger work, in which the many interesting historical problems here touched upon in the author's genial phrases shall be considered at greater length, and with the addition of references from other works. There is probably no one living who has studied the later literature of the Indian Buddhists with greater care and completeness than the writer of these lectures, and such a work would be a most welcome addition to our imperfect knowledge. The field is so vast that no one student can cover the whole of the ground. To add anything of positive value to the history is already difficult enough, involving as it does a sober judgment in matters also of philology and philosophy. And it is all the more difficult as no one has yet made any adequate attempt to trace the development of
Buddhist thought from the time of Kanishka onwards. But we shall never understand the history of thought in India until this is done. Let me assure M. Poussin that we of the Pali side of our common research will receive, with real gratitude, whatever he tells us of his side of the subject.

T. W. Rhys Davids.


To write a good phrase-book of conversational Malay is not as easy as it looks. The person who essays to do it has to steer a course like that which lies between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand he must avoid the pedantries and peculiarities of the written language. Nothing would be easier than to compile a collection of extracts from Malay literature; it has been done times without number, and of course such collections are very useful to students of Malay literature. But they are not colloquial Malay, any more than Johnsonese is colloquial English. On the other hand, the phrase-book maker must not fall into the depths of bazaar jargon. There have been many little Malay phrase-books that erred on this side: they embodied a sort of "kitchen Kaffir" talk bearing the same relation to Malay that pidgin-English does to the talk of the average Englishman conversing with his family or friends. Most of the existing phrase-books are more or less on these lines. It would be invidious to mention names: their name is legion, and they are much alike in this respect.

The reason is simple enough. The average Malay, so long as he is talking to other Malays, speaks his language as it should be spoken, using (quite naturally and without
thinking about it) the many peculiar idioms with which Malay abounds. But the moment he has to speak to a foreigner, whether Chinese, Indian, or European, he begins (perhaps with the polite desire of making things easy for him) to "talk down" to the stranger's level. He then uses a sort of simplified Malay, avoiding all the characteristic idioms of the language, and even in some cases modifying the syntax, so as to make it more like what the other is accustomed to. In fact, he begins to talk pidgin-Malay, just as the Englishman in Hong-Kong talks pidgin-English to his Chinese servants, and for much the same reason. Then some enterprising European comes along, whose ambition it is to compile a book of Malay phrases taken down at first hand from the very lips of a pure Malay, and carefully writes down this stuff and publishes it, with the results that are apparent in most of the existing phrase-books.

To do M. Mersier justice, I must say that he has on the whole succeeded pretty well in avoiding these pitfalls. His sentences, if not always ideally pure Malay (which is hard to come by colloquially nowadays) are at any rate fair specimens of the vernacular, being neither a patchwork of bookish language nor yet too much disfigured with bazaar jargon. But there are exceptions. *Apa angkao boykah dirumah ini* (p. xxvi) is not the "idiome usuel de la péninsule malaise": the *apa* is a rather objectionable Javanism, never (so far as I remember) heard in the Peninsula. I do not like the expression *datang kasini* (ibid.): *datang ka-mari* would be more usual and correct. Sometimes the French version is inadequate: for instance, "un cheval pie (tacheté)" does not fully translate *satu kuda belang yang bagus*. The Malay phrases are given in the Arabic character as well, but this has not been done in a very good style of handwriting (it is reproduced by lithography, apparently), nor is the spelling always that which is usually considered
correct. No doubt Malay spelling in the Arabic character is still in such a fluid state that a good deal of variation is permissible. But there are limits, and I cannot say that I approve of بالي بلتي for بالي بلتي.

The book will be of service as an introduction to the study of the spoken language. For this reason I rather regret that a system of spelling in the Roman character has been adopted, which (though suited to the primary purpose of the book, viz. the instruction of Frenchmen) is sufficiently different from the ordinary orthography of Romanized Malay to be rather confusing to people of other nationalities. The standard orthography now in use in the Peninsula is so simple, and so adequate for everyday purposes, that it seems a pity to depart from it when, with the help of some four or five rules of pronunciation as regards particular letters, it would have served M. Mersier's purpose just as well as the system he has adopted. In this respect I think the book might have been improved. The Dutch spelling of Malay, ungainly as it is to our eyes, has at any rate such prestige as ancient and widespread usage can confer; yet in their linguistic writings Dutch scholars frequently use an orthography which (being nearer to an international standard) approximates very closely to that of English Romanized Malay. There seems to be no point, at this time of day, in inventing a new French spelling for Malay in a work that is intended for students.

C. O. BLAGDEN.


This little book contains a series of extracts from Malay works (principally those of Abdullah bin Abdulkadir) done into French. They are very readable, and will no
doubt be useful to a good number of people who cannot read them in the original. The translation appears to have been well done, and the notes are generally informing. Sometimes, however, they are not as accurate as could be desired. For instance, in Abdullah's curious list of demons and devilries (p. 89) the word "Katagoran" (=kétéguran) is not, I think, the name of a ghost, but denotes the fact of being accosted by one and the calamitous consequences which are supposed to result from such an encounter. Again, Djembalang, terkena obat gouna does not mean "an earth-spirit struck by a magic drug". The two things are unconnected. Jembalang is no doubt an earth-spirit, but the "being affected by a magic drug" is not his portion, but that of some luckless wight whose enemies have put a spell upon him to do him harm. The fact is that Abdullah in his list mixes up the various logical and grammatical categories in fine confusion: some of his words are the names of devils and ghosts, others of enchantments and other magic devices and processes.

Of the Introduction which precedes the extracts I need not say more than that it gives a rather fascinating picture of this corner of the East, with special reference to Java and the Malay Peninsula. If not very profound it is bright and sympathetic: the work of an intelligent and appreciative visitor, not of a permanent resident, who sees more of the seamy side and has become a trifle dulled to the charm of this region. It is none the worse, perhaps, for that; and if it stimulates a few more Frenchmen to travel and visit these countries (as it urgently invites them to do), I have no doubt that they will not regret the experience, though possibly they may not find them the "earthly Paradise" that M. Mersier's idealizing fancy has beheld in them.

The book unfortunately contains a considerable number of misprints, and would have been the better for more careful proof-reading.

C. O. BLAGDEN.
I feel more than satisfied with this new contribution to the history of Buddhist dogma. I am not sure, and I think Professor P. Oltramare is not sure, that he has succeeded in deciphering the original meaning of the cumbersome list of the twelve causes; but he has worked out a lot of very interesting observations, and he may be right on the whole, après tout. As concerns the analysis he gives of the sources, the so-called genuine Pāli texts, and the elucidation of the numerous and divergent Canonie, Southern and Northern scholastic views, clearness and erudition have conspired to make his short article by far the best on the subject. European theories are summarized and criticized in the happiest way: the history of Buddhist philology is not a very cheering one.

To chiefly concern ourselves with the primary meaning of the paticcasamuppāda, Professor Oltramare first maintains that the redactors did not aim at explaining "existence", but rather "how existence is what it is, suffering". That may be right. I willingly admit that neither Gautama nor his true disciples, heirs of his practical wisdom, did care much for metaphysics. But there is a preliminary problem, more hard to unravel than to cut off: "Is the pratityasamutpāda pre-canonic—I mean, really authentic?" If it is not pre-canonic, it may have been, from the very outset, scholastic at the bottom, or, as Professor Oltramare would say, a theological masterpiece: we are justified in believing that it is the result of many-sided and heterogeneous contaminations. On the contrary, if it be really genuine, how is it to be understood? "In the simplest possible way," must be the answer. That is: "My life is miserable and will come
to a miserable end with old age and death, because I am born. I am born because I am in the world of becoming. I ‘become’ because I am continually nourishing my existence. I nourish it by the very fact that I have appetites. I have appetites because I feel. I feel because I have contact with things, because my organs are active. My organs are active because I am contrasted, as far as I am an individual, with the ‘non-moi’. I am an individual because my conscience is pervaded with the idea of personality. My conscience has been made what it is by previous experiences; and these experiences have infected my conscience, because ‘I did not know’” (pp. 28–9).

To say the truth, the only “members” of the chain that are really clear are sadāyatana—trṣṇā, jāti—marāṇa, etc. I fear that it is impossible to “ascertain” the original meaning of bhava and upādāna; serious doubts arise concerning the real import of sāmskāras, vijnāṇa, nāmarūpa.

One will most probably acknowledge that bhava cannot have been understood originally—as it was later—as a ḍiśyā: (1) karmabhava, act-producing, (2) upapatti-bhava, existence at the arising state, conceptional or pre-conceptional existence. Professor Oltramare’s translation, “I am born (jāti) because I was to be reborn, because I am in the World of Desire (kāmadhātu), because I exist (bhava),” has much on its side. It is not altogether a new one, but there is “manière de dire”. And it would be unfair to disbelieve it because it is simple and witty. That Buddhist phrases do not always involve profound ideas, is so far evident. And the most uncompromising translation of bhava is perhaps the best.—As Professor Oltramare observes, very keenly indeed, the number “twelve” was a pre-Buddhistic datum, and to fill the twelve sections synonymous phrases were of use.

Upādāna would be the “taking up”, the assimilation
by a living and conscious being of the elements of being, i.e., the skandhas, both material (bodily), rūpā, and psychic, vedanā and so on. It is certain that upādāna is the fuel, the alimentary principle of fire; that the “exterior” element, rūpa (matter), is said to be “taken up,” upāṭta, when it is assimilated to the body, when it becomes “interior” (ādhyātmika, Northern Sūtras); that elements like “feeling” (vedanā), individualized as they are (since each vedanā is produced by such and such “contact”); can be looked upon as polygeneous elements to be fragmentarily “taken up”: such is certainly the case for the “intellectual element” (vijñāna), which is styled later a dhātu, like earth, water, etc. (and to the vijñānadātu finally converge all the psychological states or phenomena, vedanā, samjñā, etc.). It is also certain that, like upādāna, the four “aliments” (āhāras) are produced by “thirst” (trāṇā) (see Majjh. i, 47, 261 = Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, Soc. As., fol. 250 a 8), and that the “taking up” of the several “elements” (skandhas) is described at length in Majjh. i, 511. We have there a bundle, a kalāpa of proofs, which cannot be easily disposed of, and assures a high value to the conjecture of Professor Oltramare. On the other hand, scholastic interpretations of upādāna are manifold; the so-called four upādānas (kāma, drṣṭi, śīlavṛata, ātmavāda) look very fanciful, and the original notion must have been different from the scholastic ones. Nevertheless, I cannot say that I am absolutely “converted”. Before reading Professor Oltramare’s observations and perusing his authorities, I had been struck by a canonic gloss, to which Professor Kern has called attention: yā vedanāsu nandi tad upādānam (Majjh. i, 266 = Manual, p. 47, note). An old (ābhidharmik) definition of upādāna is kāmadīsū chandarāgah (Abhidharmakośa, 236 d), alias bhogānāṃ prāptaye klesasamudācārāvasthā, alias caturvidhāḥ klesāḥ — later karmākṣepakārānam, “efficient cause of the projection of
act" (Madhyamakavṛtti, xxvi, 6). All these texts point to the quasi-identification of upādāna and trṣṇā. "Thirst," too, is nandi, kleśa, and cause of act. And the idea is near at hand that upādāna is a more active form of desire, its paryutthāna, not only desire, but, as Professor Kern says, "clinging, effort." That would be "self-complacency", "consent", contrasted with "tentation". Majjh. i, 266, supports this view, and I believe it highly probable that it can and must be mingled with Professor Oltramare's opinion, also a canonic one, to realize the imprecision and the resources of the ancient Buddhist ideology and terminology.

Our author has clearly stated, for the first time, that the pratītyasamutpāda has to be understood "en fonction" of the theory of the skandhas (matter and psychological elements of the human being). And although he under-values or disapproves (following M. A. Barth) M. E. Senart's opinion that upādāna = upādānaskandhas, he himself shows the happiest way of understanding this equivalence. Upādāna (let us say hyper-trṣṇā) is clinging to the exterior objects of desire (kāmarūpa) and to the existence of the self (scholastically, to heresies relative to the self and to his welfare), and therefore to the very elements in absence of which no existence or self whatever can be thought of. Or, if the translation "hyper-trṣṇā" is wrong, upādāna, in any case, is trṣṇā, as far as trṣṇā is generative of further existence, here or hereafter (bhava), by the very fact that it nourishes the self (nāmarūpa). The upātta skandhas into which, according to the stereotyped phrase of the Sanskrit sūtras, ripens the fruit of action,¹ are upātta because there is a power of upādāna in the act produced by desire. And it seems hardly possible to doubt that the phrase upādānaskandha (upādāya rūpa, upādānarūpa) is a contamination of the upādāna

¹ na bhikṣavaḥ karmāni... bāhya prayāyikāh ēkaṇu vipacayante, api tāpāttena skandhodhātvayatanena.
of the Pratityasamutpāda with the skandhas of an independent psycho-physiological theory, the origin of which is presumably pre-Buddhistic.

Let us now see how, according to Professor Oltramare, nāmarūpa is produced from vijñāna. "In the Brahmin schools, nāmarūpa points out a being as characterized by its visible characters (rūpa) and as marked for thought by its name (nāma)." This phrase obtains almost the same meaning in Buddhism: nāmarūpa is "the individual with all its contingencies", and the individual is a being of desire, of becoming, of suffering, because he is intelligent and conscious. "Therefore nāmarūpa is caused by vijñāna, i.e. the knowledge that distinguishes subject and object, and lays subject into the dependence of object. When vijñāna disappears all the elements of nāmarūpa disappear too." Although nāmarūpa is used only in reference to sattvas (intelligent, human, animated beings), material beings too have a "name" as well as a "form". Human (or animated) nāmarūpa is characterized by vijñāna; therefore vijñāna is its seed. And the real import of the causal connexion is as follows: From vijñāna, nāmarūpa coupled with vijñāna (cf. p. 13 ff.).

"Vijñāna transmits to the individual all the tendencies that are to overrule his relations with objects. These tendencies are called the 'predispositions' or the 'formations' (sanskāras) . . . and are rightly so called, being as it were the mould into which life is being cast. Sometimes sanskāras are identified with Will, and rightly too: other elements, sensations, concepts, etc., are furnished to the individual by the successive phenomena amongst which his life is going on; on the contrary, Will, or mental attitude, is, for a Hindu, the consequence of former experiences." Such and such sanskāras are the formative cause of such and such vijñāna, which again

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1 I am not sure that this definition would hold in every case.
causes samskāras; and there is no actual vijñāna where previous samskāras are wanting.¹

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSIN.


Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Śāstri’s prose poem, the Vālmikīr Jaya, originally appeared, about thirty years ago, in the celebrated Bengali magazine the Baṅga Darśana, and was subsequently published by the author as an independent work, but much altered and enlarged. It was received with acclamation, and the Indian reviewers exhausted their vocabularies in praise of its merits. The commendation was sometimes so extravagant in its language that it repelled more sober-minded English readers from what was in fact a highly poetical composition and well worthy of perusal. The author took the old familiar stories of Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, and Vālmiki as his basis, and over these he wove a web of luxurious Oriental imagination. Each of these three heroes attempts to bring about the universal brotherhood of mankind. Vaśiṣṭha tries priestcraft and worldly policy, but fails. Viśvāmitra tries physical force, but fails. Vālmiki preaches a gospel of love, and succeeds. This is briefly

¹ I venture to differ from Professor Oltramare on some points of little importance. p. 10: As well said, kāma is sexual desire; there is “desire” in the rūpadhātu, as far as I know. p. 27, note: I think that the Śālistambasūtra has the canonical phraseology. p. 28: But there is a ācītendriya, at least in the latter scholastic. p. 41: I do not see how avidyā acquired a new value (and a cosmic one) from the fact that it came to be looked upon as the ignorance of the nairātmya. p. 41, note: Lefmann follows Rājendralāl, but the Tibetan translation has pratyayebhiḥ ca (=co), and confirms Professor Oltramare’s scepticism. p. 46: Is not Buddhaghoṣa to be understood according to Śikṣāsamuccayo, p. 227, 11?—As concerns Pāli references, it seems that the true light came recently from Cambridge (Mass.): to give up the notation by sūtras, vaggas, samyuttas, sub-vaggas, etc., would be helpful to the reader and very agreeable to our excellent friend Professor Lanman.
the plot of the story, which may be described better as a rhapsody than by any other title.

Mr. R. R. Sen's English translation of the Bengali original is a good piece of work, evidently carried out con amore. I have compared much of it with the original, and can vouch for its fidelity, but it is not a too literal translation. To convey to English readers Hara Prasād's rhapsodies without falling into one of the two pitfalls of turgidity and bathos was by no means an easy task, but Mr. Sen, who exhibits a mastery of idiomatic English rare amongst those whose language it is not, has successfully accomplished it. In the story's Western dress I can safely recommend The Triumph of Valmiki to those who are not familiar with Bengali and who desire to become acquainted with a modern Eastern poetical work esteemed by the compatriots of its author as a masterpiece of imagination.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
November 12, 1909.


Not the least of the services rendered to Orientalism by Dr. E. Denison Ross is the pains which he has taken to inspire his Indian pupils with a genuine enthusiasm for Arabic and Persian literature, to acquaint them with the methods employed and the results attained by European Orientalists, and to train them in the scientific cataloguing of the many fine libraries whereof the contents have hitherto been little known or even quite unknown.
Amongst these libraries is that founded at Bankipore by the learned and public-spirited Mawlawí Muhammad-Bakhsh Khán, who died in July, 1876. This library was opened to the public in 1891, and then contained nearly 4000 MSS., which number has been since increased by one-half by the exertions of the founder's son, Mawlawí Khudá-Bakhsh Khán, for an account of whose life (published at Calcutta in 1909) we are indebted to his son, Šaláhu'd-Dín Khudá-Bakhsh, who has inherited alike the generosity and the love of learning of his father and grandfather. Of his generosity he afforded a signal proof in placing at the disposal of the writer a valuable MS. of that rare old work on Persian Prosody, the Mu'jam fi Ma'áyírí Ash'ári'i'-Ajam of Shams-i-Qays, of which the text, based on the British Museum MS., collated with the Constantinople and Bankipore MSS. (the only others known to exist), has just been published by the Gibb Memorial Fund.

The present volume of the Catalogue which forms the subject of this notice deals with the MSS. representing the Persian poets from Firdawsi to Háfíz, or, roughly speaking, those who flourished between A.D. 1000 and 1400, and it is expected (Preface, p. vii) that the works of the later poets will fill two similar volumes, of which the appearance will be eagerly awaited by Persian scholars. Of the 161 MSS. described in this volume two only are noticed in the Preface as unique, viz. a MS. of the Quatrains of Sayfu'd-Dín Bákharzí (d. A.D. 1259) and a MS. of the Diwán of Ruknu'd-Dín Sá'in (d. A.D. 1362), but many other rare MSS., besides others notable for their antiquity or their fine calligraphy, are included in the collection.

The Catalogue in its construction follows the best traditions of scholarship, and its execution leaves little or nothing to be desired. It reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its production, and it is earnestly to
be hoped that the work may be pushed forward with energy, so that the riches of this great library may be made known to all the world.

E. G. Browne.


This is a voluminous work, which has been compiled by Mr. Macauliffe during years of labour and study, with the support and advice of the best scholars and patrons among the Sikhs. In order to estimate its value, it is essential to note the aims and objects which he set before himself throughout, and these he has explained very definitely.

He has not endeavoured to produce a scholarly work on the Granth and the Sikh religion for European scholars, but his intention has been to set out that religion and its sacred book according to the orthodox views of its teachers for the benefit of the Sikhs themselves, with due regard to a promise that he made them to write nothing prejudicial to their religion. The translation of the Granth made by Dr. Trumpp was unsatisfactory—to scholars because it was wanting in accuracy, and to the Sikhs because it offended them by its tone and comments. Mr. Macauliffe seeks in this work to make them reparation, and also trusts that it may be of political advantage to them and enhance the regard entertained for them; that it may be useful to the large number of Sikhs, who cannot study the originals but understand English; and that it may rescue their scriptures from misunderstanding and oblivion, since the vernacular has been departing widely from the language used in the Granth, since the old gyanis or professional
interpreters are dying out, and since the local legends are likely to disappear soon.

Mr. Macauliffe's work is thus intended mainly for the benefit of the Sikhs themselves and of the general public which may be interested in the history and teaching of their gurus. Scholars will naturally be disappointed; yet his position is explained on the grounds, first, that he himself is manifestly attached to the Sikhs and their religion by a genuine personal affection and not by a scholar's critical interest; and secondly, that the support, which he received in India and without which he could not have carried out this undertaking, was only rendered to him for the purpose of preparing a full, clear, and sympathetic exposition of their scriptures and of inaugurating for the Sikhs a new era in the study and observance of their religion. Regarded in that special aspect, his work deserves high praise.

He resigned the Civil Service some fifteen years ago, and spent his time in first making a translation of the Granth, and in revising it thoroughly, with the aid of Sikh scholars and others, until it met with the satisfaction of the leading gyanis. He did not, however, produce his version in that shape, because he considered that an account of the Sikh gurus, saints, and authors was at least as important as a correct translation of their writings. Further years were then spent in compiling biographies which should not be inconsistent with the sacred writings. He followed therein the advice of the most learned Sikhs as to what should be included, and has hardly exercised his own critical faculty, except in sifting to a certain extent the Sikh accounts. Subordinating himself to the aims and objects explained above, he has not only abstained from expressing any opinion of his own, but has included various miracles, though it does not appear that the gurus themselves claimed any superhuman power. The work therefore,
as it appears now, is a biographical history of the gurus and saints, compiled, according to the opinions of the best Sikh scholars, in the form in which they wished it to be presented. The Granth has been broken up. The hymns are introduced in the narrative when the particular incidents occur during which they are said to have been uttered, while all those which cannot apparently be assigned to any special occasion are appended, for each guru, at the end of his biography.

This arrangement no doubt serves the purpose which Mr. Macauliffe had in view; yet it would have been quite as good, if not better, to reverse the plan, namely, to make the translation of the Granth the main object, and supplement it with notes explaining the circumstances in which each hymn was composed; because the Granth is a collection of genuine hymns, whereas the accounts of the gurus and saints (as he acknowledges) cannot pretend to be contemporaneous and have been amplified with later stories and marvels. The way in which the hymns are now dispersed throughout the narrative renders the translations of little use for purposes of reference, even for the Sikhs themselves. The defect might have been remedied if a table had been added, showing where each hymn is to be found; yet this has not been done, and it is impossible to find out any particular hymn except by searching through the volumes.

Portraits, so-called, of the various gurus are inserted, but it is doubtful if they have any more authenticity than conjecture on the part of the present-day artist. At the end of the fifth volume are given some interesting specimens of the rags, or musical measures, to which the hymns were composed. In the sixth volume Mr. Macauliffe has collected accounts of many religious teachers who were Nanak’s precursors in breaking away from popular Hinduism and striving after a simple and purer faith.

This work, then, has been compiled for the Sikhs and
in their interests. It is not intended for European scholars, though they obtain the great benefit of having accurate translations of the hymns. Mr. Macauliffe has indeed gone so far in his avoidance of scholarly "form" as to make no distinction between the cerebral and dental letters, sibilants, etc., and often to leave long vowels unmarked. Indian words and proper names are given as popularly written and pronounced now, however corrupt they may be; and in the notes the popular versions of ancient stories are preferred to their earlier forms in Sanskrit books.

Mr. Macauliffe regards the Sikh doctrines with a warm appreciation, which they undoubtedly merit. His translations of the hymns are far superior to Dr. Trumpp's, and are no doubt as accurate as it is possible to make them. The language which he employs is simple yet reverent, and fitly displays the bhakti, or fervent piety, of the authors. In reading these volumes many questions suggest themselves—religious, political, economic, literary—which one wishes that he had noticed and discussed, even consistently with the scope of his work. One opinion he does put forward, that the Sikh religion is totally unaffected by Semitic or Christian influences; but even his own account of the founder Nanak hardly supports his opinion, and it is one that very few, if any, students of Indian religious movements would assent to.

As a popular and reverent account of the Sikh gurus and religion, compiled by a sincere admirer in the interests of the Sikhs, the work will no doubt exercise a wide influence, especially in India, and is likely to serve the purposes for which it was undertaken. It is not intended for scholars, yet even they gain a substantial benefit, in that they have at last translations of the hymns made as carefully and accurately as the resources of the present day permit.

F. E. P.
BUDDHA'S GEBURT UND DIE LEHRE VON DEN SEELENWANDERUNG. By ERNST WINDISCH. Leipzig, 1908.

In this work Dr. Windisch has chosen the traditions as to the birth of the Buddha for critical examination with special regard to the provenance of the various ideas of which those traditions are composed. Much interest attaches to the process by which the simple fact of the birth of the Buddha as son of a Kṣatriya, Śuddhodana, gradually is transferred into the miraculous birth of a divine entity from a virgin mother; and to Dr. Windisch we owe by far the most satisfactory exposition of that development in its various phases, and in particular the elaborate and able discussion of the doctrine of birth as it appears in the Veda, in Buddhism, in the medical Sāṃhitās, and in the Vedānta and Sāṃkhya systems. It is impossible to summarize here the discussion, but attention should certainly be called to the passage in which the exact sense of the gandhabba of the Assalāyanasutta of the Majjhimanikāya is elucidated, in a manner which at once confirms and renders more precise the views of Pischel and Oldenberg. Dr. Windisch rightly emphasizes the fact that while we will find the roots of much of the mythology of Buddhism in Brāhmaṇism, none the less Buddhism has a mythology of its own, and is not to be considered as merely receptive.

Of most general interest, perhaps, is the last chapter of the book, in which the author examines the question of how far external influences manifest themselves in the Buddhists accounts of the birth of the Buddha. We are glad to find in him a strong supporter of the theory of parallel developments of religious belief. It is true, he

1 pp. 12–14. 2 Vedische Studien, i, 78 seqq. 3 ZDMG., xlix, 178. See also de la Vallée Poussin, Bouddhisme, pp. 68 seqq. 4 pp. 195 seqq.
points out, that both the Christian Church and the Buddhist Church developed doctrines of the virginity of the mother of the founder of their religion, but such views were in either case, as he shows, natural developments of existing tendencies, while there is no historical evidence for early borrowing on either side. Moreover, he insists, the discrepancies between Christianity and Buddhism are simply enormous: the Buddha and the Christ stand for totally different ideals of life and conceptions of existence. The so-called parallels adduced by Seydel von Eysinga and Edmunds he dismisses, much as does Hopkins in his valuable essay in *India, Old and New*, which Dr. Windisch apparently does not know, as quite inconclusive, and as due either to the natural development of the religions or to ordinary considerations of mental growth. It is therefore somewhat surprising that he should accept as probable the derivation of the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration from the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis, as the likeliness of a parallel development in that case is at least as strong as in the cases with which he deals.

Dr. Windisch is reserved in his attitude towards comparative mythology. The elephant—with six tusks (*chaddanta*) as a sign of its superiority to ordinary elephants—which appears in the legend to Māyā Devī before the Buddha’s birth, he admits to be connected with Airāvata, Indra’s elephant, but only in so far as the elephant is in India a token of royalty, and so belongs to Indra as it belongs to a mortal king. He even declines to accept the view, held by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, that the death of Māyā Devī on the seventh day after her son’s death is a myth of the dawn slain by the sun, and

1 p. 58, n. 1.  
2 Cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 569 seqq.  
3 At p. 179 Windisch refutes Speyer’s view (ZDMG., lvii, 108) that *chuddanta* means “having the five senses and the mind restrained (*dīnta*).  
4 Cf. pp. 175, 176.  
prefers to believe that, in point of fact, the mother of the Buddha did die on the seventh day after his birth. In this view he may be correct, but it must be admitted that the legend occurs late, and that it already bears in the fictitious name of the mother—for Māyā cannot be a genuine name—signs of its unoriginal character. On the other hand, we are heartily at one with him in rejecting Jensen’s wonderful theories of the Epic of Gilgamos, which certainly represent the most signal recent example of comparative mythology run mad.

Following Boyer, Dr. Windisch ¹ is inclined to find in the Rgveda and the Brāhmaṇas traces of the doctrine of transmigration. But the evidence for the theory—held also in different forms by Pischel, Geldner, and Böhtlingk ²—is singularly unsatisfactory. In RV., x, 14, 4, he takes the words sā no devēṣv ā yamad dīrghāṁ āyuḥ prā jīvāse as meaning “may he take us to the gods to live there a long time”, implying that, after a long life, return to earth is possible; but the sense is not the natural meaning of the words, which refer ³ to the continued life on earth of the survivors. As a matter of fact, even the Brāhmaṇas do not contain the doctrine, though the conception of repeated death after death tends towards it. Macdonell, Lévi, Bloomfield, Hopkins, and Oldenberg, ⁴ among others, are all inclined to accept the view that for transmigration we must go to the Upaniṣads or Āranyakas, and this view appears to us certainly correct.

It may also be doubted whether Dr. Windisch ⁵ is right in finding in the Upaniṣads the doctrine that a man can

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1 pp. 58 seqq.
2 See also JRAS., 1909, pp. 574 seqq. Cf. also de la Vallée Poussin, Bouddhisme, p. 61.
3 Cf. RV., x, 14, 12, and x, 18, 3 seqq., where the idea is repeatedly set out. Vedic Indians do not pray for death conceived as life in heaven. The “parallel” passage, ix, 44, 5, cited by Boyer is not really parallel at all, as it has no clause to complete it.
4 See JRAS., 1909, p. 575.
recollect his previous births. Neither the Aitareya Upanisad, 2, nor the Brhadáryanaka Upanisad, i, 4, 10, can certainly be said to refer to this power, though they are so taken by Śaṅkara in his commentaries, which, however, notoriously are not to be relied on for the exact sense of the Upaniṣads. But Dr. Windisch sheds a great deal of light on the Kauśitaki Upanisad by his examination of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa parallel to its description of birth.¹

Other points of interest must be mentioned more briefly. Dr. Windisch ² raises the question of the age of the personal Brahmā who, as he points out, occurs in the Kauśitaki Upanisad. The answer is obscure; several of the relevant passages are discussed by us elsewhere.³ Paraśvān in the same Upanisad he takes ⁴ as “snake”, but with doubt; Bühler ⁵ has suggested a possible connexion with the Pāli palāsāda. Again, the relations of Vāgbhaṭa I and Vāgbhaṭa II are hardly correctly stated; ⁶ more accurate information will be found in Dr. Hoernle’s Osteology.⁷ In his estimate of the age of the Buddhist Canon ⁸ Dr. Windisch evidently adheres to the older school of ideas, whose views are now seriously questioned—in our opinion with justice—by such writers as Franke and de la Vallée Poussin.⁹ Unfortunately, too, his book

¹ pp. 62, 63; and see his note in Sāchs. Ber., 1907, pp. 111 seqq.; Oertel, JAOS., xix, 111; my Śaṅkhāyana Āranyakā, p. 17.
² p. 33, n. 1.
³ Aitareya Āranyakā, pp. 304, n. 23; 367.
⁴ p. 71, n. 2. Dandaśāka, which occurs also in Nirukta, Pariśiṣṭa, ii, 9, is given by the commentary as the equivalent.
⁵ ZDMG., lxviii, 63. Paraśvant is found in RV., x, 86, 18; AV., vi, 72, 2; Maiśīrīyānī Saṃhitā, iii, 13, 10. Cf. Aitareya Āranyakā, p. 377, n. 1.
⁶ pp. 48 seqq. For the latest view of Dr. Hoernle on the question of Caraka’s date, see JRAS., 1909, pp. 886, 887, and compare my note, ZDMG., lxiii, 136.
⁷ Cf. also JRAS., 1909, p. 882.
⁸ Cf. pp. 10 seqq.
appeared too soon to enable him to discuss the doctrines of the ego and of the chain of causality in the light of the new researches of de la Vallée Poussin and P. Oltramare.

A. Berriedale Keith.


This work is an interesting example of the application of a priori methods to the study of religious phenomena; and, if one can hardly admire the results of the attempt, yet it would be unfair to deny Dr. Schirmeisen credit for the boldness with which he has attacked his theme. Dr. Schirmeisen is impressed with the truth of two principles: namely, that the gods of a race closely reflect the standard of culture attained by that race; and that the individuality of gods is strongly affected by racial mixing, so that, while the name remains unaltered, quite new functions may be assigned to a god. Founding on these principles—the truth of which within limits is undeniable—he proceeds to deduce the characteristics of the earliest religions from the social conditions of life in the three periods of the Stone Age and the two of the age of metal, while he applies a corrective to the results thus obtained by examining the early ethnography of the world. He then feels himself in a position to determine different strata in the Rgveda, and to show the original character of the various gods of the Indo-Iranian pantheon.

We cannot undertake to follow the author in his reconstruction of primitive religion: it must suffice to say that he postulates for the Palaeolithic Age a monotheistic worship of fire, conceived often in snake form. Whatever be the origins of religion, we may feel sure that they were not so simple as this; or, at any rate, that he who

1 Bouddhisme, pp. 54 seqq.
3 p. 9.
would prove such a thesis as that here presented must be prepared with much stronger arguments than Dr. Schirmeisen can offer. Nor do we think that the state of ethnological studies at the present day will permit the acceptance of the reduction of the human species to the black and the yellow, the white being the result of the mixture of these.¹ Nothing but confusion can result from such short cuts to knowledge.

Nor do the results of the author’s researches encourage us to accept his premises. He² assumes the third millennium B.C. as the time of the composition of at least part of the Rgveda, an assumption which has recently been defended by Jacobi,³ but which has been completely refuted by Oldenberg.⁴ He⁵ finds in the Rgveda the work of three peoples—the Iranians, whose influence is seen in the second, fifth, and seventh books; a mixed

¹ pp. 24, 25, following Schaarffhausen.
² p. 42.
³ See JRAS., 1909, pp. 721 seqq. Mr. Kennedy, ibid., p. 1114, revives Brunnhofer’s famous “discovery” of an allusion in the Rgveda to the siege of Babylon. Without commenting on the other parts of Mr. Kennedy’s article, it may at least be safely said that no competent Vedic scholar accepts this view, and that therefore it should not be quoted as evidence of a conquest of Babylon by the Aryans.
⁴ JRAS., 1909, pp. 1095 seq., and see also my note, ibid., pp. 1100 seqq., and p. 472, and cf. Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 12. Note should perhaps be taken of Shamasastya’s attempt in his Gâyâm Âyana to rehabilitate the antiquity of the Vedic writings by finding in them evidence of an elaborate cycle (cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 423 seqq.). It must suffice to say that the passages relied on by the author are in no case, so far as I can see, naturally interpreted in the light of his view, and in every case can be explained much more simply in other ways, while the attribution of any really elaborate knowledge of astronomy to the early Indians runs counter to all the available evidence as to the achievements in the field of the Vedic Indians (see Thibaut’s article with its reference to Whitney cited in JRAS., 1909, p. 1102, n. 1). It is true that the Jyotisa does present us with a basis for a date, but unhappily that basis, in consequence of the inaccuracy of the datum and the vagueness of the point fixed, only gives a result which may vary hundreds of years on either side of the twelfth century B.C., and therefore we cannot build on it any secure structure.
⁵ pp. 43-7.
people, with the characteristics of herdsmen and steppe-dwellers, who are represented by books iii, vi, and viii, in which the desire for children, cattle, and horses is especially prominent; and the true Germans, to whom book iv belongs. As a matter of fact, however, the author recognizes¹ that it is impossible to deny some reciprocity of influence, and he decides that books ii and iii were first composed by the Iranians and the mixed people, then books iv to vi by the united Aryan race, while books vii and viii (first half) were composed by those tribes which had advanced furthest east.

It must suffice to indicate briefly on how little support the theory rests. Brunnhöfer's² theory that the dog is Iranian is accepted as proving that Grtsamada Śaunaka, and therefore the second book of the Rgveda, are Iranian. But, as Brunnhöfer's hypothesis rests on no foundation,³ the theory is untenable. Again, the German origin of book iv is proved by the fact that the Gotamas are Āṅgirases, and the Āṅgirases are traditionally ignorant of the sacrifice,⁴ and are therefore not Iranian—an argument which cannot be considered as substantial.

As the basis of the author's theory is insecure, little of profit can be derived from his detailed results, although he shows a good knowledge of the recent literature on Vedic mythology. Following, but going beyond, Hillebrandt,⁵ he finds in the Indra-Vṛtra myth a legend of the melting of the glaciers at the end of the Glacial Period, and he⁶ applies this theory to the explanation of the famous hymn of Indra's birth.⁷ The eating of dog's flesh there⁸ mentioned is a reference to the Mesolithic Period, in which

¹ pp. 47–9.
² Iran und Turan, p. 152.
³ See Hopkins, AJP., xv, 154 seqq.
⁴ Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, ii, 156 seqq. Cf. Hopkins, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, xv, 64 seqq.
⁶ p. 181.
⁷ RV., iv, 18.
⁸ RV., iv, 18, 13.
the first domestic animal, the dog, was tamed and often also eaten. Moreover, from the mention of Vṛtra’s mother in another hymn,¹ he deduces the conclusion that, according to the views of the Rgveda, the sunless Glacial Period was brought about by the arising of a permanent thick mist.² After that we need not be surprised to find that the victory of the Aśvins with asses in a race is a recollection of the fact that the ass was tamed before the horse,³ or to learn that the meaning of the story of Dadhyañc and the mead is that an exchange once took place of the mead of the Germans for a horse of the neighbouring mixed peoples.⁴ So also the myth of the Rbhus and the cow turns out to contain a reference to the manuring of fields by the true Germans in Neolithic times;⁵ Sarasvati becomes no longer a river, but the goddess of Spring;⁶ Viṣṇu is conceived in stork form,⁷ and so forth.

It would be idle to discuss in detail these theories, for not one of them rests on any substantial basis, and a new theory in Vedic mythology has no right to existence unless very solid arguments can be advanced in its favour. It is, of course, easy to speculate, but such speculations as these only add to the confusion attending a subject in itself very difficult.

A. Berriedale Keith.


The opening words of the editor's preface to this interesting little volume awake a sorrowful memory. Dr. Hultzsch reminds us that it was the lamented Professor Pischel who, in his dissertation De Grammaticis

Präcriticis, and again in his Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, pointed to the importance of Siṃharāja’s treatise. Εἴπε τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τέον μόρον. To Pischel, moreover, Dr. Hultzsch acknowledges a debt for the generous loan of much important critical material. The present publication is therefore largely inspired by his influence, and in a sense may be regarded as a memorial of him. Certainly no fitter hands could be found to raise this memorial than those of Dr. Hultzsch. His sound scholarship has enabled him to constitute a correct text, which he has furnished with ample references, especially to Siṃharāja himself and to Pāṇini’s grammar, that greatly lighten the labour of study. Misprints, we may add, are very few, and so slight (for example the omission of the virāma in jassubhyāmA on p. 17, l. 8, and ha for he on p. 19, l. 2) that the student corrects them almost unconsciously as he reads.

The date of Siṃharāja is somewhat uncertain. His quotation of Kshirasvāmi’s commentary on the Amarakośa proves him to have lived later than the eleventh century; and as he also cites Nāgoji’s Paribhāṣhenduśekhara, he would seem to be not more than two centuries old, unless indeed—a somewhat improbable supposition—he and Nāgoji both drew from a common source. But, as Kālidāsa has reminded us, modernity should not discredit an author. “For the knowledge of declension and conjugation,” wrote Pischel (Grammatik, § 39), “the Prākritarūpāvatāra is not without importance, chiefly as Siṃharāja often gives more forms than Hemachandra and Trivikrama. Many of these forms no doubt are theoretically inferred, but they are constructed in strict accordance with the rules, and hence are not without interest.” How far this merit of Siṃharāja is due to his own ingenuity, and how much he has borrowed from predecessors, we cannot say with certainty. Pischel’s statement that he based his work upon Trivikrama-deva’s grammar (Grammatik, § 39)
is somewhat misleading, as the same scholar points out that all which they have in common is the Vālmiki-sūtra, on which both based their works, and neither of them can be proved to have used the other's book (De Gramm. Prācr., p. 40).

The character and the defects of the Hindu grammarians are well known. The same circumstances that gradually produced Sūtras in the liturgical, theological, and philosophic schools led to similar epitomes of grammar, algebraically concise and often provokingly obscure. Sūtra-worship became the bane of science. As each school was convinced that all possible knowledge was contained in its sacrosanct aphorisms, it spent its energies in the task of finding authority in them for everything, and hence never made any material advance beyond them. Attempts were indeed made to rearrange them according to some more systematic method, as in Bhaṭṭoiji's Siddhānta-kaumudi; but although these works made the study easier, they failed to raise grammar to the level of a science. As pure theorists indeed the Hindus are unequalled; no Western ingenuity could rival that of the Indian grammarian who invented a Prakrit of his own for lyrical composition. But a scientific basis of grammar they have never possessed, astāstrayonitrāt, because it was not in the Sūtras; and this weakness is glaringly exhibited in Simharāja's work, in which, for example, phonetic laws of consonantal change are dovetailed between rules of accidence when the particular paradigms chosen for the latter display the former (cf. v, 1), and khambho is actually derived from stambhaḥ (xii, 95), because, forsooth, the Sūtra says stambhe. Like Hemachandra, he makes no attempt to discriminate between the various dialects, until he comes to the eighteenth chapter, where he begins a series of short sections upon the chief characteristics of the Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Paisāchī, Chūlikāpaisāchī, and Apabhraṃśa. Making due allowance for these defects
(as they appear to Western judgment), Simharāja’s book is an excellent piece of work according to Hindu methods, and the native schools should be grateful to Dr. Hultsch and the Asiatic Society for supplying them with a good handbook.

An interesting point is raised by Dr. Hultsch in his Preface, when dealing with the Aphorisms which form the nucleus around which Simharāja built up his grammar. These are the Vālmiki-sūtra ascribed to the legendary Vālmiki, which was used also by Trivikrama, who lived between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Pischel suggested that this Sūtra may have been composed by either Trivikrama or somebody else on the basis of Hemachandra’s Prakrit grammar. Dr. Hultsch argues with great probability against the authorship of Trivikrama; but when he says that, “as both the printed text of the Vālmiki-sūtra and the author of the Shādhibhāshāchandrikā ascribe the composition of the Sūtra to an ancient Rishi, the possibility of its having been drawn up in the interval between Hemachandra and Trivikrama seems to be excluded,” we cannot follow him. There was plenty of time between Hemachandra and Trivikrama—probably two or three centuries—for the Sūtra to be written; and when it was once written, there was still more time for it to gain authority as the work of Vālmiki, and finally to be acknowledged as such in a modern work like Lakshmīdharā’s Shādhibhāshāchandrikā. A similar instance may be found in the Sāṃkhya-sūtra, which probably was composed between 1380 and 1450,1 and yet was acknowledged as the work of Kapila by Aniruddha in a commentary written about 1500. Apart from this small matter of opinion, we have only to record our admiration for the skill with which Dr. Hultsch has fulfilled his task and enriched Indian literature.

L. D. Barnett.

1 See Garbe’s Sāṃkhya und Yoga, p. 8.

A most hearty welcome must be extended to the notes on the first six books of the Rgveda, which Professor Oldenberg has now published, supplying us with the first complete commentary on these books since the issue of Ludwig's edition. Since the appearance of the classical Prolegomena the author has, in a series of articles in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, elucidated many other problems relative to the constitution of the text of the Samhita; and in his new work he applies the principles thus adopted to the critical establishment of the more original form of the text, before its characteristics had been obscured by its reduction into the shape in which it now lies before us. At the same time Professor Oldenberg has added exegetical notes, for which no apology or explanation need have been offered. It is of the first importance, in the critical study of the Rgveda, that we should know what passages require correction; and Professor Oldenberg's latest work is no less valuable for its explanations of difficult passages than for the masterly suggestions which he makes for the restoration of corruptions in the tradition. It is impossible to overpraise either the range of the author's knowledge of Vedic texts or his judgment in the selection of interpretations. The work is also a marvel of condensation, without any substantial sacrifice of clearness of expression or of fullness of discussion of real difficulties. The author has wisely refused to deal at length with the various attempts to solve the problem of such hymns as i, 164: it is clear that in a general commentary on the Rgveda it is impossible to treat at length matters in which not even a reasonable degree of probability can be attained.

It is satisfactory to note that Professor Oldenberg sees
no reason to change his opinion that the other Vedic texts shed little illumination on the text of the Rgveda. That conclusion is securely based on the variants now available in even excessive fullness in Bloomfield's Concordance. No doubt there are occasional exceptions to this rule, but they are very rare, and Professor Oldenberg effectively disposes of the alleged better readings seen by Scheftelowitz in the Kasmir MS. of the Rgveda, a MS. which for the Aitareya Aranyaka also yields nothing new of value, as I have sought elsewhere to show. Of course this does not show that the Rgveda text is in itself correct, which is certainly not the case, but it indicates that the tradition of the Rgveda is decidedly superior to that of the other Samhitas.

In interpretation Professor Oldenberg follows the sane and sober principles which he has elsewhere defended. As a matter of fact there is in principle little difference of opinion amongst recent interpreters of the Rgveda, much less than would appear from the language now and then used. All in effect treat the Rgveda as a book to be interpreted in the light of subsequent literature, and of the knowledge which we have of the development of Indian civilization; and the real point of dispute is merely the question of how far we are to find in the Rgveda details of later Indian life. In this regard Professor Oldenberg shows himself—we think wisely—more conservative than Pischel and Geldner, of whose views he constantly takes account. It is easy to exaggerate the part played by hetairae and lust of gold in the Samhita; and to explain difficult passages by theories of sporting and erotic slang is often more ingenious than plausible, however much it may relieve the monotony of the task of Vedic interpretation. Similarly the author differs from the writers of

1 Prolegomena, pp. 271 seq.
2 Die Apokryphen des Rgveda, and VOJ., xxi, 85 seq.
3 Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 3, 4.
the *Vedische Studien* in his treatment of linguistic usages. It is of course possible to solve nearly every crux in the *Rgveda* by the assumption of irregular forms and of unusual syntax, and the possibility is rendered attractive by the fact that, in some cases, such irregularities appear certainly to be found, but it is wiser to try to attain a satisfactory result within the ordinary bounds of Vedic grammar. A good example of this may be seen in the case of *Rgveda*, vi, 66, 11, where Benfey and von Bradke take *giráyo ná ápah* as "Bergwasser". But such a hendiadys is, as Professor Oldenberg points out, not really possible and not paralleled by cases like *i*, 80, 1: *sóma in máde*; and we must either assume that the comparison is with both the hills and the streams, or else that the comparison is, as so often, curtailed, and *ápah* is an accusative, "as hills send forth streams." Or again in *i*, 52, 1, he shows that it is unnecessary to accept Pischel's theory¹ that in *atyo ná vājam* there is a case of attraction, and that the rendering "Wie das Ross zum Siegespreise" is quite adequate. In *v*, 59, 8, he combats successfully Geldner's² version of the difficult text as containing *tisch* (gen.) "zu Gunsten des Rśi", a sense of the genitive which is certainly rather far-fetched. Similarly he appears correctly in *i*, 34, 5, to reject the explanation of *sáre duhitā* either as a case of prehistoric Sandhi or Pischel's³ view of *sáre* as a locative of origin, though he leaves open— as seems inevitable—the exact meaning of the passage. Excellent also are the notes on the strange *rujānāḥ* and *máno rúhanāḥ* of *i*, 32, 6 and 8.

In some cases Professor Oldenberg is inclined to admit the use of the participle in place of a finite verb, a usage recognized by Delbrück,⁴ but which, except in the case of the past participle passive, I have elsewhere⁵

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¹ *Vedische Studien*, i, 105; cf. my note JRAS., 1909, p. 432.
² Ibid., i, 283, n. 1.
³ Ibid., iii, 192.
⁴ *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 393, 580.
⁵ ZDMG., xliii, 346 seqq.
questioned. It is not possible to pronounce definitely in a matter of this kind, but it may be said that the evidence is somewhat slight on which to base a theory of a recognized usage. In i, 88, 5, pāśyad is an easy correction for pāśyan; in i, 69, 3, several renderings are possible, and dādhati need not be a participle at all. In iii, 32, 6, as Professor Oldenberg himself says, yād Vṛtrāṁ jaghanvān is simply a contamination of Vṛtrāṁ jaghanvān and yād Vṛtrāṁ jaghānta; the occurrence of such anomalies is not sufficient to establish a grammatical usage. In iv, 17, 19, stutāḥ need not be finite, and no doubt is not; but in any case it is of course certain that the past participle passive is used—as in Latin—as equivalent to a finite verb, but this proves nothing for other participles. In vi, 22, 3, the sense and construction are alike very uncertain, and in v, 15, 4, the participle is almost certainly not finite.

It must suffice to refer briefly to some of the other valuable notes on Syntax. The alleged use of me and te as accusatives is exhaustively discussed¹ and shown to be improbable. The genitive of time is effectively defended² against Bartholomae, and the comparative ablative after a positive is correctly seen in i, 46, 8. There is also a good note³ on the use of ā after a dative to strengthen the force of the case.

In addition to his contributions to grammar, Professor Oldenberg has offered valuable suggestions for the interpretation of the vocabulary of the Rgveda. He rejects⁴ Collitz’s rendering of nāvedas as “recipient of praise”, and prefers the view that it represents nāvaveda, “having knowledge anew.” In an interesting excursus⁵ he defends the rendering of vyathis as “wanken” against

¹ pp. 25 seqq. I hope to discuss these and the alleged Epic cases more fully elsewhere.
² pp. 79, 80.
³ pp. 15, 16.
⁴ On RV. i, 79, 1.
⁵ On RV. i, 117, 15.
Geldner’s view of it as “falsehood” and the attempt to render it as “way”. Krivi he interprets as denoting “horse” in several places, while in others it is admittedly a tribal name, an explanation which shows clearly that the word has more than one sense and which removes the difficulty as to Sāyaṇa’s version of the word in Rgveda, ii, 17, 6, referred to by Dr. Grierson. It is worth noting, in view of recent discoveries, that Professor Oldenberg is not prepared to deny the possibility of a reference to Aruṇa in the Rgveda. In v. 47, 6, he sees a stem upapraṅśā: this is somewhat uncertain, and the accent in Aitareya Āranyaka, v, 2, 2, cannot in any way be relied on against the āpa prakṣe of Sāmaveda, i, 444. Of special interest is the note on vi, 25, 2, regarding Khila and Khilya. Oldenberg adheres to the view that these expressions refer to the boundaries between cultivated fields, one of the few clear hints in the Rgveda of the existence of separate property in land. This view he shows to be decidedly superior to that of Pischel, who prefers to find in these words references to the grazing land on which the flocks and herds of the community fed, an interpretation which diminishes the value of the passages in question as evidence of separate ownership. For the use of tūj may be cited the occurrence of tūjaḥ in the Aitareya Āranyaka, v, 2, 1.

As was to be expected, Professor Oldenberg devotes much attention to metrical considerations as bearing on the constitution of the text, a matter in which perhaps greater progress has been made—though not without a certain risk of over-formalism—than in any other department of Vedic study. Of special interest is a brief

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1 Vedische Studien, ii, 29 seq. Cf. my Aitareya Āranyaka, p. 281.
2 On RV. i, 166, 6.
3 See JRAS., 1909, p. 1104, n. 3.
4 Vedische Studien, ii, 204.
5 On RV. i, 130, 9.
6 See on RV. i, 151, 5.
excursus\(^1\) on the apparent reduction of two syllables to one, on which Max Müller\(^2\) was inclined to lay as great stress as had been laid on it in some theories of Plautine prosody. Within the limits to which it is confined by the author little objection can be taken to its application.

The value and convenience of the notes is greatly increased by the addition of elaborate indices, which give, with special fullness, references to grammatical and syntactical points.

A. Berriedale Keith.


The second instalment of Prince Teano’s great work has grown into two bulky parts, which chronicle the events of the years 7 to 12 of the Hegira. The scientific care and thoroughness which characterize the first volume are still more in evidence in the second. No similar work exists in which all available sources as well as studies bearing directly and indirectly on the early Moslem history are taken into consideration with equal fullness and circumspection.

The year 6 H. had not been a very prosperous one for Mohammed. Not only had Āisha’s disagreeable adventure threatened to involve Mohammed’s own family circle in disaffection and hostility, but it revealed much latent ill-feeling, which was only thinly hidden by common interest of worldly character. Moreover, Mohammed’s greatest wish—to enter Mecca at the head of a strong army—had been frustrated. Instead of defying the still unconverted Meccans in their own city, he was forced to conclude a not very honourable treaty, which put off his “pilgrimage” to the Ka’ba for at least another year.

\(^1\) pp. 53, 54.  
\(^2\) SBE., xxxii, pp. cxiii seqq.
prestige of Islām had suffered, chiefly because it did not pay as well as many had expected. A victory with spoil in its train was needed, and to secure this nothing was safer than another raid against the effete Jews. After their extinction in the vicinity of Medina, only one more remnant was left at Khaibar, a few days north of the capital. Being peaceful peasants and traders, and having two years previously received written assurances of safety from Mohammed, they were all the less apprehensive of an attack. The raid was, of course, successful from a Moslem point of view, although in itself it was of small account. The undue importance given to it by the Arab authors, who grow more prolific the later their date, shows the real state of affairs better than anything else. Prince Teano rightly casts doubt on the assertion of even older authorities, such as Al Waqidi, that the defending forces numbered ten thousand warriors. It probably amounted to not more than one-tenth of that number. Altogether Prince Teano's very detailed account of this affair is replete with sound criticism. In his excellent survey of the last five years of Mohammed's career (pp. 372 seqq.), he shows how every victory or defeat of the Moslem arms was followed by a raid on some Jewish tribe. He sees clearly that Mohammed's motives were not merely religious, but also political. A not less important motive was the booty which he required, not so much for his own benefit, as to fill the war chest and to secure the services of followers. However insignificant the conquest of Khaibar was from a military point of view, it had not only a great effect in Medina, but it assisted in the conversion of many waverers. The inflated reports of Arab authors afford a highly characteristic illustration of the spirit and expansion of Moslem tradition, and prove how much caution is necessary in eliciting the truth even in smaller matters.

The same lack of reliability appears again in the
accounts of the disaster at Mūta which was the result of an expedition rashly entered upon against the Greek troops stationed in Syria and their Arab allies. Intoxicated by the easy success of Khaibar, Mohammed undertook the ill-advised march without considering that the enemy this time consisted of disciplined soldiers. Now here, as Prince Teano justly points out, the Arab records are as meagre, and the authorities as unsatisfactory, as possible. The lack of history is made up by poems, fiction takes the place of facts. This is an important matter. Prince Teano is not, of course, the first to call attention to this, but no previous author has given such minute details. May this serve as an example to authors, who write books on Mohammed and Islām in which criticism of the sources is conspicuous by its absence; and which, therefore, give the reader a quite erroneous and misleading picture of its origin and early development.

The treaty of Ḥudeibiya, alluded to above, must have been still more unfavourable for Mohammed than is admitted by the sources. Many of the details are quite unhistorical. In the document of the treaty he was compelled to use his own name, instead of "Messenger of Allāh". His name was not, at that time, "Mohammed," as he only assumed this appellation two or three years later. The document, as we possess it, is based on tradition, which substituted the name "Mohammed" for the one he actually used in the original draft. Anyway, among other things, it was stipulated that no war should be waged for ten years, and that he should be allowed to visit Mecca next year as a pilgrim. This latter clause Mohammed fulfilled literally, but he never dreamt of adhering to the former. A pretext was easily found that some minor paragraph in the treaty had been violated, and the year after he set out, at the head of a large army, to enter his native city by force. The real motive was to retrieve the defeat of Mūta. The town was
taken, albeit without bloodshed, and Mohammed was thus practically master of Arabia. The victory received, in due course, the divine sanction in the form of a revelation (Qor. xlviii, 1–15).

We must agree with Prince Teano that the forbearance with which Mohammed, in the hour of victory, treated those old opponents, who are said to have embittered his life in the early years of his mission, was due to political wisdom rather than to spontaneous generosity. Our knowledge of these persecutions has come down to us through traditional reports, largely based on Mohammed's own descriptions. It is, therefore, open to question whether they were so relentless as tradition would have us believe. Apart from this, any massacre of prominent Meccan citizens, many of whom were near relatives of his most faithful friends, would have been a deadly offence to the latter. Only a few persons of no account, among them two women, were executed. Mohammed cared more for the conversion of his enemies than their death, and many of them were, thus, ready to fulfil his wish.

One must not, however, judge Mohammed too hastily for having allowed political considerations to influence his actions. They form the human element in his career. As a purely spiritual reformer he would have achieved very little. Shrewd policy is recognizable in the very beginning of his messengership, and his greatest failing was that, as soon as they promised to be useful, political motives were unscrupulously given out as demands of the faith. The consequence was that large numbers of people embraced Islam without conviction or understanding. The masses were kept together as long as Mohammed was alive, but he had scarcely passed away when the great reaction, known as the Ridda, set in. This was the widespread renegade movement which seized many tribes, especially those in the remoter parts of the peninsula. The result was a civil war of a very sanguinary character;
but it speaks for the great force underlying the idea of Islām that it was victorious everywhere. The motives during this period were on the whole purer than before. Unfortunately reliable sources of the history of this period are likewise scarce. In the chapter dealing with this matter Prince Teano not only discusses the value of these sources, but also gives a comprehensive compilation of them, as well as a chronology of events. His consideration of earlier studies of the conquests of Palestine and Syria reveals a deep insight into the real facts. Inserted in these researches is a chapter on the compilation of the Qorān, a subject fraught with difficulties, and incidentally on the development of writing in Arabia. The author’s studies on this question were necessarily somewhat inconclusive, as some very important material was not available when he wrote this chapter. The following detail may throw some little light on the matter. In January, 1903, I published, in the Jewish Quarterly Review, the Khūṭba of a Jewish apostate to Islām who styles himself “a man who has detached himself from the sons of Ḥanay b. Akhṭab”. This name occurs in the fragment (which is written in Hebrew characters) twice in the spelling Ḥanay and Ḥanay. The same person is known from the earliest Mohammedan sources as Ḥuyayy. We therefore see that the name, when transcribed in Arabic characters, without diacritical points, was misunderstood by the transcriber, who did not know the original name. At all events we may gather that the stage of Arabic writing prior to Neskhī must have been that of characters similar to Nabataean or Hebrew square. This origin can still be traced back in nearly every Neskhī character. The question whether Mohammed had learned to write or not is by no means devoid of importance, as it has a certain bearing on Qorān criticism.

It is impossible in a brief review to touch upon all the questions discussed in the book. Its great importance
lies not only in the fullness of the material, never before collected with so much comprehensiveness, but in the criticism which cuts deep into the historical aspect in general. The story of the conquest of Persia is preceded by a lengthy discussion of the relations between the Arabs and the empire of the Sassanides, and the causes of the decline of the latter. Prior to this, in a chapter devoted to the general aspect of Arab conquest, the author finds an opportunity of enlarging on the question of the primitive habitations of the Semitic race, a question which within the last fifty years has engaged the attention of a number of prominent scholars. Prince Teano, like Sprenger and Schrader, finds the cradle of the Semites in Arabia. The difficulties which obstruct this view he endeavours to remove by the theory that the birth of the Semitic stock took place at a time when the climate of Arabia was considerably colder than at present. This theory is, in his opinion, the outcome of the change of the geological and meteorological conditions of the peninsula. The gradual drying up of the interior caused the migrations of Arab tribes from south to north. These wanderings are an undoubted fact, although the direct reports we possess about them are to a large extent legendary.

The volume is accompanied by elaborate maps, chronological tables, excellent photogravures, and an alphabetical index of great fullness. It is not saying too much that many a chapter of the early history of Islam will have to be rewritten in consequence of Prince Teano's researches.

H. HIRSCHFELD.


We are accustomed through the work of Nanjio, Taka-kus, and others to associate Japanese writers on Buddhistic subjects with such a high standard of scholarship that we
expect much that is fresh and interesting in a new book on Tibet, "offered to the English-knowing public" by a Japanese Buddhist priest who, we are told, acted for a time as physician to the Grand Lama, and enjoyed thus unique advantages for seeing Tibetan life, monastic and lay, from the inside. A perusal of Mr. Kawaguchi's volume, however, is decidedly disappointing. It is devoid of scholarship, and displays little special knowledge of Tibet that is either new or interesting. It is a shallow, rambling, whimsical narrative, from the standpoint of an emotional Oriental monk, upon his wanderings on a pilgrimage from shrine to shrine, in a land which he knew little about, and over ground already described in detail by European writers.

The object of the author's visit to Tibet was, he tells us, to search for Sanskrit Buddhist books, a search in which he proved wholly unsuccessful. Nor does he add in any material way to our knowledge of the language, literature, or religion of the country. Yet on the strength of being, as he asserts, "Three years in Tibet," he modestly claims for himself the position of being a greater authority on Tibetan literature than Csoma or Jaeschke: as if, indeed, scholarship or literary research could be measured merely by one's length of residence in a country. It is evident, however, from his uninformed remarks at p. 403, etc., that Csoma and Jaeschke are mere names to him, and that he is ignorant of their researches, so that his gratuitous claims are not to be taken very seriously.

Facts are not strong points with him. Even his very first word in the book, "Three years in Tibet," on which he bases such superior knowledge, is on his own showing a fiction. On p. 76 he tells us that he crossed the Tibetan frontier for the first time on July 4, 1900; and on pp. 622 and 650 that he finally recrossed it on emerging from Chumbi on June 14, 1902. This gives the duration of his entire stay in Tibet as only one year and 345 days, instead of the
three years to which he lays claim. And this sort of thing is not untypical of his matter throughout.

But if his results are trivial, his own personality is somewhat romantic in itself, and interesting as that of an educated modern Buddhist priest on a pilgrimage. On starting from Japan for Tibet, Mr. Kawaguchi, with truly Buddhistic zeal, extracted from his friends as farewell "gifts" their pledges to abstain from stimulants or tobacco-smoking, or from the "brutal business" of catching fish. "About forty persons willingly granted this [my] appeal." Some of these scenes were dramatic. One of these fishermen "returned with some fishing-nets, which he forthwith handed over to me, saying those were the weapons of murder with which he had caused the death of innumerable denizens of the brine, and that I might do with them as I liked. . . . I thereupon consigned the nets to the flames in the presence of all. . . . As the nets went up in smoke Mr. O., a sportsman with both gun and nets, rose and said, 'Let me too wish that you fare well in Tibet, by making to you the gift of a pledge: I pledge myself that I will never take the lives of the creatures for amusement; should I prove false to these words let Fudo Myo-oh visit me with death.'"

His visionary temperament, fired by a generous credulity, led him to hear the voice of a supernatural being calling to him at Sna and again at Sera, and he elsewhere tells us, "I was still in an extatic [sic] mood," which mood perhaps accounts for a good deal in his book.

He is frequently breaking out into a rhapsody or uta, though at times he regretfully tells us that "I wished to embody my sentiments in a few verses, but the inspiration would not come". On a cold night, "so much so that I could not sleep at all, the following is an uta that occurred to me in the midst of shivering:—

'On these high plateaus here no sound is heard
Of man or beast, no crickets sing their tunes,
The moon above, and I her friend below.'"
The sight of the Tsang-po River "gave me an *uta*- 
'The river in its pride majestic seems
The waving standard of the Buddha named
Vairochana, all Nature's Brilliant Lord.'"

A flight of cranes leads him to fire off the following:—
"Like feathers white the snows fall down and lie
There on the mountain-river's sandy banks;
*Ko-kow, Ko-wow!* sounds strange, a melody
I hear—I search around for this strange cry,
In majesty these mountain cranes
I find are proudly strutting—singing thus."

On the flank of Mount Kailas, to fill in the time one night, he informs us, "I went into the meditation exercise sitting upon a piece of sheep's hide and wrapped up in the *tuk-tuk*... I was gradually entering into the state of spiritual conquest over bodily ailment, and composed the following:—

'On grass among those lofty plains on earth
I enter meditation deep and wide,
I choose, nor such secluded mountain-trees,
Nor passing crowds of men and damsels fair.'

I was almost in an extatic state when another *uta* rose to my mind—

'O Mind! by Dharma's genial light and warmth
The pain-inflicting snows are melted fast,
And flow in rushing streams that sweep away
Delusive Ego and Non-Ego both.'

Thus in meditation," he adds, "I sat out the night.
But, after all, he was not so very far from "men and damsels fair", for after walking 5 miles next morning he came to a tent in the door of which stood a beautiful damsel, whereupon our traveller, returning to mundane ways, says, "and, smiling, I asked the beauty of the wilderness for a night's lodging," and he devotes a whole chapter to "A Beautiful Rescuer". Indeed, throughout his travels, it was chiefly through the women-folk that he won his way out of difficulties, though with some
petulant ingratitude he condemns his co-religionists, the Tibetans generally, female and male, as being always "ready for any crime or enormity".

Western writers on Buddhism, who have had little or no experience of the living religion, yet are fond of asserting that the Buddhists do not offer actual worship to Buddha nor look upon him as a god, would do well to listen to what this Buddhist monk says incidentally on this subject. For, whatever his defects in Tibetan learning may be he is undoubtedly an orthodox Buddhist monk, and possessed of more than the average education in that religion. When he arrived before the great image of Śākyamuni, at Lhasa, he says (p. 288): "I could not help shedding tears over the goodness of Budhha\(^1\) which enabled me to see His image at this temple. . . . I do not mean that I do not respect other Budhhist deities; still Budhha claims the greatest worship from me." Again, in his despair when he was submerged in crossing a river, he prays for help to Śākyamuni and the Buddhas as living and presiding deities (p. 120), and is rewarded by a miracle: "'O ye! All the Budhhas of the ten quarters, as well as the highest Teacher of this world, Budhha Shākyamuni! I am not able to accomplish my desires and to return the kindness of my parents, friends, followers, and specially the favours of all the Budhhas in this life; but I desire that I may be born again in order to requite the favours which I have already received from all. At that moment with a thrill I felt that the end of one of my staves had touched something hard, and on trying to stand up I found that the water was only up to my breast."

Again, when he lost his watch and money, he consoled himself with the reflection that "it was most likely that the Lord Buddha in His wisdom and mercy had caused me to be rid of them". At Mount Kailas he writes:

\(^1\) The diacritical marks are the author's.
"I addressed myself to this sacred pillar of nature, confessed my sins, and performed to it the obeisance of one hundred and eight bows... I then considered myself the luckiest of men to have thus been enabled to worship such a holy emblem of Buḍḍha's power." Finally, on emerging from Tibet into British territory, he exclaimed: "My safe arrival in this country is entirely owing to the protecting power of the Lord Buḍḍha, and I worshipped Him with zeal and earnestness."

In Tibet our author travelled in the guise of a Chinese Buddhist priest, and posing also as a physician he acquired such great fame by his "cures" that he was brought thereby to the favourable notice of the Grand Lama. "I came to be regarded as a God of medicine," he says; though he naively confesses, in excuse for his charlatanism, that not having had any regular medical training, "I know I made a very dangerous doctor, but I was obliged to go on as a pedant domineering over a society of ignoramuses." This is quaintly delicious and worthy of being preserved! Fortunately for Mr. Kawaguchi, the Dalai Lama himself became one of these ignoramuses and conferred on the "doctor" his intimacy and confidence. But the author is strangely silent as to the subjects of those interesting conversations.

Living in constant terror of having his disguise penetrated and of being robbed, our pious priest was perpetually inventing falsehoods to deceive his interlocutors and "to lay false scents" as he terms it. Ultimately, the secret of his disguise having leaked out, he made a bolt from Lhasa to India, assisted by an "ex-minister and his nun-wife [sic]". As there was no pursuit, however, his excitement on the way was perhaps somewhat more imaginary than warranted.

Certainly we cannot say that he has brought back to us any information which is very new or important.

L. A. W.

This volume was received in August, but could not conveniently be noticed in our October number. Like its three predecessors, of which it is in every respect a worthy continuation, it consists of three parts, devoted to conservation, exploration and research, and epigraphy. We can for the most part do little more than indicate its contents: but the list of them will show that it presents much matter of interest, in various lines, which would well repay perusal in detail.

In the division dealing with conservation (pp. 1–56, with 22 plates) we have first an article by Dr. Vogel on the ancient monuments of Kāṅgrā, with special reference to the deplorable damage done to them by the great earthquake which occurred on 4 April, 1905. In the course of this, Dr. Vogel has observed (p. 19) that an examination of the original stones bearing the two inscriptions known as the Baijnāth Prašastis has satisfied him that the Śaka date given in one of them is expressed by four figures, and that the year is in fact, not 726 (in A.D. 804) as read by Professor Bühler, but 1126 (in A.D. 1204) as Professor Kielhorn conjectured, for various reasons, might be found to be the case. This rectification has an important bearing, not only on the date of the building to which the two records belong, but also (as we may hope to explain at some other time) on the history of the Śaka era, and of the Lōkakāla or centennial reckoning by “omitted hundreds” in which the other Prašasti is dated.

Other articles in this division are by Mr. W. H. Nicholls, on conservation at Sikandarah, Delhi, and Ajmere; by Mr. Marshall, on the restoration of two elephant-statues at the Fort of Delhi about which there has been much
controversy (see references given in the article, and some remarks by Mr. Beveridge in this Journal, 1909. 743 ff.); by Mr. Cousens, on the restoration of the Jain tower at Chitòrgađh; and by Mr. Rea on the general progress of conservation in Madras.

The division of exploration and research (pp. 57–164, with 32 plates) commences with an account by Dr. Vogel of further excavations at Kasiā, including the discovery of the seals bearing legends which mention the community of friars at the monastery of the Mahāparinirvāṇa (compare this Journal, 1907. 365) and the community of monks at the monastery of Vishnudvīpa, Veṇhadīpa (compare ibid., 994, 1050).

This is followed by an article on Rājagriha and its remains by Mr. Marshall, giving an account of operations conducted not only by himself but also by Dr. Th. Bloch, whose unexpected and untimely death at Calcutta on 20 October last has deprived us of a valued worker in several lines of Indian research. The article is accompanied by a map (plate 29) which entirely supersedes previous sketches of the locality, and throws much light on points which have hitherto been obscure. It includes a new identification (p. 100) of the site shown to Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang as the site of the Sattapaṇṇa or Satta-paṇṇi hall in which the First Buddhist Council was held. There is no objection to accepting, for so short a distance, the estimate that 5 or 6 li represent a little more than one mile (p. 100): though, as has been said in this Journal, 1906. 1013, the expression 100 li denoted an ordinary day's journey of 12½ miles; at which rate 6 li, taken literally, would mean 1280 yards. And thus the identification seems sound, on the view taken by Mr. Marshall that what was shown to the Chinese pilgrims was a structural building. But, as the hall is invariably mentioned in the Pāli books as a guhā, 'a cave', we may well
doubt, as he appears to do, whether the Council was really held on the site that used to be pointed out.

The next article is by Mr. Cousens, on the Dhamnar caves and the monolithic temple of Dharmanātha. This is followed by three contributions by Mr. Rea, on excavations at Amarāvatī, on some buried Jain remains at Dānavulapād, and on the ancient village site at Peddamuṇḍiyam. We have then a paper by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, on excavations at Pagan, and two contributions by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on two sculptures at Mandör (for another note on this place, see this Journal, 1909, 1068), and on Jain iconography. And this part of the volume ends with an account by Dr. D. B. Spooner of a new find of punch-marked coins at Peshāwar,—a class of money which is generally accepted as the most ancient known Indian coinage, and the surroundings of which are still somewhat obscure.

In the epigraphic division of the volume (pp. 165–84) Dr. Konow, who in the year dealt with and until recently was holding the office of Government Epigraphist, gives us a statement of general progress for the year, in both the collection and the publication of materials. Specially interesting discoveries were (1) some inscribed slabs at Amarāvatī bearing Brāhmī characters referable to the second or third century B.C., which show that a Stūpa existed there at a much earlier time than has hitherto been supposed; and (2) some fragmentary records of the Western Kshatrapa king Rudrādamaṇa, dated in the year 52, A.D. 130–31. These remain to be edited.

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Konow has mentioned the Ṣaṭṭhigumphā inscription of king Khāravēla (p. 166), and has observed, as an obiter dictum, that “it is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era”. We may take this opportunity of saying that, though that has been the general belief for a long time past, it is a mistake, and
has no basis except in Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajii's treatment of a passage in line 16 of the record. The Pandit found there certain words which, as turned into Sanskrit and interpreted by him, purport to say that king Khāravēla "did such-and-such acts in the 165th year of the time of the Maurya kings after 164 years had passed away". And on the strength of that, without other evidence of any kind in support of it, there has been set up a Maurya era, dating in his opinion from the time when Aśōka conquered the Kalinga countries, but according to another view from the coronation of Chandragupta. We may concede the point that the text very possibly does contain the expression rāja-Muriya-kālē or kālā. But the words which the Pandit evolved, with the meaning stated above, are altogether inadmissible. And even if vichchhinna, 'cut, torn, interrupted, ended, ceased', could be used, as applied by him, in the sense of a year being ended (which we very much doubt), the fact remains that that word, used by the Pandit, is not the word which the original text has. The text, even as shown in the Pandit's lithograph and in the Prākṛīt reading from which he made his Sanskrit version of it, has vohine or vohhimne, for vohchhinne = vyavach-chhinnāni. This is a well-known Jain technical term, applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off, interrupted', or in other terms have been neglected and lost sight of: and, even apart from other considerations, the use of this term quite prohibits the existence of a date. The record is primarily devoted to acts done by Khāravēla to promote the Jain faith. And, while we are not prepared to say just now what may be the exact meaning of the words in which the Pandit found "in the 165th year", we can say that the whole passage does not present any date, but tells us that Khāravēla restored some texts (still to be identified in the words supposed to give the above meaning) and the sixty-fourth
chapter or other division of the collection of seven Ángas, which had been neglected since (?) the time of the Maurya king or kings. The text, in completed orthography, is:—

[rā]ja-[Muri]-ya-kālā(?lō) vuchchhinne chōyaṭṭham ángasattik-amariyam ch = upādayati. In what preceded we may perhaps find pammattari, 'seventy-five', but certainly not anything meaning 'sixty-five'.

From p. 170 we learn that estampages were prepared of 468 out of 739 inscriptions formerly collected by king Bodawpaya at Pagan. It appears that these inscriptions do not go back to older times than the eleventh century. Still, even that is a very fair start in the collection of epigraphic materials in Burma; and these records should surely yield many details throwing a light on the historical chronology of the country. In connexion with any of them, or any other Burmese records, which contain dates presenting details that can be verified, we may mention, for the guidance of students of them, that a book by Mr. A. M. B. Irwin, entitled "The Burmese and Arakanese Calandars", published last year, meets a long-felt want by giving a full explanation of the calendar, and furnishing the means of accurately calculating any dates back to A.D. 638 from Burma and those parts.

The remainder of the volume is occupied by the Grāmam inscription of the Chōla king Parāntaka I, edited and translated, with an introduction on the Chōla history, by the present Government Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya. Some special interest attaches to this record for two reasons. In the first place, it is fully dated in such a manner that Professor Kielhorn was able to locate it exactly on Saturday, 14 January, A.D. 943; and to reduce the limits for the commencement of the reign of Parāntaka I to the time from 15 January to 25 July, A.D. 907. In the second place the date is recorded in the Kaliyuga era; and this inscription gives us one of the earliest amongst a limited number of epigraphic instances of the
use of that reckoning for civil purposes. The initial day of the Kaliyuga age and era is Friday, 18 February, B.C. 3102. Notwithstanding some theories recently broached in India to the contrary, the era is not of historical origin, commencing with an event occurring on that day (or at any other ancient time), and actually running in use from its beginning. Traditional history was subsequently fitted to it. But it is by origin an invented reckoning, devised by the Hindū astronomers for their technical purposes some thirty-five centuries after that time, and referred back to it. With the Vikrama and Śaka eras, it is presented in probably every Indian almanac. But it is not now in practical use, as they are. And as regards the custom of former times, as far as we can judge it from the use of this era in the epigraphic records, which furnish a very good guide, the position is as follows: from Southern India we have one such instance of A.D. 634, one of A.D. 770, three of the tenth century (including the Grāmam date), and then, from the twelfth century onwards, but more particularly from the fourteenth, a certain number of instances, not exactly very small in itself, but extremely so in comparison with the number of cases of the use of the Vikrama and Śaka eras and other reckonings: from Northern India the earliest known instance is of A.D. 1169 or 1170 (I am indebted for this to Dr. Vogel, who has kindly shown me the introduction to his forthcoming volume on the inscriptions of the Chambā State), and the later ones number only three, —one of A.D. 1428, one of A.D. 1520 (I have these from the same source), and one of A.D. 1797 (from an inscription at Jaisalmēr; Professor S. R. Bhandarkar’s Second Report on Sanskrit MSS., pp. 67, 98). If any of our readers can extend the previous use of the era, otherwise than for astronomical purposes, from either inscriptional or literary sources, we shall be thankful to them for the additional information so supplied.

J. F. Fleet.

Dr. Pinches is doing a great service to Assyriology by publishing the Babylonian Tablets contained in the collection of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney. These tablets cover a period of "rather more than four millenniums" (p. i), and must naturally be of great importance for the Babylonian studies in all their ramifications. In the first part of the planned series which lies now before us Dr. Pinches gives us the earlier portion of the collection, the inscriptions of which date from about 4500 B.C. to about 2500 B.C. The number of the texts reproduced in this volume is 122. The reproduction is as minute and as perfect as can be expected from such a master copyist as Dr. Pinches is. The documents mostly contain lists of offerings, receipts of grain, accounts of cattle, etc. The language of the documents is Sumerian.

In a very interesting and instructive Preface (pp. i–viii), Dr. Pinches speaks "upon the position of the different sections of the Amherst Collection in the historical scheme" (p. i), and draws therein the attention of the reader to many important points which are to be gathered from the tablets. In the Introduction (pp. ix–xxiii) Dr. Pinches discusses (1) some general questions connected with the texts (pp. ix–xiii), (2) chronological data (pp. xiii–xix), and (3) the calendar. On p. xxiii he gives "The Months and their probable equivalents", and "Weights and Measures". On p. xxiv there are "Some Notes and corrections". On pp. 1–200 the texts, transliterations, translations, and notes are given.
Although the texts mostly consist of lists of offerings, receipts of grain, etc., almost every text has some point of special interest. So, for instance, the first tablet shows how very many kinds of fish they had in Babylonia. In text 5 a “bird-catcher” is mentioned. Text 8 contains the Semitic word for garlic (šu-me), which shows that Semites lived then in Babylonia. Text 11 mentions “wine for the king”. In text 20 we find four times the *na-gid* (the Semitic word for “herdsman”), which would tend to show that it was mainly the Semites who occupied themselves with cattle-rearing in Babylonia. Text 32 (account of the produce of fields) is very interesting for the productiveness of the soil of Mesopotamia. In the words of Dr. Pinches (p. 59): “In this inscription we have an interesting classification, indicating the comparative productiveness of certain tracts of cultivated land in Babylonia under the system in use during the third millennium before Christ. As is stated by Herodotus, it was—and probably is—an exceedingly fruitful country, such as might become one of the world’s great granaries, of which there will be great need, when the population of the earth has increased, as it will do, to an even greater extent than is the case at the present time.” I wonder whether Sir William Wilcocks knew of this inscription when he recently gave his glowing account of Mesopotamia’s possibilities after a renewal of the old canalization system. Text 37 mentions *É-id-a-edina, “the temple of the river of the water of Edina.”* Cf. נהל ציון (Gen. ii, 10). Text 44, again, shows us that the owners of sheep and cattle in Babylonia were then Semites, the name of the owner of the sheep in this text being *Šarrum-ili*. Very interesting texts, from the point of view of farming and cattle-rearing, are also No. 50 and No. 52. Worthy of note is the distinction made in text 50 between “butter” (*zal-nunā*), col. ii, lines 2, 20, and col. iv, line 4, and “fresh butter” (*zal-nuna dug-ga*), col. ii, line 19,
and col. iv, line 8. Tout comme chez nous. A few Semitic names which occur in these inscriptions are also interesting, as they testify to the presence of the Semites in Babylonia several centuries before Hammurabi (see also above). These names are: Šarrum-ilî (text 44), Ahi-milûm (text 77), Ahûni (text 97), Nuhalûm (text 105), Tâbum, Addubani, Matini [or Matili, see p. ii, note 3] (text 108), and Abs(z)alûm.\(^1\) Out of these eight Semitic persons the first was an owner of cattle, the second, the fifth, and the seventh were messengers, the third was a courier, the fourth and the eighth were soldiers. This shows that then the Sumerians were still the dominating race. A few centuries later the Semites ruled Babylonia.

Of great importance are the seals on some of these tablets, which should now be studied together with the seals in the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, published now by Dr. Ward under the title of "Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals", and with those in the collection of Colonel Allotte de la Fuâe, published in his Documents Présargoniques, pt. i. These ancient seals throw much light on many archaeological questions and raise many new questions. Many a scene on those seals has an important bearing on some Biblical passages.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Dr. Pinches has carried out his task splendidly in every respect. If some renderings may have to undergo some modifications in the future, it is because Sumerian is not sufficiently known yet, and no one is more aware of this than Dr. Pinches himself (see p. xii).

The plates and the map of "Western Asia from the Cuneiform Inscriptions" enhance the value of this great work. The external doing up of this volume is the same as that of the "Amherst Papyri", edited by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt.

In conclusion I should like to draw attention to the

\(^{1}\) Abs(z)alûm is no doubt מְבִית.
last paragraph of Dr. Pinches' Preface (p. viii), the last sentence of which I may be permitted to quote here: "What other countries are doing so lavishly and systematically ought also to be possible for us, and would serve in a slight measure to compensate for the meagre encouragement meted out to the study of Assyro-Babylonian in this country, which, in former years, held therein the foremost place." May these words, uttered by one of the most prominent Assyriologists of our age, not have been written in vain.

Samuel Daiches.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(October, November, December, 1909.)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
   Bd. LXIII, Heft iii.

Lifmann (S.). Satkāyasamjñīkṛtaṇḍ.
Simon (M.). Zum arabischen Galen.
Hauber (A.). Tōmōm = Δαυδαμος = Dindymus.
Schultess (F.). Über zwei Karsuni HSS.
Praetorius (Fr.). Die Grammatische Rektion bei den Arabern.
Hauft (P.). Midian und Sinai.
Geiger (W.). Noch einmal Dipavamsa und Mahāvamsa.

II. Journal Asiatique. Tome XIV, No. i.

Chavannes (E.). Quatre Inscriptions du Yun-nan.
Guérinot (A.). Notes de bibliographie jaina.
Thureau-Dangin (Fr.). Un contrat de Ḥana.
Schwab (M.). Mélanges : Musée Oriental à Cannes.


Pontalis (P. Lefèvre). L'Invasion Thaïe en Indo-Chine.
IV. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient. Tome IX, No. iii.

Vogel (J. Ph.). Etudes de sculpture bouddhique.
Cadière (L.). Monographie de la semi-voyelle labiale en annamite et en sino-annamite.
Liétard (A.). Notes sur les dialectes Lo-lo.

V. Numismatic Chronicle. 1909. Pt. iii.
Allan (J.). The Coinage of Assam.

VI. Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XL.
Arnold (J. H.). The Ascent of Mount Morrison.

Myres (J. L.). Excavations at Tell Halaf in Northern Mesopotamia.

Sayce (A. H.). The Hittite Inscriptions.
— The Name of the Ethiopian King found at Basa.
Breasted (J. H.). The Royal Feud in the Wadi Halfa Temple.
Hall (H. R.). Discoveries in Crete and their Relation to the History of Egypt and Palestine.
King (L. W.). A New Brick Stamp of Naram Sin, King of Akkad.
IX. SPHINX. Vol. XIII, Fasc. i.
Montet (P.) Note sur trois termes fréquemment confondus.
Anderson (E.). Explication du Groupe initial de la ligne 8
de la stèle de Pithom.

Vol. XIII, Fasc. ii.
Lieblein (J.). Les lettres royales de Tell-el-Amarna.
Montet (P.). Un latinisme usité au Novel Empire.
Madsen (H.). Les Inscriptions égyptiennes du Musée
Thorwaldsen à Copenhague.
OBITUARY NOTICES

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

Death has been busy of late among the past members of our Council. Within the past year Mr. E. L. Brandreth and Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid have passed away, and their deaths have now been followed by the decease, on October 28, of Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., Honorary Vice-President, for seven-and-twenty years our Honorary Secretary, a frequent contributor to our Journal, and deserving the special thanks of Orientalists as the originator and promoter of the great Survey, now in progress, of all the languages of India.

After a most useful and distinguished career in India, as Political Officer, Administrator, Judge, Legislator, and frequent writer on subjects of the day, for well-nigh a quarter of a century, he was constrained by domestic affliction to give up his high position and prospects a few months before he had earned his full retiring pension.

Having means of his own, he declined to accept further service under Government, but devoted the remaining years of his long life to independent research, study, travels, active work as Magistrate and on the Committees of a multitude of Societies for literary, scientific, religious, and charitable objects; and to giving others the benefit of his labours by a continuous stream of published writings, some ephemeral, some permanent in character—his motto being: "Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter"; and all this he did, not for gain or self-advancement, but as a duty owed to his Creator for the health and strength and opportunities vouchsafed to him.
As to the incidents and work of his singularly busy life there is, fortunately, no lack of information, for, with characteristic forethought and thoroughness, he has left behind him a *Life Memoir* of 313 closely printed pages of extremely interesting matter, with elaborate appendices; and a *Brief Autobiography*, of thirty-two pages, for those not desirous of details.

From these sources I propose to give a short account of our friend's career—dealing more particularly with the work he did for this Society—and conclude with a few personal reminiscences.

Dr. Cust was born at Cockayne Hatley (his father's place in Bedfordshire) in 1821. He was the son of the Hon. and Rev. Henry Cockayne Cust, brother of the Earl Brownlow, and of Lady Anna Maria Needham, sister of the Earl of Kilmory. He was educated at Eton and intended for the Bar, but ultimately accepted a nomination for the Indian Civil Service. At Haileybury College he greatly distinguished himself, and acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Hindūstāni. He arrived in Calcutta in 1843, and completed his studies in the College of Fort William, receiving Medals and a Degree of Honour and acquiring a knowledge of the Bengāli language.

His first appointment in the public service was that of Assistant to the Magistrate of Ambāla (then head-quarters of the Political Administration of Northern India); here he learned the ordinary duties of a young civilian. He was then selected for the post of Personal Assistant to a distinguished Political Officer, Major George Broadfoot, newly appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the then North-Western Frontier.

In this capacity he was marching through the domains of the Cis-Satljaj Protected Chiefs when news arrived of the Sikh invasion of our territory; he and his chief at once proceeded to the front and took part in the great battles on the Satljaj in 1845—at Mūdkī, Ferozshahr, and
Sobrāon (of which he has left a graphic account in his *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*), and his services were mentioned in the Governor-General's dispatch.

At Ferozshahr his superior officer, Major Broadfoot ("the foremost man in India"), was unfortunately killed in action, and Cust, albeit a very junior officer, carried on for a time the duties of Governor-General's Agent. Then, in acknowledgment of his services, he was appointed by Lord Hardinge to the charge of a district in the newly formed province of the Punjab, the district of Hoshiārpur. Here, after some years of incessant labour, with little experience to guide him, but under the inspiration of his new chief, the great John Lawrence, he organized the district in a "masterly fashion" on a "non-regulation system"—a system of firmness and kindness, "the iron hand and the velvet glove," no red tape, no technical formalities, no lawyers; rough and ready justice, and words of sympathy and good-fellowship; living alone amongst the people—without soldiers or policemen—the Court held under the green mango-trees in the presence of hundreds. "The experience of half a century," he remarks, "has given the stamp of approval to our strong but benevolent, rigorous but sympathetic, system." It was here that he developed that intense love for India and its people, and profound acquaintance with their customs and feelings, which formed a marked feature of his character.

At length, to his sorrow, he was moved from Hoshiārpur to his old district of Ambāla, and took its administration vigorously in hand.

Then came the second Sikh war, which ended in the decisive victory of Gujrāt and the annexation of the Punjab; and Cust thought the time a good one for paying a brief visit to his father (now advanced in years) in England, but, before starting, he was required

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1 So styled in the inscription on his tomb in the Cemetery of Ferozepore.
by the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, to visit all the districts of the new territory and report on their condition and requirements—an important and most laborious task.

On its completion in 1851 he proceeded to England on a brief furlough. Returning to India he was appointed Joint Magistrate of Benares, and afterwards to the important charge of Magistrate and Collector of Banda in Bundelkund, and in three years put the district, which was in a most unsatisfactory condition, into perfect order. In recognition of his service he was offered the more important post of Magistrate and Collector of Dehli, but, fortunately for himself, declined it and proceeded to England on furlough in 1855. I say "fortunatley for himself", for the officer who accepted the post which he declined was among the victims of the Dehli massacre.

In England Cust was married to his first wife—daughter of the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, Dean of Windsor, brother of the Earl of Buckinghamshire—and was called to the English Bar.

He was in England at the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, but, returning to India in February, 1858, was immediately appointed at the special request of Sir John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner, to be Commissioner of the Lahore Division of the Punjab, and when that Division, found to be too large for the effective supervision of one man, was subdivided into two he chose the moiety forming the new division of Amritsar. For a time he held office as Financial Commissioner of the province, and made his mark as a reorganizer; then (in 1861) became Judicial Commissioner, but early in 1864, while busily engaged in overhauling the Department of Justice, he had the misfortune to lose his wife. He at once proceeded to England with his children, but returned to India in October to take up the office of Member of the Legislative Council, and to act temporarily as Home Secretary to the
Supreme Government. Returning to England at the end of the legislative session, he was again sent for to fill the important post of Member of the Board of Revenue in the North-West Provinces. Meanwhile he married his second wife, daughter of the Rev. E. Carlyon, a lady of considerable literary attainments, and with her proceeded to India. Her death at Allahabad after childbirth, in August, 1867, was a severe blow and determined Cust to retire from India for ever—just nine months before completing his service for full pension.

For a year after his retirement in 1867 he felt, he says, "like a man who had been crushed," but at length roused himself, distracted his thoughts by the study of Hebrew and completing the draft of a Code of Revenue Law for Northern India¹; was united in marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of E. Mathews, Esq. (his devoted companion to the end), and by 1869 found himself restored to his old energy and powers; and from that time he found in England, as we have seen, a new career of usefulness.

He aided for a time in the preparation of Murray's great Dictionary of the English Language, and between 1870 and 1909 published more than fifty volumes. The list includes a clear and accurate account of the Religion and Languages of India, a scholarly description of the Modern Languages of Africa (described by a French savant as "un livre du premier ordre"), the Modern Languages of Oceania, of the Caucasian group of the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic family, seven volumes of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, besides a multitude of smaller works, translations into French, Italian, and Greek, and two volumes of poetry; while, by his annual visits to foreign cities, he drew to himself correspondents

¹ The draft was finished, and printed by the Government in 1870 and circulated; but, like Sir J. Stephen's draft Penal Code for England, was not destined to become law: it remains a monument of the drafter's skill and profound knowledge of his subject.
in all the great languages of Europe, and had a friend in every centre of intellectual movement in Europe or North America. He served on the Council or Committee of some thirty Societies or Boards—including the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Geographical Society, the Philological Society, the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., the C.M.S., the Charity Organization Society; was a J.P. for Middlesex and Surrey, a Visiting Justice for Wormwood Scrubs Prison, a member of the Chelsea Board of Guardians, etc. He was a good publicist, lecturer, and platform speaker; and, without being a profound scholar, he had, he tells us, knowledge for practical purposes for reading, speaking, and writing, of sixteen languages—

European: Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese.

Asiatic: Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani, Panjabi, Bengali.

His religious feelings were profound, but without a trace of bigotry. Religion and missionary enterprise form the subject of several of his published volumes.

As for Dr. Cust's relations with the Royal Asiatic Society, he originally joined it in 1851, withdrew for a time on his return to India, but, on his final retirement, rejoined it; in 1872 was appointed Member of Council and Honorary Librarian, and in 1878 Honorary Secretary, a post he filled admirably for many years, being an excellent man of business, possessing, as we have seen, an extensive knowledge of languages and a wide acquaintance with foreign scholars. Besides his ordinary work as Honorary Secretary he contributed to the Journal a large number of well-written Obituary Notices, Reviews of Books, and other articles. He attended and ably represented the Society at the Oriental Congresses of London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, and, without attending, contributed papers to those of
Geneva, Paris, and Rome. He frequently took the chair at meetings of the Society in the absence of the President and Director; and, when present, took an effective part in discussions following the reading of papers.

In 1904 a cataract appeared in each eye and he began to lose his sight—a terrible deprivation, which the sufferer bore with the greatest patience, and with the help of a reader and amanuensis he continued to take a keen interest in affairs generally, and especially in his old subjects, and so late as February, 1909, he issued a pamphlet containing selections from his writings and dedicated to his children. But the failure of his strength, which commenced in 1905, steadily increased, until on October 28 he passed peacefully away.

Yes, he has passed away, full of years and the happiness resulting from a *mens conscia recti*; undecorated indeed—for the degree of LL.D. granted him late in life by the University of Edinburgh is the only title he received—but none the less honoured. He will be remembered by multitudes of friends in England, in India, in France, in Germany, in America; and his presence will be missed at the gatherings of the many Committees in which he took an active interest. Meanwhile he remains—and will long remain—an example to us all of a strenuous life well spent: a life in which he faithfully carried out, so far as he was able, the old Latin distribution of the hours of the day (which he often quoted)—

"Seven to the world; to prayer and slumber Seven; Ten hours to work bestow, and all for Heaven."

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With regard to personal reminiscences the writer was Dr. Cust’s subordinate and fellow-worker in India for several years, and enjoyed his friendship to the last.

In India his abilities and power of work were most remarkable. Some thought him too severely logical for
ordinary mortals, and somewhat of a social recluse; but he loved India, and to all his friends, whether Indian or English, was most kind and sympathetic.

He was of a highly-strung nervous temperament, and possibly unfitted for periods of stress, and he had not the magnetic power of Lawrence or Nicholson or Edwardes; but as an organizer, investigator, and administrator dealing with complicated issues he was masterly. He was an indefatigable worker and writer, with a style particularly clear; a vigorous disputant, but always kept his temper; was intensely methodical and abhorred waste of time, but kept impatience well under control. Though he rowed in the "ten-oar" at Eton, in after-life he cared neither for games nor sport, but was fond of travel for an object, and in society was full of geniality and humour. Let me add that he was no time-server or party-man, but thought out questions for himself: "nullius addictus," as he often used to say, "jurare in verba magistri." At the same time he was always ready to listen carefully to argument.

Vale.

He leaves a widow and four children, one son and two daughters by his first wife and one daughter by his last wife. All his children have shown literary power.

T. H. Thornton.
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VII. THE FORTY-TWO BELOVED OF THE LORD.

The ninth verse of Nābhā’s text, and the fifth in chappai metre, runs as follows:—

_Chappai._

9. (5). I pray to all the beloved of the Lord,—for in the dust of their feet do I put my hope. To (1) Kamalā, to (2) Garuḍa, to (3–18) Sunanda and the other fifteen Archangels devoted to the Master’s feet; to (19) Hanumat, to (20) Jāmbavat, to (21) Sugrīva, to (22) Vibhīṣaṇa, to (23) the Śavari, to (24) Jaṭāyu, the lord of birds, to (25) Dhruva, to (26) Uddhava, to (27) Ambariṣa, to (28) Vidura, to (29) Akrūra, to (30) Sudāman, to (31) Candrahāsa, to (32) Citrakētu, to (33) the Crocodile, to (34) the Elephant, to (35–9) the five Pāṇḍavas, to (40) (Maitrēya) the son of Kuśāru, to (41) Kunti, and to (42) Kunti’s daughter-in-law, Draupadī, whose modesty He saved when (Duḥśāsana) dragged away her garments.

The poet now offers reverence to the forty-two Hari-vallabhas, who were specially dear to the Lord. In the text I have numbered these for convenience of reference.
On these P. makes the following general remarks: Very precious in the world are the beloved of the Lord, and therefore do I place my hope of life in the dust of their feet. No need have I of ascetics, devotees, or anchorites, for the love, and trust, and religious practice (priti-pratiti-rîti) of these have taken my soul into captivity. The sweet-flavoured tales of Kamalā, Garuda, Jāmbavat, Sugriva, and the others are recorded in the scriptures, in the which hath the Master with truth and love spread His glory o'er the universe. Delightful are they to my soul, for full are they of blissful flavour.

1. Kamalā. This is Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, and his sakti, or energetic power. P. is silent about her. Other commentators explain that she and the Adorable are not different individuals, though they are different personalities. They are as much one as are a word and its meaning, or water and a wave. They are, in fact, One in Two and Two in One, "neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance." In worshipping one the other is worshipped, and vice versa. The Adorable in the form of Lakṣmī creates and protects the world, teaches the doctrine of bhakti, and brings souls to dwell for ever near the Master. The particular bhakti church founded by Rāmānuja is called, after her, the Śrī-sampradāya. She taught the doctrines to the Archangels (Pārśadas, see preceding verse). Their leader Viśvaksena taught Saṭha-kōpa, who taught Vōpadēva, who taught Śrīnātha, who taught Puṇḍarikākṣa, who taught Rāma-mīśra, who taught Parāṅkuśa, who taught Yamunācārya, who taught Pūrṇācārya, who taught Rāmānuja.¹ The commentators add that there are no special stories about Lakṣmī, because, she and the Adorable being identical, everything that she

¹ This is the northern tradition. The southern tradition puts twelve Ashwīrs, or saints, after Viśvaksena, the sixth of whom, and the first in the Kali Yuga, was Saṭha-kōpa. After them comes Nātha-muni, instead of Śrīnātha, who was followed by Puṇḍarikākṣa, etc., as above, omitting Parāṅkuśa.
did was part of his actions. Southern Bhāgavatas lay more stress upon the worship of Lakṣmī than is done in the north. To them she is the All-Mother, just as the Adorable is the All-Father, and she is looked upon as protecting the pious with a mother’s tender care.

She belongs to the 17th, or Bhagavat-sēvā, niṣṭhā.

2. Garuda. He is the celebrated bird, the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā, and Vehicle of Viṣṇu. P. is silent concerning him. He belongs to the 4th, or Śravaṇa, niṣṭhā, because he heard the Rāmāyaṇa from the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. When Indrajit, Rāvana’s son, had in the battle before Laṅkā imprisoned Rāma in the “Serpent noose”, Garuḍa came and released him.¹ Tulasī-dāsa (VII, lviii ff.) tells that Garuḍa could not understand how Rāma, if he were really the Omnipotent Supreme, could have allowed Indrajit to entangle him. He asked Nārada to explain, who sent him to Brahmā, who sent him to Śiva, who sent him to the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. It was on this occasion that the latter recited the Rāmāyaṇa to Garuḍa, whose illusion (mōha) then passed away.

3–18. The Archangels (Pāṛṣada). These have been already dealt with in the notes to verse 8.

19. Hanumat. The well-known monkey-hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. He belongs to the 17th, or Bhagavat-sēvā, niṣṭhā. He was an incarnation of Śiva, who took human form in order to have an opportunity of serving Rāmacandra. His father was the Wind, and his mother’s name was Aṇjanā.

P. says: Rāvaṇa had wrung from the sea a number of jewels of value inestimable, and had kept them with delight in his treasury. When Rāma had conquered Laṅkā and had returned to Ayodhyā, Vibhiṣana, with much love and affection, made a necklace of these jewels and offered them to his Lord.

The assembled nobles present in the court were filled

¹ Vālmiki, Rām., VI, 1; Tulasī-dāsa, VI, lxxiv.
with longing for the necklace. This covetousness was an enemy to faith, and hence, that he might do away with it, Rāma threw it round the neck of Hanumat. Hanumat, who was the only person in the assembly not thinking of the necklace, and who had been instead looking adoringly at Rāma, turned his eyes upon the ornament and saw that, though beautiful, on it there was not written the name of Rāma. With mind distraught he said, “Without the name of Rāma, of what value is it?” Then, thinking that perchance the name might be found inside them, he split each jewel open; but as each was opened the name of Rāma was not visible therein, and so he cast it aside as a thing of naught. Thus was it that he seized the thoughts of the other courtiers.

The commentators give the rest of the story. The courtiers were shocked at the way in which he treated the precious gift of Rāma, and Vibhīsana interfered, complaining that his actions were only mischievous monkey tricks. Hanumat explained that the jewels were of no value, as not one of them contained the name of Rāma. Vibhīsana retorted that he could not see Rāma’s name upon his (Hanumat’s) body, and that therefore it, too, was of no value, and why did he keep it? On hearing this Hanumat with his own nails tore open the skin of his bosom, and the people saw that on every pore of his body the name of Rāma was written in minute, but brilliant letters.

Hanumat’s other exploits are narrated in the Rāmāyana. They are well known and need not be repeated.

20. Jámbavat, king of the bears. He was Sugriva’s minister and a helper of Rāma. He was an incarnation of Brahmā. His father was named Pitāmaha. The Rāmāyana is full of instances of his wisdom and of his bravery. In Bhq. P., X, lvii, he is connected with the story of the jewel Syamantaka. Prasēna was slain by a lion when wearing it. Jámbavat slew the lion and
carried away the jewel. Kṛṣṇa conquered Jāmbavat. Then Jāmbavat gave him not only the jewel, but his daughter Jāmbavatī in marriage, by whom (lxi, 11) he had ten sons. Cf. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV, xiii. For the further history of the Syamantaka, see Akrūra (No. 29) below.

21. Sugrīva. The famous monkey king and ally of Rāma. He was a son of the Sun. The Rāmāyana is full of his exploits.

22. Vibhīṣaṇa. The well-known brother of Rāvana. He was a devoted bhakta, and so long as he remained in Laṅkā affairs prospered there. He counselled Rāvana to make peace with Rāma, but he refused, and expelled Vibhīṣaṇa with contumely. Vibhīṣaṇa took refuge with Rāma, who at once consecrated him king of Laṅkā, and after Rāvana had been conquered put him on the throne. From that time the inhabitants of Laṅkā, instead of being vicious as before, became pious, although still Rākṣasas. See Vālmiki, Rām., VI, ix–xix.

P. adds "a new story" to show his devotion to Rāma, as follows:—

A merchant's ship went aground on its voyage, nor could all the efforts of the seamen move it. The merchant considered and said, "Some God of the sea hath stopped us," and so they cast unto the waves a man with his limbs cut off as an offering to appease the deity.1 By Rāma's mercy he was thrown ashore on the island of Laṅkā, and the Rākṣasas took him up in their arms and, full of joy, brought him to their king, Vibhīṣaṇa. At that time Vibhīṣaṇa was meditating lovingly on his Master Rāma, and when he saw the man he leaped from his throne, his eyes filled with tears, crying out, "He is my master, Rāma, in visible form.2 Happy am I to see his face."

1 Cf. the story of Jonah.
2 He was a stranger and he took him in, looking upon service done unto such as done unto Rāma. Cf. Matt. xxx, 35 ff.
Without delay he seated him in honour on the throne, and distributed presents to the Rākṣasas in token of the happy hour. With tears dropping from his eyes he grasped a wand of office, and stood before him as his servitor, gazing with rapture on the lotus-face. Yet though he received this homage, the man's countenance became not debonair, and from moment to moment did its brightness become dim; for it came into his mind that these honours were but preparations for his sacrifice.

Then Vibhiśaṇa besought him saying: "In thy graciousness tell me what thou needest, for very anxious is my heart for thee, when I see thee thus distraught." He answered, "But carry me beyond the sea. So much is all the happiness I desire." So Vibhiśaṇa bestowed upon him many jewels, and brought him, as he had come, to the ocean-shore.

Then did Vibhiśaṇa write the Holy Name of "Rāma" and tie it upon his forehead, and he said: "By this Name do souls cross over the ocean of existence, and therefore, if thou hast faith, will it carry thee across this water that lieth before us." Thereon the man received full faith, and as on dry land did he go upon the ocean.¹ He sat down to rest, and, behold his form was changed and comely, and thither came upon its voyage home the very ship from which he had been cast. When the sailors saw him they knew him, and asked him how he fared. He told them all, so that their hearts were filled with joy, and they took him again into their ship and prayed for his forgiveness. He leaped from the ship into the sea, and they saw with wondering hearts that, through his faith in the name of Rāma, one drop of water did not wet his feet.²

¹ This is the interpretation of all the commentators. The text simply says that he sat there, and the ship came by. Cf. Peter walking on the water, and his sinking for want of faith (Matt. xiv, 28–31).
² According to Bh. one legend says that the reason of his leaping from the ship was that the captain coveted the jewels which Vibhiśaṇa had given him, and wished to rob him.
23. The Savari. This was the woman mentioned by Valmiki in Rāmāyana, III, lxxv. In later bhakti literature she plays a much more important part, as in Tulasi-dāsa's Rāmāyana, III, xxxvii ff. Here she is the poor Bhil woman dwelling in the forest—lower than the lowest of the low, adhama jāti mē . . . adhama-tē adhama—who in faith received Rāma in his search for Sitā, and directed him to Sugrīva. Bhakta writers are never weary of dwelling on this episode, on the Adorable's graciousness to so humble a person, and in saying to her mānaśa eka bhagati kara nātā, jāti pāti kula dharmā budāi, dhana bala parijana guna caturāi, "I know no kinship save that of faith—not caste, tribe, or religion not rank, wealth, power, or connexions; not virtue or ability." These words are the charter of the Bhāgavata religion.

She is counted as belonging to the 24th, or Prēmā nisthā.

She was born in the low tribe of the Šavaras (Bhils), but from her youth up her habits and her mind were different from those of her fellows. When the time came for her marriage her parents collected many animals wherewith to prepare a feast for the brotherhood. She could not bear the thought of so many living creatures being slaughtered on her account, and rising at night she released them all, and fleeing from her home hid herself by the Pampā lake. There she dwelt, living upon wild roots and fruits.

P. here takes up her story:—

In the forest did she dwell, and all men called her "the Šavari". She longed to serve the saints who dwelt by the lake, but did not dare to approach them, for she knew the meanness of her caste. So each night, before it was dawn, would she steal into the hermitage of the holy men (rṣi), and lay down therein bundles of wood. So also would she each night sweep the path by which
the holy men did descend to bathe, and pick up and throw aside the hard pebbles and the stones. Then would she quickly arise and hasten to her hut, that none might see her. When in the morn the holy men (saints were they, devoted to Rāma) arose, they would see the service she had done, and would wonder in their hearts, saying: “Who is it that hath swept the path? How kindly must he be!”

The greatest of these saints, free from all worldly desires, and filled with the flavour of the name of Rāma, was Matāṅga. When he saw the bundles of wood thus laid down, cried he out: “What thief of our weariness hath come here? He cometh and ever stealeth it away? Ah! seize hold of him some day, for even though I have not seen him, through love for him hath inquietude filled my soul.” So in the night-time did his disciples carefully keep watch. She came. They seized her. She trembled, and fell before their feet. Even as Matāṅga saw her a stream of tears flowed forth from his eyes. So filled with rapture was he that, when he would have spoken, the words could not issue from his lips.

In her humility she dared not raise her eyes to him, for she remembered the baseness of her tribe. The saint saw that she was sinking in a flood of sorrow, and pondered within himself how could he pull her forth therefrom, for well did he know the might of faith. So said he to his disciples: “Of a truth, she is of lineage low, but millions many of Brāhmaṇhoods can indeed be humbly laid as offerings before her Faith.” So he allowed her to dwell in the hermitage, and in her ear whispered he the mystic spell of Rāma. When the other saints heard of this they became angered, and separated him from their communion, but this he heeded not, and he abode alone in the hermitage, with the Śavāri to do

1 The initiatory mantra, or secret syllables, whispered by the preceptor into the ear of a disciple.
him service. When the time for his death approached, he called her unto him and said, "The Master hath given me command that hence I depart unto the other world, but here do thou remain. One day the Lord Rāma will come hither, and thou shalt be vouchsafed the blessing of His sight."

Separated from her teacher did she suffer piteous grief. She wished no more to live, but the hope of seeing Rāma forbade her death. So each night she swept the path to the saints' bathing-place as had been her wont. One night she was delayed, and it was morn before she had finished. One of those who had put Matanga out of communion for her sake, came down to bathe e'er she had gone. Startled, she fled, but the forest path was narrow, and, as she passed the holy man, by chance she touched him. Angered was he at the defilement, and harsh words did he cast at her. When he was pacified he went on along the path to bathe, and she fled to her hut of leaves. But when he came to the border of the lake, lo! its water had been turned to blood and filled was it with worms and maggots. This was a new cause of wrathful sorrow unto him; yet did he not understand that the miracle had been wrought because of his cruel speech unto the Šavari. Nay, the rather thought he that the clear water of the lake had been turned to blood by her defiling touch. Wretched was he, and without Faith.

So the Šavari remained waiting and longing for Rāma. She would go into the forest and gather the jujubes and other wild fruits. As she plucked them she would taste them, and those that were sweet she laid by in store for His coming.1 She would go on to the road to the forest, and stand gazing down it with longing eyes, wondering

1 Bhaktos whose faith cannot rise to imagining Rāma eating fruit that had been tasted by the Šavari, say that she tasted the fruit merely to find out what trees bore sweet fruit and what not, and that she collected the fruit only of the former.
when the Lord of Raghu's line would come, and when her eyes should taste the nectar of His form.¹

So watching the way did she pass many weary hours, till suddenly one day she saw Him coming in the distance, and all the sorrow of her heart was wiped away. But then came to her the memory of the baseness of her lineage, and she hid herself.

But the Lord came, and stood there, as He asked the forest people: "Where dwelleth the Savari?"

Asking, asking the way, He came to where was the Savari's hut. "Where is that noble lady?" cried He. "Let Me see her, for Mine eyes are all athirst." When she heard these loving words she came forth from her hut, and knew that the two brothers, Rāma and Laksmana, had come into the hermitage. Halting far from them, where her eyes could see them, she threw herself upon the ground before them.

Tenderly did He raise her and take her to Himself. Far from her body fled the anguish of her soul, and now new torrents poured from her eyes, for she was caught and entangled in the net of love.

The brethren sat down and received from her hands the fruit that she had stored. The Lord then ate and praised them for their sweetness,² as He said, "How can I thank thee? This day is all the weariness of the road destroyed."

All this time the holy men had been sitting in their hermitages, grieved that the water of the lake had become corrupt, and wondering how they could purify it. The news came to them that the Lord of Raghu's line would

¹ So Tulasī-dāsa, Gitāvṛti, III, xvii, chhana bhacana, chhana bāhira, bilokata pana ḍhā para pāni kai. At one time in her house, another time outside, would she stand shading her eyebrows with her hand as she gazed along the road.

² Here Rāma's graciousness was manifest. The jujube fruit at its best is but bitter-sweet. Nevertheless, in His compassion for the lowly Savari, who had offered Him the best that she had, He praised its sweetness.
come thither by the forest paths. They said amongst themselves, "Let us go unto Him. Let us ask Him what shall we do." While they were speaking they heard that it was the impure Śavari's hut that He had honoured by His presence. Away went their spiritual pride. "Come," said they, "let us bend low before Him and humbly grasp His feet." They came, and angrily did they complain to Him that the water of their lake had been turned to blood. Then answered the Master, "'Twas because of the insult ye offered to the Śavari. Grasp ye the feet of this poor Bhil woman, and yourselves implore her pardon; then will ye bathe and drink in happiness."

This is the end of P.'s account. The commentators tell how, in fact, the water of the lake was restored to its pristine clearness. When Rāma departed the Śavari dedicated her life to his memory, gave up the ghost, and departed to eternal bliss. Rāma himself performed her funeral obsequies.

24. Jātāyu. The Vulture King of the birds, a son of Garuḍa. He attempted to save Sītā when she was carried off by Rāvana. He was mortally wounded by the demon, but lived long enough to tell Rāma what had happened (Vālmiki, Rām., III, 1, li, lxviii, lxix). He belongs to the 21st, or Śaradvāgati, niśṭhā.

P. says: When Rāvana, in order to bring about his own death by Rāma's arrow, carried off Sītā, the king of the birds heard her cry, and hastened to her help. Mighty was the battle that he waged with Rāvana, and when both his wings had been cut off, he dedicated his life to Rama. But he retained his breath till he had the joy of seeing his Master's countenance. Rāma came and Himself placed his head upon his lap. Instead of water He sprinkled him with tears from His eyes. Then gave He him memory and knowledge of the truth, and put him on the way of Salvation. The Lord Himself put him on the pyre and lighted it Himself, even as he had performed the funeral
rites of Daśaratha His father. Great was the honour, and in his own form as a vulture did Jaṭāyu reach the abode of the blessed.

So P. The point is that Jaṭāyu, the vulture, an eater of carrion, was too vile to be looked upon by a high-caste Brāhmaṇa, and yet Rāma took Him to his bosom, and not only gave him salvation, but allowed him to retain his own vulture form for ever near Him in heaven. As Tulasi-dāsa (Ram., III, xxxvi, 2) says:—

\begin{align*}
gīdha \ adhama \ khagur \ āmikha-bhōgi \\
gatī \ diniki \ jō \ jācata \ jōgi
\end{align*}

He bestowed upon the vulture, the vile carrion-eating bird, a place such as even ascetics desire.

25. Dhrūva. Already shortly dealt with under verse 5 (19). P. here passes by him with a mere reference. He belongs to the 21st, or Śravanagati, nisthā. His story will be found in Bhg. P., IV, viii ff.

When he desired to sit in his father's lap, his stepmother, Suruci, forbade him, saying that only her sons were fit for that honour. Stung by the taunt, he determined to lead a religious life, and with the permission of his own mother, Sumiti, left his home for that purpose. On the way he met Nārada, who taught him the mantra “ōṁ nāmo bhagavatē Vāsudevāya”, and converted him to the Bhāgavata religion. Dhrūva then went to Mathurā, where his devotion pleased the Lord, who appeared to him, and gave him the boon of perfect faith. He also promised that Dhrūva should reign in his father's place for sixty-three thousand years, and thereafter rule in the Atala-lōka, or region of immovability. Dhrūva returned home. His father made over the kingdom to him and himself became an ascetic. During his long reign he spread the Bhāgavata religion over the whole earth. After the conclusion of the sixty-three thousand years he became the pole-star, and will remain so till the next dissolution of the universe, when he will go to the Adorable's heaven.
26. **Uddhava.** The friend and minister of Kṛṣṇa. See Bhg. P., X, lxvi ff. He belongs to the 15th, or Jñānadhyāna-mahimā, niṣṭhā. He was very wise and learned in the Yōga philosophy. Kṛṣṇa sent him from Mathurā to Vraja to comfort the herdmaids who were pining during his absence. He tried to console them by teaching them Yōga, and the existence of the universal impersonal Brāhma, but they refused to accept the idea, and adhered to their personal devotion to Kṛṣṇa as God. Struck by their fervent personal devotion, he himself became converted to the bhakti faith. Being now convinced of the worthlessness of his learning and of his Yōga philosophy, he returned to Mathurā.

When Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā, and went to Dvārakā, Uddhava accompanied him. When the Yādavas were cursed, Kṛṣṇa taught him the true knowledge, gave him the boon of perfect faith (bhakti) and sent him to Badarikā (Bhg. P., XI, xxix), where, in due course, he attained salvation.

Uddhava may be called the St. John of the Bhāgavata religion. He was the disciple whom Kṛṣṇa loved, and (Bhg. P., III, iv) it was to him and Maitrēya that Kṛṣṇa, immediately before his departure from the earth, confided the inner mysteries of the Bhāgavata religion.

See also the story of Maitrēya below (No. 40).

27. **Ambariṣa.** A celebrated king of Ayōdhya, the son of Nābhāga. He belongs to the 11th, or Vrata-upāsa, niṣṭhā. His queen belongs to the 24th, or Prēma, niṣṭhā. His story is to be found in Bhg. P., IX, iv ff.

P.’s account is as follows:—

If any man desire to have faith like unto Ambariṣa’s, vain is the thought; for it cannot even be by any means described. Durvāsas, the saint of cruel wrath, had never even heard the teaching of the pious, and imagined a fault when there was none.

[He once came when Ambariṣa was engaged on the fast
of the twelfth lunar day of the half-month. Ambariṣa welcomed him and invited him to take food. The saint said he would first go and bathe, and then return to eat. While he was gone the twelfth lunar day approached its end, and as it is a sin to defer breaking the fast to the thirteenth lunar day, the king, who could not eat before his guest did, was put into a difficulty. The Brāhmaṇas told him that a sip of water would be sufficient to break the fast, and, accordingly, having no other resource, he drank a little before Durvāsas's return. When the irascible saint came back from his bath he perceived that Ambariṣa had taken a drink, and was enraged at the thought that his host had taken food before giving it to his guest, which is a grave breach of the rule of hospitality.}

Enraged, he tore out his matted locks and cast them on the ground. He changed them into the dreadful fire hight Kāla-kṛtya, or the incantation of death. “Consume this king to ashes,” he cried, while Ambariṣa stood steadfastly before him desiring naught but to fulfil the commands of the saint. But, to save His servant, the Adorable sent Sudarśana, His discus, to protect him. With its mighty power did this discus turn that fire itself to ashes, and then did it rush against the Brāhmaṇa. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is witness borne to this.

Then fled Durvāsas hither and thither from that dreadful flaming discus. To every world did he flee, and to the gods of the north and south, of the east and west. To Kubēra, to Yama, to Indra, and to Varuṇa, did he cry in vain for refuge; but the discus flamed behind him with ever-growing fierceness, and burnt him as fire burneth stone to lime. To Brāhma and to Śiva did he go, but they said: “An evil trick was this that thou hast done, in that thou didst not recognize the secret of the liegemen of the Adorable, and how, as it hath been written in the Vēda, He is ever near them to protect
them. Thee cannot we protect." Then at last did Nārada advise him and he went to Vaikunṭha, the abode of the Adorable. Distraught he told his woe. "Alas, alas!" cried he, "Lord, save Thou me; the fierce fire of Thy discus consumeth me. I am Thy humble slave. Three virtues hast Thou: Thou art (1) the protector of them who come to Thee for safety, and I have come to Thee for safety; (2) Thou art the destroyer of agony, and I am suffering from agony; and (3) Thou art the Deity of Brāhmaṇa-hood, and I am a Brāhmaṇa." Then said the Adorable, "No longer do I heed these three, for all these virtues hath the virtue of affection for My Faithful Ones wiped away.

"Very dear to Me are the Holy, for their belief in Me is deep, yea unfathomable; one of them hast thou offended, and how can I endure it, for they have abandoned home and wealth, wife, son, body, life itself, to come to Me,¹ and night and day their only converse is with Me. Truly do I say that My only possession is the holy Faithful Ones, naught else do I possess. Go' thou to him whom thou hast injured, that this calamity that pursueth thee may cease its course. Very merciful is he, and ever a protector of the meek; ne'er doth he have room for despite within his heart, for it and every limb is full of faith in Me."

Bereft of hope and pride the saint approached King Ambarīśa, and seizing his feet with due humility he craved forgiveness. Then did the king become filled with shame, and with gentle words did homage to him. With clasped hands thus did he address the discus: "The Faithful are without desire, nor e'er do they wish for aught; yet one thing do I desire. This Brāhmaṇa hath suffered pain from thee; therefore remove thou that pain." Then did the discus, that giver of happiness to the holy,

¹ Cf. Mark x, 29.
when he saw that the Faithful Ambariṣa was distraught, become appeased, and hid his fiery might.¹

P. follows this up with—

_The Story of Ambariṣa’s Queen._

A certain king’s daughter heard of Ambariṣa’s great Faith, and her heart was filled with the desire that her husband might be such as he. Putting all her modesty aside, to her father did she say, “Ambariṣa alone do I look upon as my spouse. I beseech thee, speedily write thou unto him a letter.” The king wrote the letter and gave it to a Brāhmaṇa. Very quickly did the Brāhmaṇa hasten to the city of Ayodhya, and gave it to Ambariṣa. The king made reply: “Fully do I understand this new petition, but how can I take another wife? A hundred queens are even now sitting in my palace, and yet it pleaseth me not to hold converse with them, for my mind is set upon naught but the service of my Master.”

The Brāhmaṇa came back to the king’s daughter, and said, “What effort can I make? Swift as the wind did I thither go, yet was the harvest not one tiny seed.” Again did she send him; for distraught she said: “Very happy did I become when I learnt how great is his devotion, and that he hath no desire for womankind. It was his faith in the Adorable that pleased my soul, and therefore do I look upon him even now as my honoured spouse. On the face of no other beloved can I henceforth look. Go thou again to him and without fear give thou him this message, ‘If thou make me not thy slave-girl, then take thou the guilt of slaying me; for without thee can I no longer live.’”

The Brāhmaṇa took the message to the king; and he,

¹ This story is interesting for many reasons. Not the least is the remarkable statement of the Adorable that He is now no longer specially the protector of Brāhmaṇas, but that His whole care is to guard from harm those who are Faithful to Him. It is an historical fact that the Bhāgavata religion took its rise, not amongst the Brāhmaṇas, but amongst the Kṣatriya caste, of which Ambariṣa was a member.
when he heard it, was filled with love. He gave the Brāhmaṇa his sword and said, "With this do thou lead her round the marriage altar." ¹ So was the marriage made, and the bride's heart could not contain her joy. With pomp and circumstance did she enter Ayōdhyā city, and when she saw the beauty of Ambarisa she became drowned in love for the Adorable. The king gave the order that the new palace should be swept and garnished and given as a dwelling for the queen, with every comfort and every delectation; for he thought within himself that she must have been the sweet odour of his Faith in some former life, and that therefore was he again joined unto her. Considering thus did he consent to be her spouse.

So dwelt she apart from her husband, and one night, just before daybreak, filled with heavenly love, she approached the temple in which he worshipped. Gladly did she make the outer service of the holy place, arranging the vessels and the tables, and unseen by any return to her abode. Thus, who could tell that it was she who had done this? When at dawn the king arrived and saw that his outer service had already been performed, he was like one distraught, and cried: "What thief has come and stolen my service?" ² Three days running did this occur, and the wise king hid himself. He saw his queen full of faith perform these menial offices. To her he said, "If this be thy desire, why dost thou not worship in thine own abode, and take the joy of service upon thine own head?"

She accepted his words, as the mystic spell whispered by a teacher (gura) in a disciple's ear,³ and at the first

¹ He consented to the marriage, but could not leave his worship. So, in the Kṣatriya way, he sent his sword as a proxy.
² The merit acquired by doing good works was stolen by some one else doing them. The same idea occurs in the story of the Savari, ante (No. 23).
³ She took the king's words as an initiatory mantra formally admitting her into the congregation of the Faithful. Hitherto she had been only a "proselyte at the gate". Now she was authorized to carry on worship herself.
dawn did service well and duly. She adorned the Deity's image and sat gazing upon it, nor, as tears of love flowed from her eyes, could she reach the far limit of the ocean of the beauty of the Lord of Śrī. Magnificently did she carry out the worship, with music and with rapture, till the report of the manner of her faith became spread abroad throughout the city, and the king himself felt longing to see it. So great was his eagerness, that there and then he came.

Gently, gently, did he set down his feet, and hushingly did he forbid the doorkeepers to tell the queen. Full of eagerness was he and longingly saying to himself, "When shall I see this holy lady?" When he reached the temple he saw the fair damsel, all unconscious of herself and of her body, soaked in the flavour of love, a flood of tears pouring from her eyes. Lute in hand she crooned soft canticles to the Beloved. Then was King Ambarisa's heart filled with rapture, and "blessed be this hour", he cried. No longer could he stand in the doorway. Eagerly he went near her, and as she recognized him, who was at once her husband and teacher, she rose and stood before him.

Cried he, "Cease this reverence, and again take thou in thy hand thy lute. Sing thou with thy tender voice a new song in the Master's praise, for without it is my spirit lost." The passionate devotion of the queen was more than I can tell, yet tell it must I, for how can I hide the comfort of love that it giveth to the eyes of the mind.1 After holding sweet converse, the queen again took up a strain, from which there uprose a meditation on the beauty of the Beloved, and therein their hearts were drowned. Thus in faith full of the five flavours, passed the whole night. Ah! great was that love and devotion, and even sleep was forgotten.

Then heard the other queens, "The king hath taken

1 i.e. to the eyes of the mind dazzled by the glare of earthly things.
up a new custom. This new queen hath become the crown upon his head. Now none of us can equal her. Let us, too, worship the Adorable, and thus bring our Lord to love us too." Then began they continually to meditate in Him, and to put aside all thoughts that turned to worldly things. So heard their Lord Ambariśa that they also felt the Great Longing, and with them also did he worship and adore. In this way did Faith spread throughout the city from house to house. From day to day did holy longing wax. Behold, such was the might of the faith of one queen that all people of the city changed their nature and were filled with the perfect joy.

28. Vidura. One of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, he belongs to the 3rd, or Śādhu-sēva and sat-saṁga, niśṭhā. When, as described in MBh. V, xc ff., Kṛṣṇa went to the Kauravas as an ambassador of peace before the war, Duryōdhana refused to heed him. Kṛṣṇa accordingly refused to eat in his house, and went to Vidura’s dwelling for that purpose. Here P. takes up the story as follows:—

Vidura’s wife, Vidurāṇi, was washing the courtyard, and at the same time, unclothed, was bathing herself. Kṛṣṇa came to the doorway and called to her. When she heard that sweet voice, full of love for his faithful ones, she lost all circumspection. Running, transported by love and naked as she was, she opened the door, and gazed upon him. Kṛṣṇa, seeing her thus naked and enraptured, at once took off his own yellow garment and threw it over her. She drew it round her waist, and then, recalled to herself, overcome with shame, she hastily arranged her dress. Kṛṣṇa then asked for food, and she brought plantains¹ for him. She sat near to him, and peeled them that he might eat. But in the ferment of her transport, she kept giving him only the skins to eat.

¹ Or bananas, as they are called in England.
while she threw the inside fruit away. Kṛṣṇa, who recognized her love, ate the skins, nor made complaint. In came her husband, and when he saw what she was doing, loudly did he rate her. Then, as she recognized what the transport of her love had made her do, she was filled with grief. Judge ye now how the Lord loveth the love of His Faithful! Vidura began himself to feed the Master with the inner fruit, and he was filled with joy, while his wife, sorrowing, stood by. Then said the dark-hued one\(^1\) to him: “A good deed, and a kind one, hast thou done, in that thou gavest Me the inner fruit to eat; but notwithstanding it seem to me that this is not so sweet as were the skins I ate at first.”

Now Vidurāṇi was distraught with shame and cried: “Alas! let me cut off my hands, that have so failed to give the beloved food. How can the plantain skins seem sweet to him?”

Behold, that which Vidura and Vidurāṇi did was done by both in love, and love is an ocean which hath no further shore. Only he can comprehend somewhat of its extent who loveth Him as a little child.\(^2\) This is the burden of my song.

Cf. also Maitrēya, No. 40 below, for Vidura’s subsequent adventures.

29. Akrūra. He belongs to the 21st, or Śārāṇdgati, nisṭhā. P. is silent about him here, but deals with him in the commentary to verse 14. He was a Sātvata, son of Śvaphalka and Gāndini. He is traditionally said to have been a complete master of yōga. He lived at the court of Kamsa, but was a devout worshipper of the Adorable. Kamsa sent him to Vraja to bring Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Mathurā. He recognized Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of the Adorable, and on the way to Mathurā was granted a vision of His divine form. After Kṛṣṇa

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\(^1\) Kṛṣṇa.

\(^2\) Cf. Mark x, 15.
had slain Kamsa, He visited Akrūra's house, and gave him the boon of Perfect Faith (Bhg. P., xxxvi–xli).

Akrūra is also intimately connected with the curious legend of the Syamantaka jewel, the ḫājarul-maṭar of Arab folk-lore, and already referred to when dealing with Jāmbavat (No. 20). It was a marvellous stone which gave wealth to the possessor, and rain and prosperity to the country in which it was. Akrūra came into possession of it, and held it for fifty-two years while he was in Dvārakā. When the Bhūjas killed Śatruighna they fled from Dvārakā, and Akrūra, who was in alliance with them, had to accompany them. Owing to his absence, Dvārakā was assailed by famine and pestilence. Kṛṣṇa then called Akrūra back, and prosperity reigned again. The Bhāgavata account of the Syamantaka legend will be found in Bhg. P., X, lvii, lviii. A fuller account is given in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV, xiii. It is worth noting that the jewel which caused so much prosperity, and (to an unworthy owner) such calamities, was closely connected with Sun-worship. It was first obtained by Satrājīta from the Sun himself, as the result of worshipping that luminary. Kṛṣṇa refused to be its owner, but acquiesced in its possession by Akrūra. See also notes to verse 14.

30. Sudāman, a Brāhmaṇ friend of Kṛṣṇa, whose story is given in Bhg. P., X, lxxx, lxxxi, in which he is not named, although the colophons of these chapters call him Śrīdāman, not Sudāman. He belonged to the 22nd, or Sākhya, niṣṭhā.

He was a schoolfellow of Kṛṣṇa, under Sāndipani, and in after years became extremely poor.

P. says: He was a very disinterested (niśkāma) lover

1 The Sun is an important personage in Bhāgavata legends. He was father of Manu Vaivasvata, the grandparent of Kapila, and was also the progenitor of the solar race of which Rāma-candra was a member. He gave Draupadi the magic cooking cauldron mentioned in No. 42 below.

2 As opposed to sakāma, "interested." See my article on "The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works" in JRAS., 1908, pp. 337 ff.
of the Adorable, and so poor was he that ne'er had he even a seer\(^1\) of flour in his house. One day did Suśilā, his spouse, approach him, and say: "Heard have I that thou and Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of Dvārakā, are friends." At these words did his heart become much disturbed, and fell he into grief at the memory of his dear one. Then answered he, "Yea, dear, a love full of flavour is ours." "Go," said she, "but this once, and having looked upon his face return. And if thou receive aught from him bring it hither, for to me will it be very pleasant." "Good words hast thou spoken," he replied, "but in the seven worlds will it bring disgrace to me. For all will think that only for this present that I shall receive did I claim his friendship."

But his spouse pressed him and said, "Why shouldst thou not desire but to see the form of the beloved Kṛṣṇa? For all sorrow and poverty of itself is burnt to ashes merely by the sight of Him." Then came to Sudāman the memory of his Beloved. He considered, and turned his mind away from fear of the world's contumely.

[He said unto his spouse: "Lady, if thou hast in the house aught worthy of being offered unto him as a present, let it be given to me." Thereupon she begged from her Brāhmaṇa neighbours four handfuls of flattened rice.\(^2\) These did she wrap in a piece of cloth and give to her husband as a present for Kṛṣṇa.\(^3\)]

He set his feet upon the road, reeling with affection, and came at once to Dvārakā.\(^4\) Greatly did he rejoice to see its glory magnific\(1\)l. In his soul there sprung an unearthly

\(^1\) Two pounds.

\(^2\) Pṛthuka, or in the vernacular ciurā, rice boiled, beaten flat, and parched. It is eaten dry, and is commonly carried as a provision on a journey.

\(^3\) This is taken from the Bhg. P. It is a part of the story omitted by P., but assumed later on.

\(^4\) The commentators say that he only went one stage, and that when he woke next morning he found himself close to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa knew of his journey and had miraculously brought him on his way.
joy, and he went forward with eyes athirst for the sweetness of the Beloved’s countenance. Now was he full of fear that he might be stopped upon his way, but taking courage he entered the porch. It was as though his desire had become the doorkeeper, for it took him by the hand and led him straight to Kṛṣṇa.

When Śyāma saw His friend, He stood motionless from affection, as though He were a picture. Then holding dear His loved one’s deed, He ran, and weeping fell upon his neck. So closely did He hold him to His bosom that they two became, as it were, one, and in this unearthly love it seemed as if, though one strove to separate them, they ne’er would come apart. Then Śyāma remembered that His friend was weak and weary from his journey. He released him. He took him by the hand and led him into the inner rooms. Thither did Queen Rukmīṇī bring water, and with her own hands wash his feet and bid him welcome. To His own couch did Kṛṣṇa lead him, and talk with him of the days when they were fellow-pupils taught by Sāndipani. He plunged him in a sea of happiness, and Himself was filled with joyous affection.

Then said Śyāma, “Friend, what present hast thou brought Me?” and poor Sudāman, when he thought of his own meagre offering, and of the exceeding magnificence of what he saw around him, was much ashamed, and turned his eyes all wet with tears towards the ground. But Śyāma looked through the holes in the old rent garment that he wore, and under Sudāman’s arm he saw a little bundle. He put out His hand and pulled it forth. He opened the knots, and saw that it was filled with flattened rice. He took up a handful and put it in His mouth and chewed it; then, praising its flavour, took He a second. Well-pleased he began to take a third, but the queen seized His hand and said: “A blessed and beloved thing is this. Thou shouldst not eat it every whit. Meet is it that thou shouldst give us all share therein; for it seemeth as
though Thou art taking handfuls of Sudāman's love." So He gave the rest to her. When He had taken the two handfuls, He considered and in His mind gave Sudāman a present of boundless wealth, but did not tell him, so that he knew not the secret. Sudāman abode there in all joy and solace for seven days and then did take his leave, full of woe at his departure from his Beloved one. When he reached his own village he found that it had become a city exceeding magnificical, as though it were another Dvārakā, and his mind was filled with dismay. But his spouse, seeing him from the balcony of the palace, radiant in her affection, and surrounded by hundreds of maids of honour, came forth to welcome him, and after she had assured him, led him within its doors.

Although he was now so mighty and possessed of great wealth, ever meditating on the Lord, in his heart, he kept drinking the nectar of the memory of His blessed form. Steeped in fresh love and adoration, with these alone did he keep himself alive. He held his body free from worldly joys, and his goings ever on the way of the flavour of true happiness.

31. Candrahāsa. He belongs to the 7th, or Guru, viṣṭhā. His story will be found in Wheeler's History of India, vol. i, p. 525. The India Office Library contains two anonymous versions of the legend, one called "Chandrahāsa, an ancient Indian monarch", Madras, 1881; and the other "Chandrahāsa, or the Lord of the Fair Forger", Mangalore, 1882.

P.'s narrative is as follows, with the usual additions from the commentators: There was a certain king named Mēdhāvi, of the land of Kērala, and his son was named Candrahāsa. Mēdhāvi was killed in battle by another king, and his wife became suttee with his corpse. Then a slave-girl took the poor orphan and fled to Kuntalapura. There dwelt she in the house of Dhrṣṭa-buddhi, the chief minister of that city, and brought up the
child as her own son. When Candrahāsa was 5 years old the slave-girl died.

[The boy then lived upon the streets, picking up what he could get, and so keeping the body and soul together. One day Nārada, that mighty saint, in his mercy met him in a secret place, and gave him an image of the Adorable, in the shape of a sacred Śālagrāma. He taught the lad to bathe it with reverence, and ever to exhibit it before he ate, as grace before his meat. He also instructed him to keep it at other times in his mouth, and, having taught him the mystery of the Name of the Adorable, departed. The boy always did as Nārada taught him and day by day increased in faith and holiness.] Even in the street-plays with the other boys of the town, he played only games that were full of the flavour of faith.

One day in Dhrṣṭabuddhi’s house was there a feast given to the Brāhmaṇas. It chanced that with the other children of the town Candrahāsa also came thither, and made his obeisance to the chief of the learned doctors. Just then Dhrṣṭabuddhi came to that learned man and asked him: “What married fortune is written in my daughter’s fate?” The Brāhmaṇa pointed to Candrahāsa and said, “Of a certainty in this case do I see the future, and foretell that this lad will be thy daughter’s Lord.” As Dhrṣṭabuddhi heard this prophecy, he turned away to hide his shame and discontent.

Much did he consider in his mind: “What am I to do? Is such a husband meet for her who is my daughter? He must be killed.” Having so resolved, he called certain low fellows and said to them: “When I look upon this lad my heart is burnt within me. Take ye him away and kill him.” These murderers took him forth far from the city, but when they looked upon his pretty face they

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1 The fossil ammonite, sacred to Viṣṇu. It is found in the River Gaṇḍakī. Hence later on it is called the son of Gaṇḍakī. The authority for its worship is the Padma Purāṇa. The Bhāgavata is silent on the subject.
cried: "May dust and ashes fall upon the womb 1 that brought us forth as murderers, and causeth us to feel such sorrow at our deeds." Then said they in their compassion to the boy, "Kill thee we must; who can be thy helper?" He replied, "I ask but one favour. Strike not with the sword until I give the word."

Those wicked murderers assented to his prayer. He took from his mouth, where it had lain hidden in his cheek, the holy son of Gaṇḍaki, the Śālagrāma, bathed it with water, decked it with flowers, and reverently worshipped it. As he gazed upon it, the Lord Himself appeared to him within it, and he became rapt with a holy joy. Then with his eyes he gave the signal for the fatal stroke. But the men who had been filled with murderous thoughts, now became filled with pity, and fell fainting to the ground. Faith in the Lord entered them, and their hard hearts became softened with the Great Felicity. Now, on one of his feet Candrahāsa had a sixth toe, which they who are skilled in augury say is a blemish,—an omen of evil fate. So that did they cut off and let him free, now also free from blemish. This toe did they bring back, and show to Dhṛṣṭa-buddhi in token that they had done the foul deed he had commanded.

It chanced that in that kingdom of Kuntalapura there lived another petty king, hight Kalinda of Candana-varati, and happy in all blessings, save that he had no son. Now on that day went he into the forest to hunt, and there saw he Candrahāsa seated. And behold, knowing him to be beloved of the Master, a herd of deer stood round about him, and a great bird hovered over him to give shade unto his head. Then did that king run to him without fear, and took him in his arms, as a beggar taketh a great treasure and looketh upon it as his life. With welcome and rejoicing, and with distribution of

1 i.e. caste. They were murderers by caste.
gifts, did he lead him into his house. Thus did some days pass, and then the king, considering his virtue and his worth, made him his heir and delivered the kingdom to his charge. In this high station did Candrahāsa throughout the kingdom spread faith in the Adorable.

Now King Kalinda had been used to send tribute to the king of Kuntalapura, but Candrahāsa sent none, for all his wealth was spent in succouring the holy. So the king of Kuntalapura dispatched his minister Dhṛṣṭabuddhi with an army to collect the tribute. When he arrived, Kalinda and Candrahāsa looked upon him as a guest come to their house, and hospitably entreated him; but when Dhṛṣṭabuddhi saw Candrahāsa he knew that he was the lad whom he had desired to slay, and again, full of wrath, he said to himself, "By some guile must I kill him." So he wrote a letter and gave it unto Candrahāsa, saying, "Take thou this to my house and give this letter into the hands of my son Madana, and say unto him, 'Prithee carry thou out what is written therein.'"

So Candrahāsa took the letter and journeyed to Kuntalapura. Seeing a fair garden, which chanced to belong to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi, he rested there, and reverently worshipped his Śālagrāma. Then, by the favour of the Lord, sleep came upon his eyes, and he fell into a sweet slumber.

By the will of the Lord into that very garden there came to sport with her damsels and her fellow-maidens the daughter of Dhṛṣṭabuddhi. By chance she saw Candrahāsa as he slept, and love for him entered her heart. So she led her companions away, and then leaving them she returned by another path and gazed enraptured at his beauty. In her yearning she saw by him a letter, with her brother's name upon it. She took it up and read it, and therein was written, "At once give thou poison (vīṣa) to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou not in this, or dread mine anger."
When she read these words, wroth was she with her father, and filled with pity was she for the youth. Now the damsel’s name was Viṣayā. Ink made she with the collyrium of her eyes, and after the word viṣa, poison, added she but one little syllable yā, so that viṣa became “Viṣayā”. Then, pleased at heart and smitten with love, did she rejoin her companions. Meditating in her soul upon her darling, and full of anxious thoughts, to her home did she return.

Up rose Candrahāsa from his slumber, and went to Dhrṣṭabuddhi’s palace, where he gave the letter to the son. When Madana read the words: “At once give thou Viṣayā to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou not in this, or dread mine anger,” his heart was pleased, and warmly did he embrace the youth. He put into his hand the letter and said: “What is written therein doth please me.” He summoned the Brāhmaṇas, and within an hour did he perform the marriage of Viṣayā with Candrahāsa. With great magnificence did he perform it; with a magnificence greater even than that seen at the weddings of great kings, and even then was his soul not satisfied.

Then came the vile Dhrṣṭabuddhi. When he saw the festival it was like death unto him, and Candrahāsa as a bridegroom in his wedding garment was to him as though a sharp stake were thrust into his vitals.

Privately he called to Madana. “Son,” cried he, “what blunder hast thou made?” Then Madana showed him the letter, and when he read it fire kindled in his bosom. “Luckless, luckless wight that I am! Better would it be for me that my daughter were a widow.” He called those low fellows the murderers, and said these words to them: “Go ye to the temple of Dēvi Durgā. It is my will and pleasure that ye kill the man that entereth it on to-morrow’s morn.” Then to Candrahāsa said he: “Dēvi Durgā is the goddess of my family. To-morrow, at dawn,
go thou to her temple there to worship, for such is the marriage custom of my house."

At dawn Candrahāsa bathed and worshipped his Śāla-grāma, and then set forth to worship Dēvi Durgā. Now just at that moment the Lord put it into the heart of the king of Kuntalapura to say unto himself, "No son have I. No worthier youth is there than Candrahāsa. Him will I make my heir." Therefore did he summon Madana, the son of his minister, and command him: "Such and such have I resolved. Quickly bring thou hither Candrahāsa, thy brother-in-law. The time is passing and may not come again. Do the business now, nor let there be delay." Joyfully ran Madana upon the road. He met Candrahāsa, and gave him the message: "His Majesty doth summon thee at once to the palace. Fear not thou that by doing thus thou wilt show disrespect unto Dēvi Durgā. Make thou here a mental prayer, and I will go and make the temple offerings for thee."

Thus was it Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's son, Madana, who went at morn to Dēvi Durgā's temple, and him it was whom the murderers slew. While it was to the other, to Candrahāsa, that the king said: "Take thou my kingdom, and be its ruler."

A certain man came to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi and said unto him, "The low fellows, murderers, have slain thy son." Tears flowed in torrents from his eyes and splashed upon his body. He ran to the temple, and found that it was even so. To the ground he dropped without sense or movement, and as he fell, unhappy wight, his head struck against a stone and burst, and there he died.

When Candrahāsa heard the tidings he hastened to the temple, and meditating on the feet of Dēvi Durgā, would have offered his own body as a sacrifice to her.¹

¹ The worship of Durgā is the antithesis of the merciful code of the Bhāgavatās. Human sacrifices (including suicidal sacrifices) were once a common feature of it.
But the Dēvi appeared to him in her proper form and seized his hand. "Dhṛṣṭabuddhi," cried she, "was thine enemy. It is I who, in mine anger, have thus slain his son and him." Then prayed Candrahāsa to her for the lives of the two, and that their hearts might be set in the way of virtue, and Dēvi heard his prayer and restored them both to life.

For three hundred years did Candrahāsa rule, and all the nobles that stood near him—nay, the whole land—made he into a kingdom of faith. In every house was heard the sweet Name of the Lord. Only one work was desired—the service of the Lord. Earthly love, wrath, covetousness, pride, and every vice did he put far away from his kingdom. His subjects lived under him in peace, and each one loved him as the apple of the eye. Great is the fruit to him who, when he riseth at dawn, readeth all that hath been said concerning Candrahāsa from the beginning to the end. Even so saith Jaimini.\(^1\)

32. Citrakētu. He was king of Sūrasēna. His story is told in Bhg. P., VI, xiv ff. P. merely gives it a passing reference.

He had thousands of wives, but by only one, Kṛtadūti, had he (through the blessing of Nārada and Āṅgirās) a son. Filled with jealousy, the other queens gave the boy poison and he died. The commentators narrate that the king so loved the child that he could not perform its obsequies, and even though Nārada came and told him of the emptiness of all earthly things, he still remained subject to delusion. Nārada, to convince him, called the spirit of the lad and commanded it to re-enter its body. The spirit replied that it had had innumerable births. Which of these bodies was it to enter? "Once upon a time I was a pious man, and used to worship the Śālagramā. One day my mother, who was Kṛtadūti in

\(^1\) In the Jaimini Bhāratā, Adhyāyas 52-60.
a former birth, prepared food for me, and it chanced that
the firewood over which I cooked it was filled with
myriads of ants, who were destroyed in the flames. The
food I gave as an offering to the Master. Now as a punish-
ment for the sin of killing these ants, I should have been
condemned to myriads of deaths and rebirths for each
leg of each ant; but as I did not eat the food myself,
but offered it to the Master, the sin was expiated by this
one rebirth, from which I have just now been released
by death. So also was my mother reborn as Kṛtadūti,
that she might suffer a corresponding penalty.” So saying
the spirit went away, and Citrakētu was consoled, and
performed the funeral rites over the corpse.

Then Nārada instructed Citrakētu in the mysteries of
the Bhāgavata religion. Citrakētu adored Bhagavat for
seven days and was finally vouchsafed a vision of Him in
the form of Saṁkarsana. Saṁkarsana taught him the
supreme mystic formula of the worship of Vāsudēva, and
from reciting this Citrakētu received the yōga\footnote{Note again the frequent connexions between the Bhāgavata religion
and the Yōga system of philosophy.} power of
being able to wander at will through space.

Once so wandering he arrived at Śiva’s court, and there
saw Śiva sitting in public with Pārvati upon his lap. In
his ignorance he considered this to be an act of impropriety
and remonstrated with Śiva. Pārvati thereupon cursed
him to be reborn as the Dānava Vṛtra.

The story of Vṛtra is told in the earlier chapters of the
sixth Skandha of the Bhg. P. (ix–xiii), and forms the
preface to the story of Citrakētu. He was killed by
Indra with the thunderbolt made from the bones of
Dadhīea.

33, 34. The Crocodile and the Elephant. The story of
them is told in Bhg. P., VIII, ii–iv.

Once upon a time, in the White Continent, the Muni
Dēvala was bathing. A Gandharva named Hāhā sportively
took the form of a crocodile and caught him by the foot. The incensed saint cursed him to remain a crocodile, and to be unable to resume his proper form.

King Indradavana (Bhg. P. has Indradyumna) made over his kingdom to his chief minister and went into the mountains to practise asceticism. The Muni Agastya came thither, but Indravana in his spiritual pride did not show him hospitality. Hence Agastya cursed him to become an elephant.

Both the Gandharva and Indradavana were worshippers of the Adorable, but owing to these temporary lapses they were condemned to these bestial forms, in which they had no memory of their former faith. Bh. gives an alternative legend:—

Once upon a time a king of Mārwār had a sacrifice performed. Amongst the officiating priests were two brothers, both bhaktas of the Adorable, of whom one performed the office of Brahman, while the other was the Hōtr. The Hōtr got most gifts, so the Brahman wished to add his gifts to his brother’s and to divide the total half and half. The Hōtr would not agree, and the Brahman cursed him to become a crocodile in the River Gandakī, whereupon the Hōtr retorted by cursing the Brahman to become an elephant. Here the point of the story again is that both were bhaktas.

One day the elephant came at the head of his herd to drink water at the very place where the crocodile was lying. The crocodile seized him by the leg and tried to pull him into the water, while he strove to get up on to the bank. The other members of the herd tried to help him, but without avail. For a thousand years the battle went on, and at length the crocodile prevailed and dragged the elephant into the river till only his trunk remained above water.

Then, in his torment, there came to the elephant the memory of his former bhakti, and he took refuge in the
ADORABLE. Breaking off a lotus flower with his trunk he offered it to Him, and cried to Him for help.

Immediately on hearing his cry, the ADORABLE, the rescuer of the distressed, took the incarnate form of Hari,¹ and, riding upon the eagle Garuḍa, came in the twinkling of an eye to his help. With his discus he killed the crocodile, and so saved the elephant. Both the crocodile and the elephant then obtained the perfect knowledge; and by the grace of the ADORABLE obtained final release.²

35–9. The Pāṇḍavas. These belong to the 20th, or Sauhādra, niṣṭhā. They are Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīmāsenā, Nakula, and Sahadēva, whom Kṛṣṇa befriended in the war of the Mahābhārata. From the Bhāgavata point of view the most important of these was Arjuna. Arjuna’s cousinship to, and friendship for, Kṛṣṇa is considered as the best example of the Friendly Flavour (sākhyya rasa). It was to Arjuna that Kṛṣṇa himself communicated the Bhagavad Gītā.

Oncee Hanumat went to the Sāketa-lōka (Rāma’s heaven) to pay his respects to Rāma. After doing so he asked leave to depart. Rāma consented, saying: “Go thou, but in my next incarnation must thou protect the bhākta Pāṇḍavas from their enemies the Kauravas.”

Hanumat set out homewards, and on his way, as he was passing near the Dvaita forest he heard Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa conversing. Arjuna was asking Kṛṣṇa how he and his brethren were to escape from the Kauravas. Kṛṣṇa replied, “Behold, Hanumat, the messenger of Rāma, is now passing along in the sky. He will protect ye.” Hanumat at once descended and approached Kṛṣṇa, who, knowing him to be a devoted servant of Rāma, there and

¹ Regarding the Hari incarnation see note 13 to verse 5.
² The well-known Sōnpur fair is held once a year at the junction of the Gandak and the Ganges, opposite Patna, in commemoration, and on the traditional site, of this combat.

JRAS. 1919. 20
then presented himself to Hanumat in Rāma’s form and
confided the Pāṇḍavas to his protection.

In this way Hanumat understood that the Pāṇḍavas
were true bhaktas, and ever afterwards protected them.
For this reason he is commonly known by the name of
Arjuna-Sahāyakārīn, or the “Helper of Arjuna”.

40. Maitrēya, the son of Kuśāru. He was friend and
playmate of the Vyāsa (Bhg. P., III, iv, 9).
P. says about him, with additions from commentators:
His mother’s name was Mitrā, and his father’s Kuśāru.
Hence he is called both Maitrēya and Kausārava.

He was a disciple of Parāśara. The LORD gave him
the order: “Go thou. Vidura (No. 28 above) is My
Faithful One. Do thou instruct him so that each limb
of his may be filled with the glory of My form and
name.”

The above is a reference to the contents of the third
and fourth Skandhas of the Bhg. P., nearly the whole
of which consist of instruction given to Vidura by
Maitrēya. Maitrēya is here the philosopher of the
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and, besides briefly describing Krṣṇa’s
life, gives long accounts of bhakti and of the Paurāṇik
versions of the Sāṅkhya and Yōga philosophies. The
framework of the story runs as follows: Uddhava on
his way to Badari, at the end of Krṣṇa’s earthly life
(see Uddhava, No. 26 above), meets Vidura, who is
wandering distraught, owing to the death of all his
relations, the Kauravas. Uddhava wished to comfort
him, but being himself stricken with grief at his
separation from Krṣṇa, was unable to do so. So he
told him how he and Maitrēya had conversed with
Krṣṇa just before his departure, and how Krṣṇa had
taught them the inner mysteries of faith. He therefore
recommended Vidura to seek out Maitrēya. Vidura does
so, and Maitrēya, in Bhg. P., III, v, commences to instruct
him. In the concluding chapter of the fourth Skandha,
Vidura is comforted and goes to Hastináputra to see his relatives, the Pándavas. His subsequent adventures in Hastináputra will be found in Bhg. P., I, xiii.

41. Kuntí. The mother of the Pándavas. Like the Pándavas and Draupadi (No. 42) she belonged to the 20th, or Sauhārda, viśṭhā. Kṛṣṇa was her nephew, but nevertheless, she always looked upon him as the Adorable in visible form. She kept him before her eyes, either personally or in the form of an image, as she knew that so long as He was present she was not subject to the delusion of the world. P. says about her:—

What living creature can describe the excellence of Kuntí? It was she who asked for sorrow, sorrow from which all others flee. She it was who said to Kṛṣṇa, "Better than happiness is sorrow, if only Thou be near. Dear one, Thy face alone do I desire to see: to see Thee not is a spear that pierceth my heart. Show Thou mercy upon me, and ever dwell Thou near me, or if that may be not, let me take a forest-hermit's life. For in a hermit's life Thou art ever near. It is when we have won our kingdom that Thou wouldest depart from us."

This was the prayer she made when Yudhiṣṭhira had won his kingdom from the Kauravas, and the Adorable had resolved to depart to Dwārakā.

When the Lord saw her thus distraught tears filled His eyes, and He gave up His journey to His home. Then did she lead Him down from his chariot, and bring Him back into the palace. For Kṛṣṇa was her life, her body, her all.

When Kṛṣṇa left this earth and returned to his heavenly abode, and the news thereof fell upon her ears, she delayed not. Her soul left her body, and went to be for ever with the Lord. Lo, such faith was truth itself.¹

¹ Literally, such a pāna, resolution, was saccā-pāna or truthfulness. There is a pun in the original on the word pāna. The MBh. account of
42. Draupadi, Kunti's daughter-in-law, and the wife of the five Pândavas. She also belongs to the 20th, or Sutrārda, niṣṭhā. Her story is well known. Her friendship with Rukmini, Kṛṣṇa's wife, is the subject of Bhg. P., X, lxxxiii. P. says about her:

What skilled poet can fully tell the story of the virtuous Draupadi? She looked upon Kṛṣṇa as her husband's brother, and he looked upon her as his brother's wife. When in the gambling match Duryodhana won Draupadi from Yudhiṣṭhira and when, at Duryodhana's word, the evil Duḥśasana would have made her naked before the whole assembly, and thereto pulled aside her veil,\(^1\) then in her distress she cried to Kṛṣṇa, "Help, Lord of Dwārakā." Now He was there, for He is omnipresent. Netheless, that the word of one of the Faithful might not be made void because she called Him Lord of Dwārakā, in His grace there and then went He to Dwārakā, and returned thence that He might relieve her distress.

[When Duḥśasana the evil then pulled her veil, lo, it waxed in length, so that how much soe'er he pulled from off her body, still she stood there fully clothed, nor was she put to shame. Then did he continue pulling off the cloth from her till even his mighty arms were wearied. Thus were the faces of the evil blackened, while the faithful were rejoiced.\(^2\)]

Once the vile Duryodhana sent Durvāsas with ten thousand disciples to seek the Pândavas in their forest Kunti's death is different, and will be found in XV, xxxvii. She was burnt to death in a forest conflagration.

\(^1\) At the time she was wearing nothing but a single sārī or veil.

\(^2\) G. prefaces this story by relating how it was a reward in kind for a good action done by Draupadi. Once when Draupadi was in Dwārakā and was sitting with Rukmini, Kṛṣṇa entered with a cut finger and asked for a rag to bind it up. Draupadi at once tore off a piece of her garment and gave it to him. He counted the threads in it and found there were 999, and for each of these threads he returned a length of cloth when Draupadi was in distress.
exile, and with all his following he arrived at the hermitage just after the daily meal was finished. Then did Yudhiṣṭhira receive him with all gentleness and ask him to eat. Durvāsas put off the meal, and thus gave answer: “I and my disciples will go and bathe, and on our return will we eat.” So Yudhiṣṭhira told his wife Draupadi to prepare the food, but she confessed to him that the cauldron was now clean. He fell into great anxiety. “Better is it for me,” said he, “to give up life, than to offer no food unto the saintly guests.” But she to him: “What cause for trouble is there? Hath Kṛṣṇa left us? Is He ever gone?” And when Śyāma heard these loving words of the Lady, so full of faith, He fixed His mind and came, and fulfilled the desire of her heart thereby. Just as He came He said, “Hungry am I. Give me somewhat to eat.” Now all anxiety herself, she answers, “Dear One, naught is there in the house.” And He to her in gentle voice: “Sweet sister, why dost thou pretend? Is there not in the house the cauldron that is filled with all the dainties of the world?” “Dear One,” she said, “empty it is, for I have cleansed and washed it after the daily meal.” Then the Master asked for the cauldron. “Bring it, let me see it.” She lifted it up, and carried it, and laid it before the Master. He looked and found one single leaf of potherb stuck to the inner surface of the cauldron. This showed he to Draupadi, and ate it with a little water; and with his eating that food were not only

1 Durvāsas was an extremely irascible saint, who cursed unfortunate wights who showed him the least apparent dishonour. He appears in the story of Ambariṣa above (No. 27). The present story appears in MBh., III, cxixii. Draupadi’s housekeeping arrangements gave little trouble. She possessed a wondrous cauldron given her by the Sun which was miraculously filled with food for every meal, and remained full till it was washed after the daily meal was concluded. After that there was no more food in it till the next day.

2 See preceding note.
Durvāsas and his disciples made replete, but the whole universe. For the whole universe is He.

Now when Durvāsas and his disciples had finished their bath they found their bellies lined and full. Then remembered he Ambariṣa¹ and the dread power of the Adorable and feared, and he and his disciples returned not, but departed by another way.

¹ See No. 27.
THE Instructions of the Second Caliph to the Judge Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari are edited by several Moslem writers, with the differences which seem inseparable from Oral Tradition. The earliest existing copies are those produced by Jāḥiz (ob. 255 a.H.: Bayān, i, 169, ed. Cairo), by Mubarrad (210–85: Kāmil, i, 9, ed. Cairo), and Ibn Kutaibah (213–76: 'Uyun al-akhbār, p. 87, ed. Brockelmann); to the next century belongs that of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (246–328: 'Ikāl Fārid, i, 33, ed. Cairo, 1293); to the same century or the next belongs the edition of Māwardī (362–450: Aḥkām Sulṭāniyyah, pp. 119–21, ed. Enger); and to a much later period that of Ibn Khaldūn (732–806: Mukaddimah, i, 184, ed. Cairo, 1284; p. 221, ed. Beyrūt, 1900). According to Mubarrad the Instructions were very widely circulated; he has glossed a few of the expressions, but by no means provided a complete commentary. Glosses to one or two of the phrases are to be found in the Nihāyah or "Dictionary of Tradition" of Ibn al-Athīr. The document was translated into German by von Hammer (Über die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate, Berlin, 1835, pp. 206, 207) after Ibn Khaldūn; the same text was followed by de Slane in his translation of the Prolegomena (Notices et Extraits, xix, 449), and Professor Gottheil (History of the Egyptian Kādīs, p. vii). Finally the Beyrūt editor has vocalized the whole text. On these translations reference may be made to the strictures of Mr. Amedroz (JRAS., 1909, p. 1139); they are all too paraphrastic to guide the reader to the exact sense of the
document, which, whether genuine or not, is of great importance for the history of Moslem judicial institutions. The present is an attempt to provide an accurate rendering, for which Moslem glosses will, where possible, be utilized; although the translator will not feel himself bound by their authority.

Ibn Kūtabah’s text has been adopted, because we have it in a critical edition; the various readings of the others are given in foot-notes, and, so far as they are of any consequence, discussed, with the exception of the ‘Ikīl Farīd, which is too corrupt to deserve consideration. Jāḥīz alone gives an īsnād: “recorded by Ibn ‘Uyainah and Abū Bakr al-Hudhali, and Maslamah b. Muḥārib, all after Katādah; and by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb b. Ibrāhīm after ‘Ubad Allah b. Ḥumaid al-Hudhali after Abu’l-Maliḥ b. Usāmah.” Of these Sufyān b. ‘Uyainah (107–98) was a contemporary of the author, and his authority Katādah (60–117) born about twenty years after the death of the correspondents. The famous kādir Abū Yūsuf (113–82) was also contemporary with the author, and Abu’l-Maliḥ al-Hudhali is mentioned by Tabari (ii, 1255) as an authority for an event in the year 94. Of the rest, Maslamah b. Muḥārib is an authority frequently employed by Tabari, while the remaining two are harder to identify. Clearly this īsnād takes us near the time of the correspondents, but not actually to it. It is no surprise to the student of Moslem history that even for a letter oral tradition should be preferred to written documents.

Kitb 'umr bin al-khitab rād pih lī 'a bi musī al-ashrī ka'bā
fihi: bism allah al-rahim al-rāhīm min 'abd allah 'umr 'amīr al-mumtin
al 'abd allah bīn 'aqīs salīm 'allīk amā bād: fān al-fīlāli
فريضة محكمة وسنة مثبتة فاقهم إذا أدى الابك فانه لا يفع
تكلم بحق لا نفاد له آس بين الناس في مجلسك وجاهك
حتى لا يعلم شريف في حيفك ولا يسا س ضعيف من عدلك
البيوت على من أدعى واليمين على من إنكر والصلح جائز بين
الناس إلا صلى أهل حراما أو حرم حلالا ولا يمنعك
فضاة قضيته بالاسم فراجعت نفسك وهديت فيه
لرشدك ان ترجع إلى الحق فإن الحق لا يبطله شيء وأعلم
أن مراجعة الحق خبر من التمادي في الباطل الفهم النفهم
فيها بلجلج في صدرك مما ليس فيه فرآن ولا سنة
 وأعرف الأشياء والامثال ثم قس الأمور بعد ذلك ثم
اعهد لاحبه إلى الله وإشبها بالحق فيما ترى أجمل
لن أدعي حقا غابا أمدا ينتهي إليه فان أحضر بنية
أخذ بحقه ولا استحلت عليه القضاة والمسلمون عدول
في الشهادة إلا مجهولدا في حد أو مهربا عليه شهادة زور
أو ظننا في ولاية أو قراءة أن الله تولى منكم السراي ودرأ
عنكم بالبيتات واياك والقلق والفرح والنازد في الخصم
في مواطن الحق التي يوجب الله بها الأجر وحسن الذخر
فائه من صمت سريرته فيما بينه وبين الله أصلح الله ما بينه وبين الناس ومن تزين للدنيا بغير ما يعلم الله منه شانه الله والسلام

VARIOUS READINGS


1 B, W  وحُكْوَ و مجلسك و عدللك و مجلسك K
المسلمين

2 J  ولا يخف ضعيف من جورك و البنية

J inserts حرم حالا etc.

3 B, W, K  فراجعت عليه اليوم

4 W, K  جمع حالا

5 B  فراجعت في نسنك

6 B  فراجعت عليه اليوم فيه عفللك

7 J  فراجعت عليه في نسنك

8 J, B, W, K omit

9 B, W  فان الحق قدم

10 B, W, K

11 B, K

12 B, W, K

13 J, W, K omit the whole sentence as far as...

14 B  قبس

15 J, W, K omit the whole sentence as far as...

16 B  و اعد

17 B  الى أقرهها...

18 B omits.

19 B, W, K

20 J, B, W, K

21 B, K

22 J, B, W, K

23 B

24 K

25 B

26 J, B, W, K add

27 B, W  في أولاء أو نسب

28 K

29 B, W  اقتحال

30 B, W, K

31 B, K

32 B, W, K

33 B, K

34 B, W, K

35 B, K

36 B

37 K

38 K

39 K
Omar's Instructions to the Kadi

Translation of Ibn Kutaibah's Text

The judge's office is [the application of] either an unequivocal ordinance of the Kur'an or a practice that may be followed. Understand this when considerations are put before you, for it is useless to utter a plea when it is not valid. Equalize all Moslems in your court and your attention; so neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you. The claimant must produce evidence, from the defendant an oath may be exacted. Compromise is permissible between Moslems, provided no law be violated thereby. If you have given judgment, and upon reconsideration come to a different opinion, do not let the
judgment which you have given stand in the way of retractation; for justice may not be annulled, and you are to know that it is better to retract than to persist in injustice. Use your brains about those matters which perplex you, to which neither Law nor Practice seems to apply; study the theory of analogy, then compare things, and adopt the judgment which is most pleasing to God and most in conformity with justice so far as you can see. If a man bring a claim in absence [of the defendant], fix a term by which the defendant is to appear; if the plaintiff then produce evidence, his claim shall be allowed, otherwise you will be entitled to give judgment against him. All Moslems are credible witnesses except such as have suffered stripes for offences with fixed penalties, such as have been proved to have given false witness, and such as are suspected of partiality on the ground of relationship whether of blood or of patronage. God concerns Himself with your secret character, and leaves you to follow appearances. Avoid fatigue and the display of weariness or annoyance at the litigants in the courts of justice, wherein God enables you to earn reward and make a handsome store. For when a man's conscience towards God is clear, God makes His relations with man satisfactory; whereas if a man simulate before the world what God knows that he has not, God will put him to shame.

Notes

The judge's office is the application, etc.: This sentence has hitherto been erroneously rendered, e.g. by Hammer, "das Richteramt ist eine durch Gebote festgestellte Pflicht, deren Erfüllung durch die Sunna begründet ist." If the *kadā* were an institution of the Kurān, it should be possible to quote a text for it; but in fact neither the *nom. ag.* (*kādīn*) nor the *nom. verbi* (*kadā*) occur in that book, the latter at all, the former in the sense of "judge". Since it has no cognate in the sense in Aramaic or
Ethiopic, it is probably an Islamic technicality. The verb to which these words belong is used in the Kur'ān in its etymological sense, "to terminate," whether life, a ceremony, or a dispute; in the last case, where the object has sometimes to be supplied in thought, it approximates in sense to the verb ḥakama, "to judge." That a derivative from this last verb was not chosen is perhaps due to two facts: (1) the prevalence of a maxim that God only was Judge (ḥākim); (2) the provision in Sūrah iv, 34, for the appointment in certain cases of two ḥakam or "arbiters", whilst the seeking of a single ḥakam other than God is forbidden in vi, 114. Nevertheless the ḥukkām or "judges" are mentioned in ii, 184, as a recognized institution, though in a prohibitive sentence.

The sentence, therefore, is a succinct statement of the Sources of Law, while later in the document the author provides for the case in which these are not found sufficient. The two sources are (a) Texts of the Kur'ān, (b) Practice.

With regard to the first, there is the limitation to such part of the Kur'ān as is muḥkam, with reference to the important distinction in iii, 5, between texts that are muḥkam and such as are muṭaṣṣābīh. From xxii, 51, we should infer that the former word referred to some critical or editorial operation, and that the difference was between texts of ascertained and texts of doubtful genuineness. To follow the latter is said in the Sūrah to be a sign of apostasy and the desire to stir up dissension. Perhaps this text (iii, 5) is later than the Prophet's time.

To the second Source of Law, sunnah, an interesting epithet is also attached. This is "which may be followed". Lower down in the instructions sunnah appears in the copies of Jāḥiz and Māwardi as "the Prophet's sunnah", but the epithet "which may be followed" shows that this
cannot be meant, for any practice of the Prophet would
deserve to be followed. A practice which may be followed
is, then, a practice which was not abrogated by Islam,
i.e. pre-Islamic or Arabian practice. In a marriage oration
of the Caliph Ma'mun (quoted Murûj al-dhakab, vii, 9,
ed. Paris; ii, 225, ed. Cairo) the same phrase occurs: “If
there were about marriage no unequivocal text, and no
practice that may be followed, save what God has created,
i.e. the natural result,” etc. Marriage was clearly in
existence before Islam. In a speech of Hasan (quoted
by Jâhiz, Maḥāsin, 148, 3) the sunan are spoken of in
the plural, i.e. the practice of the community. It is
curious that in Turkish sunnah is used as a euphemism
for “circumcision”, which was assuredly a pre-Islamic
practice. In a verse cited by Yâkūt (Udabā, v)¹ the
word is applied to the budun, or animals sacrificed at
Meccah, which again dated from pre-Islamic times. The
word seems originally to mean “a beaten track”, being
derived from istanna, “to gallop,” and we think of
a beaten track as beaten by a long series of persons
rather than by one. The title of our earliest collection
of traditions, the muwatâ’ of Malik, means the same.

This theory, then, of the Sources of Law (compared by
Mr. Amedroz to Common Law and Statute Law) implies
that where there was no Kur'ānic enactment Arabian
practice, provided it had not been abrogated, was to be
followed. This is obviously a very different theory from
that which ultimately prevailed, whereby “Islam had
cancelled all that was before it”, and the Prophet was
the sole source of law, either by the Kur'ān, which he had
revealed, or his infallible utterances and deeds.

A remarkable case, in which we can trace the develop-
ment of this doctrine, is to be found in the story of the
arbitration between 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah, in which the
person to whom these Instructions were addressed was one

¹ MS. penes me.
of the arbiters. In the treaty between the two claimants, as given by Tabari (i, 3336, 15), that which the arbiters cannot find in the Kur'ān is to be referred to "the sunnah which is just, combining rather than separating". At a later time this is so expressed as to make it appear that what was meant was the sunnah, in the sense of the Prophetic Tradition. Yet it seems clear that what is meant must be "practice, whereon the community are agreed rather than divided". The record which we have of the debate is imperfect, and indeed unintelligible, as appears from Wellhausen’s analysis. What light could either the Kur’ān or the "practice" throw on the question of the succession? It is noticeable that suggestions which appear to have been offered on this occasion were to put the appointment into the hands of a commission, or to nominate the son of Omar. The former would be following Omar’s precedent, the latter following one form of the hereditary principle, whilst the claims of ‘Ali and Mu‘āwiyyah could both be supported by theories of succession.

A use of the word sunnah which is of some interest occurs in the remark of ‘Ali, quoted by Tabari, when he was compelled to erase the words "Commander of the Faithful" after his name. He says, "sunnah for sunnah and example for example," and proceeds to recount how the same thing had happened to the Prophet (i, 3335, 3). Perhaps the rendering "case for case" would be sufficiently accurate.

The maxim "Islam cancels all that preceded" probably referred originally to offences committed before conversion; pre-Islamic Arabian practice, so far as it did not interfere with Islam, was for a time maintained. The growth of

1 Al-Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 111, 3 a.f.
2 Das arabisiche Reich und sein Sturz, p. 58.
the Moslem community, so as to include a variety of non-Arab nations, and the absence of any Arabian code, speedily rendered this second source of law, Practice, too uncertain to be followed; the Practice or Precedent of the Prophet was substituted for it, and, as Goldziher has shown admirably, the deliberate invention of precedents was rendered almost necessary by the course of events and the requirements of the courts.

*Understand this when considerations are put before you*: Hammer renders “so fasse denn, was dir vor allem ziemt”. The words *idhā udliya ilaika* must be explained from Sūrah ii, 184: “Eat not your goods between you wrongfully, *فندلوا بها الى الحكام*, that ye may eat a part of men’s goods guiltily and knowingly.” These words puzzle the commentators, but can scarcely mean anything else than “neither offer part of them as a bribe to the judges”, after which “a part” is substituted for the whole, because a part will already have gone to the judges. The word is evidently identical with the Ethiopic *adlawā*, “he pleased,” or “he flattered”; of which the *nom. agentis* is used for “partial”, “unjust” of a judge (examples are given by Dillmann). The words of the Sūrah may then be construed literally “and curry the favour of the judges with them”; an even more literal rendering would be “and dangle them before the judges”, or “depress the scale with them”, since the word is in origin connected with the “pans” of the balance. In vii, 21, the second form is used with an accusative for “to cajole”. It comes to mean “to adduce as a plea”, e.g. Tabari, i, 2045, 7 (with *bi*), but usually suggests that the plea is weak; and in some contexts definitely means “to ingratiate oneself”, as in the verse (cited by Ibn Abī Usāibī’ah, ii, 174)—

واجعل له نسبًا يدلي اليك به
"Make for him a pedigree whereby he may ingratiate himself with thee, for the bond of learning exceeds that of blood in strength."

The point, then, of this precept is that when pleas are urged, the judge is to bear in mind that it is his business to carry out law, whether written or customary; that it is not for him to decide on the abstract merits of a question. And this is the sense of what follows: for it is useless to utter a plea which is not valid: thus the argument (e.g.) of the suffragists that men and women are equal must not avail in the face of the text of the Kur'ān which declares that "the male shall have the shares of two females".

_Equalize all Moslems in your court and your attention_: Mubarrad's text adds "and your justice", which also appears in Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn, though the arrangement of the words varies; it seems to injure the sense seriously. Without it the words are clear. Āsi (on which Mubarrad has some bad philology) is a dialectic equivalent of sāwi; so in the Murūj al-dhahab (ed. Paris, vii, 75), ii, 238, the sixth form is used for "to divide equally" in the reflexive sense, in a line in which the third form is used for "to help" or "console". "Equality in court" means sitting side by side with other litigants. In the History of the Egyptian Ḫādis (p. 64, B.M. Add. 23324, fol. 169b) the Caliph Maʿsūr is requested to put himself on an equality with his opponent in his sitting; the Caliph descends from his throne and takes a seat next the other party to the suit. According to the Scholiast on Hariri (ed. i, p. 445) litigants knelt before the judgment-seat; and Baidāwī on Surah xix, 69, says the same. But according to Sharbini (Comm. on the Minhāj, iv, 369) it is more usual for them to stand.

The word rendered attention literally signifies face. It may mean "in your looks", i.e. let the expression on your
face be the same in all cases; and this view is supported by Nawâwî and others. Yet the reference is more likely to be to a Jewish rule that both litigants should be allowed the same time for their addresses.

So neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you: the antithesis between sharîf and wâdî is often found, e.g. Murâj al-dhahab (ed. Paris, vii, 80), ii, 239, “no one of either class would salute him.” It would be difficult to name the date at which the former came to mean of the family of the Prophet. Moslems is the correct rendering of al-nâs (literally “the people”), for according to the “truer” view a Moslem should be given a higher place in court than a member of a tolerated sect (Sharbini, loc. cit.). ‘Ali himself is quoted for this view.

The word for “to be partial” (haif) is interpreted by Mubarrad as mail, “inclination.” In Sûrah xxiv, 48, it is used of partiality or prejudice against some one; and since in Syriac its analogue means “violence”, that sense seems more natural than favouritism. Perhaps we should read janaf (Sûrah ii, 178).

The claimant must produce evidence: This is almost a translation of the Mishnic rule, “Whoso would get out from his neighbour, on him lies the proof.” The Hebrew r‘âyâh can be used either for a document or for witnesses’ testimony, but seems normally to mean a document; thus, in the Mishnah of B. Sanhedrin, 31a, it is expressly contrasted with testimony, and is a thing which a man can keep in his porte-monnaie. Bokhârî must have assigned the same force to the Arabic equivalent bayyinah, for he quotes this maxim as based on the Kur‘ânic injunction to have all loans put down in writing and witnessed by two persons (ii, 282; Kasâlânî, ed. vi, iv, 371), though not in the sense of signed by them. We

\[\text{لم بسلم عليه شريف ولا وضع}^1\]
learn from Ibn Mājah (ii, 34) that some supposed the whole of this verse to be abrogated. In the Hidayah (iii, 484) this maxim, with the following, are both ascribed to the Prophet.

*From the defendant an oath may be exacted:* According to the Jewish lawyers the oath in the intention of Scripture could only be demanded when part of the claim was allowed; the Rabbis introduced a somewhat less terrible oath for the case of complete repudiation of the claim.

*Compromise is permissible between Moslems:* Ibn Ḫut. has “the people” for “Moslems”, but they are synonymous. We should probably infer that the law does not contemplate it between Moslems and members of other communities. The law-books deal elaborately with this subject.

*Provided no law be violated thereby:* The illustrations given in the law-books are not very convincing. It is noticeable that the person to whom these instructions are addressed was afterwards one of the arbiters in the historic dispute between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyyah, and in the opinion of many compromised in a manner which seriously violated the law.

*If you have given judgment, etc.:* It is not clear whether the meaning is that precedents are not to be binding, or that any judgment is liable to be altered on reconsideration. The reading of Jāḥiz, Mubarrad, Māwardi, and Ibn Khaldūn, “justice is from eternity,” favours the former view, while Ibn Ḫut.’s reading, “may not be annulled,” favours the latter. Both theories appear to be fraught with danger to society, though logically deducible from the theory that law is the will, not of the sovereign, but of God.

*Use your brains, etc.:* The writer now comes to the case in which the two primary Sources of Law fail.

*Which perplex you:* Mubarrad takes the word here used (talajlaja) to be a metaphor drawn from food that will not go down. In a letter to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (Makrizi, Khīṭat, i, 78, 23) Omar (?) uses the active in the sense of “to
employ sophistry." In Ibn Abi Uṣaibī'ah, i, 233, 2, بُلْعُ في صدره, perhaps we should read تُلْفِلَج.

Study the theory of analogy: The conciseness of the style of these instructions suggests that the words ʾashbāh and ṣamthāl are not synonyms, though the difference is not clear. It is probable then that this sentence should be rendered as above, rather than "study similar and analogous cases". Analogy was already studied by the Jews (see Ad. Schwarz, die hermeneutische Induktion in der Talmudischen Litteratur, 1909).

Then compare things: Māwardi and Ibn Khaldūn read "and compare things with their likes", which favours the above rendering, whilst the text of Mubarrad and Ibn Kut. favours the literal translation. The word used for "compare", ḳis, seems certainly borrowed from the Jews, who use in this sense ḥēḳīṣ, which, according to Kohut and others, should be ḥiḳḳīṣ, literally "knock together, bring into collision", perhaps itself a translation of the Greek συμβάλλειν; just as the Talmudic בָּלַל for "to refute" seems clearly a translation of the Greek ἐλεχεῖν. The Arabic root ḳys then turns the inflexional vowel into a radical, and omits the first radical; an interesting case of the history of Semitic roots. The use of the term makes it clear that Omar (if these Instructions be genuine) must have had a Jewish lawyer at his elbow.

And adopt the judgment, etc.: This clause is omitted by Māwardi and Ibn Khaldūn. Mubarrad has it, but with "nearest to God" for "most pleasing to God". An obvious ground for its omission would be that it is at first sight illogical. For what the judge has to compare are not different judgments in the same case, but cases for which the two Sources of Law provide with cases for which there appears to be no such provision. This is done by discovering what in Jewish law is called ḥass̄ad ha-shōweh, "the point of agreement," between them. It
may happen that the unforeseen case has points of agreement with various others, leading to different conclusions; in this event the judge has to use his conscience.

If a man bring a claim in absence: The editions of Jāḥiz, Mubarrad, Māwardi, and Ibn Khalidūn add "or a proof", evidently a gloss, interpreting the words of the text as "if a man make a claim, asserting that there is evidence for it which cannot be immediately produced". At the end of the sentence these authorities add "for that will be the best way to dispel doubts and clear up obscurity". According to this, the rule will provide for a case not noticed in the foregoing law of procedure. If the plaintiff produce evidence he wins his case. If he produce no evidence, and the defendant decline an oath, he also wins. But there is the third possibility that the plaintiff may say he can produce evidence, yet not at once. It will be better in that case to give him a term by which to produce his evidence than to offer the defendant an oath. The Jews allowed thirty days' grace for this purpose.

Yet it is not clear why the failure to produce the evidence should lose the plaintiff his case.¹ Hence it seems possible that the matter dealt with is default; on which the law-books give some elaborate rules, and for which the word here used (ghā'ib) is the technical term. The construction is curious, but perhaps not too crabbed for Omar. The difference, then, between this case and the other would be that, if the defendant do not appear, the plaintiff is cast unless he produce evidence; for the defendant's absence is not to be regarded as equivalent to his refusing the oath. And indeed in the Minhāj it is stated that evidence is indispensable in the case of a claim against an absentee.

The third possibility, viz. that it is the object of the

¹ The Jews suggest that further delay will afford suspicion of forgery or suborning.
All Moslems are credible witnesses: Jāḥiz, Mubarrad, Māwardi, and Ibn Khaldūn read, "credible against each other." This would imply that they are not credible necessarily in each other's favour; and indeed the Kur'ān (ii, 134) exhorts them to witness against parents, relations, and even themselves. The question of members of other religions is not touched. Mr. Amedroz (loc. cit., p. 1139) has called attention to the difficulties in which this subject is involved. The qualification of witnesses in the later law-books are far stricter than those with which Omar is satisfied. The Kur'ānic phrase is dhū 'adl (v, 105, lxv, 2), which appears to mean "possessed of fairness", i.e. just and upright. On the retention or suppression of "against each other" the interpretation of the next clause will depend.

Such as are suspected of partiality, etc.: Mubarrad renders these words "one whose pedigree or clientship is suspect", i.e. one who is suspected of falsifying his pedigree. But the true rendering appears to be what has been given, and the law-books (e.g. the Minhāj, ed. van den Berg, iii, 404; ed. Sharbīnī, iv, 399) go into this question of prohibited degrees for the purpose of evidence very elaborately. The same question occupied the Jewish lawyers, whose rules on the subject of evidence are similar in several respects. In the Minhāj evidence is not allowed in favour of parent or child (to any degree), but is admitted against them; it is admitted in favour of husband or wife, and in favour of brothers or friends. It is not admitted in favour of a slave or freedman (mukātib), etc. The annotator on Jāḥiz takes the right view.

The reading of Mubarrad, Māwardi, and Ibn Khaldūn (nasab for karābah) is somewhat in favour of Mubarrad's rendering, but the above considerations show that it is erroneous.
God concerns Himself, etc.: The readings here vary very considerably. Ibn Kut. agrees with Mubarrad, except that the latter adds “and the oaths” after the word “evidence”. The verb darar'a is used in the Kur'an in the sense of averting punishment, “it shall avert punishment from her” (xxiv, 8); and there is a tradition in which the same word occurs, “avert penalties by doubts,” i.e. suspicion (of the character of the witness) is sufficient to avert the penalty from the person accused. The true reading and interpretation are supplied by the words attributed to Omar by Bokhari (ed. Kastalani, iv, 377). “Now [since the Prophet's death] we only take you by your manifest actions; if a man make display of good [make a fair show], we trust him and favour him, and have nothing to do with his secret character; God deals with his secret character. Whereas if a man make display of evil, we neither trust nor believe him; even though he say that his secret character is good.” The word bayyinah, then, in this sentence means not, as above, “evidence,” but “outward conduct” as opposed to sarirah, “secret character.” God, while Himself inquiring into the secret character of Moslems, is satisfied if you attend to their outward conduct, and regard any Moslem as trustworthy so long as he is not a notorious evil-liver. The word bayyinah is misunderstood by all save Ibn Kut., and since the oath plays in law as important a role as evidence (which the word meant above), there are two theories as to the import of the sentence, “God saves you further trouble by evidence.” Either it includes oaths, in which case there will be no harm in adding the word, as is done by Mubarrad; or it excludes oaths, and since the oath has been mentioned

اننا نأخذكم الآن بما ظهر من أعمالكم فمن ظهر لنا خيرًا أمرنا
وفيمن وليس البناء من سيرته صلى الله عليه وسلم في سيرته ومن ظهر لنا سواء لم نأنتم ولم نصدقه وإن قال أن سيرته حسنة
above, a statement must be introduced to show that oaths are not now required; and this takes the form, "God has excused you from oaths," which Māwardi and Ibn Khaldūn prefix to the clause. The Beyrūt editor and von Hammer both read ḯāmān, "faith," for aymān, "oaths," and the latter boldly renders, "God is forgiving to the Believer." De Slane's suggestion, "God is the only judge who has no need of an oath," is equally impossible.

Avoid fatigue, etc.: The true reading seems here to have been preserved by Mubarrad.

Display of annoyance: The reading of Māwardi and Ibn Khaldūn is "the expression of annoyance", or reproaching the litigants. The form of annoyance suggested by the word in the text is that produced by what offends the senses, e.g. incorrect speech (cf. Yākūt, Udabā, i, 24, 4 a.f.) or evil odours (Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, 42, 1).

After this sentence Mubarrad inserts, and irritation during the pleadings, which adds nothing to the sense. Jāhiz similarly, "and irritation against the litigants." The copies vary very considerably in what follows. Mubarrad and Māwardi read "for by truth in the abodes of truth God magnifies the reward and bestows a good store [Māwardi 'name']"; but the Arabic seems clumsy if not incorrect. Ibn Khaldūn adds a word to improve the sense: "for by the ascertainment of truth in the abodes of truth," etc. This last reading is clearly interpolated; but there is little to be said for Mubarrad's reading either, which appears to be due to an objection felt to making the courts of justice themselves grant a right to a reward.

The last sentence is omitted by Ibn Khaldūn; it is also omitted by the Arabic Māwardi, but figures in the Persian translation. Mubarrad gives it in a form somewhat different from Ibn Kutaibah's: "If a man's intention be sound and he turns towards himself [i.e. takes care of his
own conscience]. God will look after his relations with other men; whereas whoso feigns before men what God knows him not to possess, shall be shamed by God (and what thinkest thou of the reward of others than God?) in His present provision and the stores of His mercy." The phrase thawābi ghairi 'llāhi seems unintelligible; the Persian translator quoted by Enger renders, "God shall shame him now, and what thinkest thou of the reward of God in the provision which He has promised out of the stores of His mercy?" But this is not convincing. Perhaps the original meant "shall shame him in this life, and how much more hereafter", and the form which the sentence assumes in Mubarrad's work is due to continuous interpolation. Jāḥīz has, "If a man's intention be sincere in his relations with God, even against himself, God will provide for his relations with mankind."

The whole of the concluding sentence is perhaps rightly omitted by the Arabic Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn, since it should evidently have come after the words "leaves you to follow appearances" had it been part of the original document. For it is evidently intended to soften somewhat Omar's doctrine that no inquiry was to be made into the character of witnesses. If Providence takes care that the hypocrite is always unmasked, such inquiry is not so absolutely necessary as it would be if the unmasking were ordinarily left to the next world.

Māwardī offers two criticisms only on Omar's letter. One is that it contains no formal investiture. The other is the last point noticed, that it unreasonably limits the command of Sūrah xlix, 6, to weigh evidence, by taking too narrow a view of the meaning of the word fāsīk, "evil-doer," there employed. Māwardī thinks the objection may be got over by regarding this as a personal opinion of Omar.

Many equally grave objections occur to the European
reader. The assumption that all Moslem witnesses are credible involves the assumption that there will never be conflicting testimony; and the Judge is given no guidance for the case in which this occurs. Experts in legal matters will easily think of many more deficiencies.

Comparison between the various copies of this much-studied document suggests two reflections: one, the absolute untrustworthiness of oral tradition, even where only a few sentences have to be committed to the memory; the other, the difficulty of construing Arabic texts correctly.
If anything could make Sir Richard Burton turn in his grave, it would be to know that all the time he was having his unpleasantness with the authorities of the Bodleian, there reposed in that library an Arabic MS. containing the "Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves". Ever since Professor Ethé made his catalogue of the additional Arabic MSS. in the Bodleian, the treasure was waiting to be lifted by anyone who should take the trouble to run over that catalogue in its still manuscript form. But it is plain that no student of the Arabian Nights had done so, until, in September of 1908, Professor Ethé's catalogue was most courteously put into my hands, and I discovered that the one of Galland's stories of which absolutely no Oriental trace had ever been found, and the possibility, even, of the existence of which, as an Oriental story, had been denied, had been lying in the Bodleian in Arabic since 1860. I had just returned from a vain search for MSS. of the Nights in Cairo, Syria, and Constantinople to make this find in Oxford.

The MS. is in certain ways so mysterious, and its provenance so uncertain, that a somewhat minute description is necessary. It is a small octavo numbered "MS Bodl. Orient. 633". On the back is a bookseller's mark, "Rue Richelieu | a Paris | Librairie A. Franck 390." From this Franck it was bought by the Bodleian in 1860 for 8s.; but there the trail at present stops. Twice (fol. 1a and fol. 112a) a stamp occurs: V.L., of which I can make nothing. It contains two stories. On a fly
at the beginning is a Latin title of the first, *Historia Chalijae* | *Haroun Ar-raschid, et filiæ Khosrois, regis* | *Persarum*. On the next leaf, fol. 1a, is the same title in Arabic—

حكاية الخليفة هروء الرشيد مع بن تكسرين على التمام والكمال تم

The story follows, and the Arabic title of *Ali Baba* is given on fol. 45a. *Ali Baba* extends to fol. 112a and closes the volume. The paper on which the two stories are written is different, but the hand, a very fine and legible one, is the same throughout, and is evidently modern. At the end the scribe gives his name as Yūhānna ibn Yūsuf Wārisī (ب.أ.ر. ). Yūhānna suggests a Christian, but the wording of the colophon is Muslim, or, at least, not specifically Christian. Wārisī, whether as *nisba* or as a family name after the fashion of Damascus, seems to be unknown. I have consulted Dr. Sarruf, the editor of the *Muqaddam* and the *Muqtatat* and a Syrian by birth and education, and he has made wide inquiries, but with no result. Is it by chance a European name masquerading in Arabic? Yet that seems hardly likely.

We are, therefore, driven back upon internal evidence for any hypothesis of the origin of this form of *Ali Baba*. Of course, the important point is its relationship to Galland's French. Does it stand in the ancestry, or is it collateral to the ancestry of that version, or is it a descendant? It is unfortunate that there is no such direct evidence of date and place of MS. against the latter hypothesis as exists in the case of one of the two MSS. of *Aladdin*, but neither is there such evidence of French influence on its grammatical constructions, as exists in the case of the other Aladdin MS. (Zotenber, *Histoire d'Alâ al-Dîn*, pp. 41 ff.). The only suspicious construction which I have noted is خوفنا ل (note 2, p. 346), which may connect with "de peur que... ne". But خوفنا من and خوفنا ان also occur.
There remains, however, another criterion. Although the honours in story-telling are pretty equally divided between the author of the Arabic Aladdin and Galland, yet there cannot be much question that Galland was a greater literary artist than the author of at least this form of Ali Baba. Is there anything, then, in this text that Galland would have found to his purpose and yet did not use? Or is there anything in Galland which an Arabic translator would surely have utilized? In dealing with a man like Galland and of Galland's methods, I hesitate to be dogmatic about the first question, but I have no doubt that there are points in Galland's version which even the most obtuse translator would not have neglected. Let anyone read the two accounts of how the oil merchant was taken in by Ali Baba, and of the night of terror which followed. In spite of the wordiness of the Arabic, Galland has all the advantage of picturesque detail. Morgiane needs the light to skim Ali Baba's pot of broth; she has to work under great pressure of haste; she sits and reflects that the robber captain cannot escape by the house door as it is double-locked. Of course, there are also additional details in the Arabic, but none, I think, of this picturesqueness. And, further, I am by no means sure that it was this text or one like it that lay before Galland.

The story is written in a pseudo-grammatical Arabic, with mistakes from time to time, and appearances of colloquial words. Fine writing was evidently an object, even to the use of purple patches of rhetoric more befitting a maqâma. A wide vocabulary is displayed and rhyming synonyms are scattered regardless of space. Yet the basis is evidently not one of the conventional tales of the rhetoricians, but a folk-tale with a widespread Märchen behind it. The most accessible European form of that Märchen is Simeliber, No. 142 of Grimm's Kinder und Haus-Märchen (Reclam ed., vol. ii, pp. 222 ff.; other forms
and note on name in vol. iii, pp. 241 and 359). But no "Syrian Munshi", as Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole suggests (Lane's Arabian Nights, Bohn's Standard Library, vol. iv, pp. 412 f.), could have produced our Ali Baba from anything like the Grimm Märchen. The Märchen run together, it is true, but very much farther back, and we have only another illustration of the unity in that type of story which Artin, Spitta, and Stumme, to mention three only, have so fully demonstrated. It may, however, be a point of importance that the European analogues in this case seem to be German and Slavonic rather than Italian. It would be interesting to discover whether any similar story occurs in Turkish. Baba, in Galland also of the cobbler, points in the same direction. "Der arme und der reiche Bruder" in Kūnos, Türkische Volksmärchen (Leiden, 1905), pp. 231 ff., is evidently of the same stock, but has been considerably modified. Simeliberg is much nearer Ali Baba.¹

My hypothesis, then, is that there existed in Syrian Arabic a folk-tale of Ali Baba, presumably with Turkish and Slavonic affiliations. This was taken by the redactor of our recension and worked over into what he considered elegant form and literary Arabic. But modern literary idioms—I mean such as occur in present-day Nahwicoloured his style, and even some absolutely colloquial expressions remained unobserved. To these last I have drawn attention in the notes, and for the first Dozy will in general be found a sufficient guide. Of this recension, finally, I consider that the Bodleian MS. is a generally faithful representative.

But from what did Galland translate? Had he the

¹ I may leave in the hazard of a conjectural foot-note my guess that this Turkish-Slavonic-German Märchen extended only to the death of the envious brother. The story of the attempted revenge of the robbers and of their destruction is of other origin, and its analogues are South European. For it see Clouston's notes on the story in vol. iii of Burton's Additional Nights. Did the two stories meet in Syria?
story in a written form? If so, in a form of what kind? It is certain from Galland's diary (Zotenberg, pp. 28 ff.) that various stories were first related to him and thereafter given to him in writing by the Maronite of Aleppo, Hanna Diab, who had been brought to France by Paul Lucas, the traveller. On March 25, 1709, Hanna tells Galland some stories, and promises to put them in writing for him. Thereafter come various entries as to the telling of stories. On November 3, 1710, Galland enters in his diary that he has just finished reading the story of Aladdin, which had been written for him in Arabic more than a year previously by Hanna. From the close agreement of Galland's translation with the two manuscripts of Aladdin found by Zotenberg, it is plain that Hanna did not make his copy from memory. Also, this copy, which he gave to Galland, has not yet been found. But on May 27, 1709, Galland had inserted in his diary a brief abstract of Ali Baba. Unfortunately Zotenberg quotes a few lines only, but these are sufficient to show that Galland did not expand his story from that abstract. These are "Les Fineases de Morgiane ou les quarantes voleurs extermeinez par l'adresse d'une esclave. Dans une ville de la Perse, vers les confines des Indes, il y avoit deux frères, l'un fort riche, . . . ." Here, apparently, there is no mention of how Cassim had become rich through his wife inheriting wealth after marriage. On another side, the Bodleian Arabic text, with less probability, makes Cassim marry a rich woman, and thus shows that its form of the story is not dependent upon Galland. Further, it was only at the end of August, 1711, two years and three months after Hanna's recital, that Galland began to put in shape the story of Ali Baba. I can hardly believe, then, that writing after so long a time, and possessing only the abstract in his diary, he could have produced the existing close agreement in the skeleton of the tale between his rendering and this Arabic text,
Zotenberg, it is true, thought otherwise (p. 34), apparently on the basis of Galland's entry of August 24, but that entry does not necessarily involve that he did not also possess a written text. I regard it as probable, then, that there lay before him a text of this story, copied by Hanna. Whether that text was in simple language, like that published by Zotenberg of *Aladdin*, or had been rhetorically bedevilled like this Bodleian text of *Ali Baba*, cannot be certainly determined.

In editing, I have followed the MS. as closely as possible, endeavouring only to clear away evident surface errors and to reproduce correctly the final "learned" recension. To get back to the colloquial lying behind was evidently impossible, and, on the other hand, it was not my business to make this redactor write good Arabic. The varying orthography of *hemza* I have followed, and also the treatment of verbs final *wāw* and *yā*. Even the confusion of *j* and *d*, *s* and *t*, I have respected, drawing the line, however, at such a pure transcriptional fantasy as for *البسوا* *لَمَ دخل* , too, I have left (cf. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, § 545) and all the idioms of *أِمها*. The feminine *s* I have uniformly dotted; the redactor evidently prided himself on his *i'rab*. All these changes, except the *s* and a few perfectly purposeless slips, are recorded in the notes.

حكاية على بابا مع اللصوص الاربعين
والجارية مرجانة على النمام
والجمال والمحمد لله

وحده

[الله الرحمن الرحيم]

حكى والله أعلم في غيبه واحكم فيهما متخ وتقدير من

[Page 332: ALI BABA AND THE FORTY THIEVES]

[Image 0x0 to 345x546]
أحاديث الآسم المباضية والشعوب الغالية أنه كان في غاب الزمان
والصبر والوان في مدينة من مدن خرسان الهمج رجلان
أخوان شقيقان أحدهما يُسمى قاسم والثاني يسمى علي بابا وكان
قد تولى أبوهما وما خلاف لهم الا تركة حقيقة ومشروبات غير غزيرة
فاقتضا ما خلاف لهما أبوهما ولو كان قليلاً بالحة والانصاف من غير
انزاع ولا خلاف ثم بعد اقتسامهما مسيرات ودخلهما تزوج قاسم
باهرة من غنية صاحبة أملاك وسباتنيس وكروم ودكاكيس مسجونة
بالقصائع الفاخرة والمنعسة المنثمة الزاخرة فبدا [468] يأخذ
وبعث وبيعة ويشترى فاتسعت حاله وساعدته المقادر فصار له
صيت بين التجار ومنزلة بين اهل الحمام الانتفاخ واتما على بابا فقد
تزوج بنت ذات فاقة لا تملك درهما ولا دينارا ولا بيلطا ولا اعتقرا
ففقد في مدة بسيرة ما كان أورثه من أبيه فاستوعى عليه بعد
ذلك التفوق مع خموته والفقر مع شدته وهمه فاختار في أمره
وjejz من الحيلة في تصلح قوته ومعيشته وكان عالمًا لديماً منشقاً

1 So in MS. Is the prefixed a the Syrian colloquialism (Oestrup,
Contes de Damas, pp. 130 f.) or simply a transcriptional error?
2 These verses are given exactly as in the MS., except that there the
3 at the end of lines 1-3 is dotted. Line 46 is evidently corrupt. Cf. its
different readings in the first Bulaq edition of the Nights, i, 51, Bulaq II,
i, 71, Calcutta II, i, 141, and Salhâni's Beyrouth edition, i, 118. None of
these versions is convincing. The lines do not occur in Calcutta I,
Breslau, or the Galland MS.

JHAS. 1910.
فاما الفقير وحال الفقير
وفي الصيف يتجه قوته
ففي الشتاء يجمع قوته
لكل له بس ينصرف
فما في البسارة من عذرية
فاحلين ما كان في المقصورة
فلما فرغ من انشاده فقد يفكر في ححاله والتهما يركن
ماله ويدبر ف أمر عشته وينبغي عليه يحصل قوته وقال في نفسه إذا اشترته بما تبقى عندي من الدراهم فاسكا وحسبياآ
وصعدت بهم إلى الجبل وقطعته من حطبة وزنلاه اتبعه في سوق المدينة لابد أن يحصل لى بثمنه ما يزين كربته وما انفق على عيلتي فاستحث ذلك الرأس وسعى في شري الحمير والفاس واستطاع متجها إلى الجبل مع ثلاثة حمير كل حمار قدر البغل ثم قضى ناهرا في تقطع الخطاب وروابط الدم الأموال فلما امست على بيت الوقت حمل حميره ونزل بهم قاعد المدينة إلى أن أنتهى إلى السوق فبعض في الخطاب فتعمساعد بثمنه على حاله ونفق على عيانه [f. 48a] وانفرج كربه واتسع مرجعه ثم حمد الله واصدق عليه وبات مسرور القلب قرير العين متعلمن النفس فلما أصبح الصباح قام وعاد إلى الجبل ونعلم كما فعل بالنمس وجعل ذلك دابه كل يوم يصحة متجها إلى الجبل وميسى راجعا في سوق المدينة يلبي حطبه وينفق بثمنه على عيانه وننظر من هذه الصنعة المبكرة وما زال على هذه الحال إلى يوم من بعض الأيام بينما هو واقف يحتضن في الجبل إذ رأى غبارًا قد تادر حتى سد الاقطار فانتلغ الغباروابن من تحته عدة فرسان كالليموت العوابس وهم غشارون في الصلي لابسون الدروع متحاسد في السيوه معقلون بالرماح ومنشنكون الفيسان فتحاف
فيهم على بابا وانزلت وارتعد وعمد إلى شجرة مرتفعة وتسلقت عليها واستفسرت بين إغصانها حميرا منهم ظانا أنهم لصوص فتنرى خلف الأغصان الورقة وصوب تجاههم الصدق قال السراوي لهذا الكلام الجبيبة والأمر المطرب الغريب فلمحا صدى على بابا على الشجرة وميز الفرسان بين الفرسان وشحقق أنهم لصوص قطاع الطريق فعدكم وجدهم أربعين شخصا كل واحد منهم راكب جواها من احساس الخيل أفاد رفعه وكسر جزته وارتدت فرايسه ونشف ريقه وعمى عن طريقه ثم وقفت الفرسان وترجعت عن خسيولهم وحشيروا عليها بحناية الشعير وكل واحد منهم عمدا إلى خرج كان مربوطا على ظهر جواده [f. 49b] وجعلة وحملته على عانقة كل ذلك وعلي بابا يتلمع فيهم وينظر بهم من فوق الشجرة ثم أن قباهل اللصوص مشى أمام القوم وقصد بهم ركن الجبل ووقف عملي باب صغير من الفوالد في حبل كثير العشب حتى أن الباب مساكان بين مكة العريص والشكو وكان غفل عنه على باب ولا نظرية فقط ولا عش فيه فلم وقفت اللصوص عند باب الفوارد قال قايدتهم بإعلامه يا سبسم افتح بابك ففى حال نفحة هذه الكلمات انتفعت الباب ودخل القايد ومن خلفه اللصوص حاملين الخريجة فتعجب على بابا من امرهم وغلب على ظلمته أن كسر خرج ماله من الفضة البيضا، والذهب الأصغر المنقوش، وكان الامر كذلك لا هوله السرايق كانوا يقطعون الطرقات ويسيرون الغارات على القرى والبلاد ويوظفون العباد وكلما يذهبون كافه أو يغادرون على قرية يحملون السلب إلى هذا المكان المنتزغ المختفي البعيد عن الليث ثم أن على بابا ما زال فوق الشجرة مختفيا مسكتا عدم العمارة لسن شاخصا بصره في اللصوص ورافيا انفعالهم حتى رأى مخرجين
بالخمرة الفوارغ والقائد امامهم تراصوا من رأسها ومن اجلها، حسبهم ما جمعوها، وركبوا عليها وصاروا طالبين النجاة التي اجوا منهما وما زالوا يعثرون في السير حتى بعدوا وغابوا عن العبئون هذا وعلى بابا ساكت من خوفه لا يتجرك ولا يبتسم وما نزل من فوق الشجرة الا لما بعدوا وغابوا [4.50a] 450a

عليه قال الرأوي: فلما امس شرهم على بابا وسكن روه واطعان نزل ما على الشجرة ودنا من الباب الصغير ووقت متاملاً فيه وقاس في نفسه إذا قلت يا سمسم افتح بابك كما فعل قايد السراق هل يفتح الباب يا فعند ذلك تقدم ونطق بهذى الكلمات وإذا بالباب قد افتح ولم يفتح ذلك أن هذا المكان كان من صنع الجبان السماردين وهو مرصود مطلسم بالطلسمات العظيمة ولفظة يا سمسم افتح بابك هي كانت السرا المعين للفظ المطلسم وفتح الباب ثم أن على بابا لما عايس الباب مفتوح دخل منه فما يخفى يخطئ العتبة الاوالاب انقل عليه فانسي بة من ذلك وارتبع وقسم [4.506] كلمة لا تخلجل قابلها لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله تعالى العظيم اسمن ثم لما تذكرا لفظة يا سمسم افتح بابك سكن ما كان به من الرعب والخوف وقال لا ينبغيك قفل الباب حيث انما عالم بسر فاته ثم مشى قليلاً وهى يظن ان الحلال مظلم فتعجب غاية الفعجب لما وجدته قاعة رحبة مسببة بالرخام مبليها مشيدة الأركان ظرفة البيتان منجزون فيها جميع ما تشتكي النفس من المأكئ نORDER وثم المشارب فسمها عبر الى القاعة

1 Apparently a Syrian colloquialism for جاوا. Cf. Oestrup, Contes de Damas, pp. 130, 147, and Hartmann in Meyer's Arabischer Sprachführer, p. 27.

2 MS. ماكل: according to the usage of the MS. this might mean either ماكل or as I have printed above.


الثانية أكبر و奥斯 من الأولى فوجد فيهما من الأموال والعيان والخيل والغريب ما يبت من قصصها الناظرون. ويأكل عس وصفها الواضحون جمع فسقا سبايك الذهب العين وثمرها من لجين ودنايير معقودة [f. 51a] ودراهم معدودة. ونذكر ذلك بالكيمان كالمرأة والقصص لا يمكن في العدد والأحصاء ثم بعد ما دار في هذه القاعة العجيبة ظهرت له باب آخر داخل منه إلى قاعة ثانية الج وة زرف من الثانية تحت ما في الاتبار والبلاد من أجد ثياب العباد يوجد فيها التفاصل القليلة القليلة العجزة الزاخرة وسلاس الجوز والديكوب الفاخرة فما من صنع قماش إلا وهو موضوع في هذا العمل سوى أن كان من الاقليم الشامي أو من أقصى بلاد أفريقية حتى مس الصين والسند ومن النوبة والهند نس أقبل على قاعة المعاد والإيجار وهي أعظمهمها وأعمقها لانها كانت تحتوي من المدر والجروح ما لا يستبسط ولا يحصى [f. 51b] سوى أن كسان يافتنت أو زمرد وفيروج أو زيرج اما 1 اللؤلؤ كان فيه بالكيمان ونرى المعقيق بجانب المرجان ثم منها دخل إلى قاعة العطر والبخور والطيب وهي آخر القاعات فوجد فيها من هذا الفن كل جنس ظريفه وكل نوع لطيف فكانت رابحة العود والمسك فائحة وسماحة العنصر والزيت لاحجة ونشرة العطر والند عابية وليلة الطيب والزهور ففيفة والصدل مطروح كحبس الوقود والمحلد متروئ كالعود المفقود فاندهش على بابا من روية هذه الأموال والدخاير 1 ونها فكره وحار

1 أُمَا in this MS. is used in three ways: classically with ف; in sense “as for” but without ف; colloquially in sense “but”. According to Hartmann in Meyer’s Arabischer Sprachführer (pp. 150, 289), this would be a sign of Syrian origin, but Spiro (Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt) gives amma as in use with that sense.

2 So for نخافير throughout.
له فوقف صمباً باهتاً ذاهباً ثم تقدم يتاملها بالتفدق فتارة بين الدار يقلب درة ينمة [f. 52b] وتارة بين الجوهر يتبرع جوهرة كريمة ومرة يفرد القطعة الديباج وأخرى يعجبها الذهب النهاج وساعة يمر بين التفاصيل الأرزيم النامع الرطيب وساعة يستدهشان روائح العود والطيب ثم افتكاران هذه اللصوص ولوكنا داءوا سنين عديدة وايلم مديدة في جميع هذه الأموال والجبايب مما تضروا يدخرن جزء منها وان لا بد هذا الكذبر له وجوب قبل أن ينصصون يعترضون فيه وان على كل حال تمليكهم إياه ليس على وجه شرعي ولأعلى طريق العدل وان إذا اغتنم الفرصة واخذ السقيل من هذا المال الغزير لا يقع عليه أن و لا يعتبره لوم وثانياً حسب أن المال كبير [f. 52b] ولا يمكنهم فيه العد والاحصي فلا يشعرون بما يوخرد منه ولا يدرون به فحينذا اتفقت راية على ان يأخذ ما تيسر من هذا الذهب المطروح وبدا ينقل اكياس الدنانير مس دلائل الكنز الى خارجه وكل ما اراد الدخول والخروج يقلد يبا سيدم افتح بابك فينفخ الباب ثم بعد ما فرغ من نقل المال حمل حرمر هو وراتكياس الذهب بشي قليل من الخطب وساق دوابة حتى وصل الى المدينة وقد منزله وهو مسلور زجبور الضّاحر قال الراوي ان على بابا لما دخل بنته غلب عليه الباب احتراراً من حجم الناس وبعد ما ربط حرمر في الصلب وعلق عليها اخذ كيسا وصعد به الى عند زوجته [f. 53a] ووضعه ليس يدبيا ثم نزل وحصبر بغيرها وما زال يجعل كيسا بعد كيس الى ان نقل الجميع وزوجه به اهبة متعاجبة من فهله لفهما لمسست كيس ومنهم وحست بخنشونة الدنانير انفر لونها وتغيير كونها لتفتتة ان نباعا سرق هذا المال الغزير فقالت له ما فعلت يا ميتشوم ليس لنا في الجرم من حاجة
ولا في أموال الناس من رغبة اما انا فَكْنَت قَانَةً بَعْدا قَسْم الله لِي وَرَاضِيَةٍ بِفِقرٍ وَشَكَرَةٍ بِإِيمانٍ إِيَادٍ لَا يَتَفَسَّلُ الَّذِي هَاهُ في إِيَدِي النَّاس وَلَا أَرَيدَ الحَرَام فَلَمَّا نَفَسَ لِها يَأْمَرَة طَيِّبَةً نَفْسَهَا وَقَتَرَة عَمِينَا حَافِزاً كَلَا لَا يَسَدُّ تَلَمِسَ الحَرَام اما هَذَا العَدَل وَجَدَته فِي كَنْسِ فَنَهَتْهَا [565] [وَلَدْحَةً وَجِبْهَتِهُ ثُمَّ اسْتَنْهِرَ قَبْلَهَا وَمَا جَرَى لِهِ مَعَ اللَّصُوصٍ مِن أَرْحَمٍ إِلَى أَخْرَجَ وَلَسَ لِهَا الْإِصْلَامَ إِلَّا وَلَمْ لَا فَرْغِ مِنَ حِدْيَتِهِ إِوَاسْىٍ إِلَى صَوْرَ اللَّاس وَكَتَنْهَا الْبُسُورُ فِلْسَمًا سَمْعَتُ هِلْكَ تَقَلُّبَ غَيْةَ التَّجْبِب وَسَكَنَ خُوَافِهِ وَأُنْتَشَرُ صَدَرَهَا وَفَرَحَت فَرْحًا عَظِيمًا ثُمَّ اسْتَنْهِرَ عَلَى بَابَا الْآمِس، فِي وَسَطِ الْحَجَلُ فَصَارَ الْذَّهَب كَوْمًا فِي هِتْبَةِ الْبَارَيْة وَأَشْكُرَتُهُ وَشَرَعَتُ فِي عَدَ الدُّنْاهَا فَقَالَ لَهَا زَوْجُها وَبَلَّكَ ما تَحْسَنُتُ تَعْصِدَيْهِمْ وَلَقَ يُوَسْىٍ إِلَى نَافِيَةٍ فِي وَلَمْ يَلْزَمُ فَعْلَهَا فِي هَذَا الْوقَتِ إِلَّا الْصَّوَابُ عَنْدَا أَنَا عُفْرُلُمَ حَفْرَة وَنَدْفُعُهَا فِي خَوْفَةٍ مِنَ الْخَيْبَار أَمْرُنا وَافْتَشَ أَسْرُنا [444] فَقَالَتْ لَهَا إِن كَانَ مَالَكُ غَرْفٍ فِي عَدَهُمْ لَا بَدَّ مِن كِيلَمِ لَنْ تَعْلَمُ بِالْتَّغْرَب قَدْرَمُ فَقَالَ لَهَا إِفْلَى مَا بَدَا لَكَ وَلَكِنْ أَخْشَى إِن يَدُرُّ الْمَنَاسَ بَحَالًا وَأَن يَنْكَشِفَ أَسْرُنا فَسَنَسَدُمُ حِيَثَ لَيْتَنْفَعُ النَّبَمُ فَمَا اسْتَقْتَتْ إِلَى كَلَمَهَا وَلا أَكْثِرْتُ بِهَا بِلَاءِ نْ خُرْجَتْ لِتَتَسَعَ كِيْلَةً لَّا لِلَّدَّ كِيْلٌ مَا كَانَ مُوجِرًا عَنْدَهَا مِنْ فَقْرِهَا وَسَغَفَ حَالَا فَذِهَبَتْ إِلَى سَلْفَتِهَا زَوْجَة قَاَسِم وَطَلَبَتْ مِنْهَا كِيْلَةً فَقَالَتْ لِها سَلْفَتْ حَيَا وَكَرَامَةً ثُمَّ لَمْ أَقْبَمْ لَكَحْضُرَ لَهَا قَالَتْ إِنْ لَيْسَ لَهَا زُوْجَةٌ عَلَى بَابَا فَقِيرَةٍ وَما لَهَا عَادَةٌ تَكَيْلٌ فِي هِلَّ تَرَى إِيْشَ عَنْدَهَا الْبُسُورُ مِنْ الْعِصْوَوب حَتَّى احْتَاجَتُ إِلَى الْكِيْلَةٍ فَقَبَعَتِتْ تَقْلِعَ عَلَى لَكَ زَعُفَ حَقَّقَتْ فَوْعَبَتْ بَعْضَاً [566] شَمِعُ يَمِينُ الأَسْلَفِ الْكِيْلَةِ لِيَلْبِسَ فِي الْصَّبِعِ المَكِيْلَ ثُمَّ أعْطِهَا لَهَا فَخَذَتْهَا
زوجة على بابا وشكرت سلفتها على ما صنعت من المعروف وعادت سرعة وتحية إلى منزلها فلما استقرت فيه فقدت تكملة الذهب فوجدته عشر كيلات ففرحته بذلك واخبرته بها زوجها فهوب أنذاذك كان حفر حفرة واحدة فدفنت فيهما الذهب ورد التراب عليها ثم بادرت زوجة على بابا في جميع الكيلة لسلفتها هذا ما جرى لهؤلاء وما زوجة قاسم لما انصرفت عنها زوجه على بابا تكليم الكيلة فرات دينارا قد كان النص في الشمع فاستغبت ذلك لعلما بها بنقر على بابا وقضاء ساعتها [f. 55a] وله في حيرة ثم تحققت أن الشيء المكبل هو ذهب عين وقالت على بابا مستعسي المتقدم وهو يكيل الذهب بالكيل فعض أين له هذه السعادة وكيف ظفر بهذا المال الغزير فدخل في قلبها الجسد وترقي فوادها وقعدت في انتظر زوجها وهي في اسوأ حالها أسا قاسم بعيلها كان عادته يبادر كل يوم إلى حدوته ويستقيم فيه للمساء وهو مشغول في البيع والشرى والاخذ والعطى فأستبنت زوجته في ذلك اليوم ليستهت ما استها من اللحم والمحسق قاتلها ثم لمسا أمامها الوقت وجن الليل قفل قاسم حدوته وقعد ببيته فلما دخلها رأى زوجه وهي قائمة عبورة كبيرة باكية العين حزينة [f. 55b] القلب وكان يحتبض صيحه شديدة فقال لها ما أصابك يا قرة عيني وبا شمره نوايا وما سبب حزنك وبكاكك? فقالت له ما أنت الامتصب الجيلة قبل الامرآة يا ليتني كنت تزوجت بها كنيك أنه ولو ظهير الفقر أبدا الغاقة وأدى المسكنة عنده مال ما يعلم قدره إلا الله وما يحبس إلا بالكيل أما أنت المكيل النبي والسعادة المفتخر بالغنى

1 So in MS. for فاستميلاته.
2 MS. وبكاكك; but evidently a slip of the scribe, of no significance.
ما انت الفقير في الحقيقة نظرًا لأخيك لانك تستد عن دانسينك بالواحد واستعنت بالقلق وتركته له الكثير ثم حكى له لعلي ما جرى لها مع زوجته على بابا وكيف استعارت منها الكيلة وكيف وضعته في قمرها بعض شمع وكيف التحق فيها الدينار فلما سمع قاسم كلام زوجته وعثر الدينار الذي التحق في أسفل الكيلة [f. 56a] "تحقق بالسعادة أختي فما فرح من ذلك بل تملقت المس قلبي وفوي له السو لانه كان حسود كسود لليم بخيل فبات تسلمت الليلة مع زوجته وهم في اشد حال من عظيم الغم وويلهم ومسا قفني لما جفنة ولا عين ولا نظيرها سنة ولنوم بل ارثا وقضى طول ليلتهما إلى أن اصلي الله بالصباح وأنا بنورة وله فلما صلى التسبيح قاسم قام ومضى إلى عند أخيه ودخل عليه في بيته على حمص غفينة فلما انصرف على بابا ترحب به واستقبله باحسن استقباله وأظف له الفرح والبشاشة وأجلسه في صدر مكان فلما استقر في الجلسة قال له قاسم [f. 56b] "لماذا يا أختي تظهر الفقراء والمسكينة وتحت يدك موال لا تأكلها! النيران فما سبب يخلنك وعينكتنك الرذيلة مع سعة الرزق والقدرة على الألف والآلاف فما فائدة المال إذا ما استنفنت به الإنسان إما تعلم أن البخيل جحيم في النمساوي والرذايل ومعدود بين الطايع اللينة الذبيحة فقال له خويا يا لينبى كنت كما ذكرت واما اننا ففي على حال وليست املكك مس المال سوى حميرو وفاسي واما كلامك هذا استغريدته ولا يعرفتم له موجب ولا افهمه قط فقال له قاسم مكرك وكذبك ما ينبغيك إلى ولا تستطيع اتخاذك قت لا نظر امرك وشاع ما كنت تخفيه من حالك ثم اراد الدينار الذي التحق في الشمع وقال له [f. 57a] "MS. تاكيا.
اللغة العربية

هذا ما وجدناه في الكعبة التي استعرثواها مئات وولا كثرة مالك
ما احتفظت اليها ولأنتم تكيلوا الذهب بالكيل فعند ذلك علم على
بابا أن سبب كشف ستر وظهور الحار فمنه عقل زوجتته السخية
ارادت كيل الذهب وأنه اخطى لما طاوته في ذلك لكن أي جواد
لا يكوب وآه مهند لا ينمو وفهم أن لا يمكنه جبر ما انفرط فيه الأباطهار
سرب وأن الصواب عدم الكثرة واطلاع الأخية على قضيته وان فصله
كل حال بحيث أن المال كثير ويزيد على تقدير الأوهام والظنون فلا
ينقض نصبه منه إذا أقصمه مع أخيه وشاركه [578] فيه فإن لا
يقدروا يفندون ولو عاشوا من العمر ماية سنة واحذوا منه تفتتهم اليومية
ثم على ووجب هذا الراي اختبر اخاه بقصة الطالسوس واحكي له
على ما جرى له معهم وكيف دخل الكنزونقل منه جملة من المال
وكل ما اراده من المعاد والعشان ثم قال له يا أخي كنما جبتته
بكون يبين ويبنث مشتركة نصمه بالسورة وإن اردت أكشرت من
ذلك احتصر بين يديك لى مفتاح الكنز معي أعبر فيه واعترج
منه على مراده من غير مراجع ولا مانع فقال له قاسم هذا قسم لا
ارضي به اما مقضيتي تدلني على جعل الكنز وتطلعني على سعر
فاتته لاكت شوقيني فيه واريد [58a] رويته وكما دخلته أنت
واخذت منه مهما شبق مرادا أذهب إليه وشاهد ما فيه وانخذ
منه ما يعجبني وإن ما أفقتني عليه ما ارومه اشتككت إلي عامل
المدينة واطلعته على أمرك وانحيل لك منه ما تكون فلما سمع
منه على باب هذا الكلام قال له لاي شيء تدبيه بالعاملي أنا لا
اخالفك في أمر وأعلمك ما تريد معرفته وإنما توقعت كانوا

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1 So in MS.; a colloquialism for مكتشفا. Cf. Willmore's Spoken Arabic of Egypt, p. 103, minina.
بسبب اللصوص خوفًا من أن يختبئون للكنزة فلا يضرن ولا ينتفعن وخذ منه كلهما يجمعون لأنك إن عمتل إذ لتقدر عيني نقل جميع ما يحبوه والذي تبقيه لا يزال أكثر من الذي تساخذيه بإضعاف مضاعفة ثم دل على طريق الجبل وحمل الكنز وعدها لفظة [588] يا سمسم افتح بابك وقال له احفظ هذه الكلمات جيدًا.

الحفظ واحذر أن تنساها لإن خاف عليه مس غدر اللصوص ومن عواقب هذا الأمر قال السراي فلما عرف جبل الكنز ووقفت عيسى طريق الوصول إليه وحفظ اللفظة انتصف قاسم عن اختسه فرحاً غير ملتمست إلى تحذيره وغير مكتير بكلمته ثم عمد إلى منزله طلق وجهه ظاهر السرور وحكي نزعته ما حصل له مع على بابا وبعد ذلك قال لها في غدًا قد أن شاء الله إنهوجه إلى الجبل وعود الليك بمال يزيد من الذي أتي به إحدى لن معاملستكم الهجرت في وقتنتى ومقصودى الفعل شيئًا يكسيست رضائي ثم جمه بعشر بغالات ووضع على [590] كل بحلة صندوقين فورغ وجعل على كل بحلة ما يلزم من النه وجمال وبات على نية التوجه إلى الكنز والاستيلاء على ما يحبوه مس الآسвал والدخابير من غير ما يشارك فيها اختاد فلما برق الشفرولاج الصابع قام إصاح بغاله وسياهم قادته فاصدا الجبل إلى أن أنتهى إليه فلما وصل استدل بالناسير التي وصفا له احتوى عليه ووجد الباب وما زال يفتش عليه إلى أن ظهر له في ركن الجبل بين العشب والنمسات فلما رأى باد بقول يا سمسم افتح بابك وإذا بالباب قد افتحت قادته فاستجبت مس ذلك ناية الشمس وعبر الكنز سرعة وفجأة طمعًا في الخذ المال ثم بعد ما خطى العتبة [589] انفلت الباب عليه كعادته فتمخشى بالذخير.

1 So in MS. for
قاسم في القاعة الأولى ومنها انتهى إلى الثانية والثالثة ومنها زال ينتقل من قاعة إلى قاعة حتى مر على القاعات كلها فيبرقت مما رأى من العجب والدهشة مما وجد من الفراييب وكاد يثير عقله من الفرح وطمغ في أخذ المال بجمعه فبعد ما شق يمينًا ويسارًا وقلب ساحة ما أراد من الدراهم والملايين رام الذهب فأخذ كيس الذهب وحمله على عاتقه وتقدم به نحو الباب وارد ينطق بالألغاطة التصويرية لفتح الباب انتهى يقول يا سمسم افتح بابك فلم تفتح على لسانه وسأله عنها بالكليلة ففقد يتذكرها فما كانت تنتظر ببسالة ولا تصورت في فكرته بل نسأها مطلقًا فقال يا شعيرية [604] افتح بابك فلم يفتح الباب ثم قال يا حنتكة افتح بابك فما برج الباب مغلوبًا على حاله ومازال يذكر حبًا بعد حب إلى أن ذكر جميع اسماء الحبيبات ولفظاً يا سمسم افتح بابك غاية من ذهنه فلما تحقق ذلك ورأى أن ما أفاده شيئًا من ذكر اسماء أصناف الحبيبات جميعها رمي الذهب من على مناكبه وفقد يتذكر ما هو الحبيب الذي دله اخوه على اسمه فما كان يخطر بباله أيضًا ففتك فلم يخطر في غاية القلق والنعم كل ذلك وما أمكن أن هذا الاسم يتصور في فكرته فسبدى يتأسف ويتساءل وندم وساعى ما فعل حيث ما يفتحه الندم وقال يا ليثني استفتحت بما عرض على اخى وتركت التطمع الذي هو الان سبب هلاكي وقى يلمع على وجهه وينتفع حلمه ويصرح ثيابه ويثير النزدب على رأسه ويبكي بالدموع الغزيرة وثارة يصرح ويتوأب بأعمال الأموات وثارة يبكي وهو ساكت كثيب فطالست عليه الساعات ووُلُف هذة الحالة وترددت الآقات وكيل دقيقه ممتى عليه يراها بعتيم دهر وكلما طال تعودت فهذا وكلاً يزداد
فزعه وخوفه إلى أن ليس من النجاة وقال أنا هالك لا مسالة ولا سبيل إلى الخلاص من هذا السجن التميق هذا ما كان من أمرنا وما ظننا من أمر اللصوص إنهم عثروا بقافة فينا يخرجون بيننا عليهم فتهيوا [f. 61α] وغنموا اموالا عظيمة فعند ذلك طلبوا الكونزالب تحسوسوا فيه السلب كما كانت عادتهم فاما دنوا منده اشتروا على البغال وهم واقون بالصناعيق فتوسوا منتهم وزارتهم أمرهم فتحمل عليهم حملة الرجل الواحد فسرعت البغال وتبددت في الجبل فما أنبتوها بها اللصوص بل وقفوا خيبتهم وترجعوا عنها وحربوا سويتهم حذرا من اعتصاب البغال متوجهين أنهم كثيرون فلما لم يروا أحدا خارج الكنزنوا من بابه اما قاسم اما قاسم ومن سمع ديدته الضياء وسوى الرجال صاغهم لفهمين إنهم السراقيون الذين اخبروا أخوهم عنهم فسرجا التجاة ورام الفرار وتوارى خلف الباب [f. 61β] مستحنزا للهروب فتقدم قايد اللصوص وقسا يا سمسم أفتشي باسكاك اذا بالباب قد افتتح فنعد ذلك هجيم قاسم مس السدمار هاربا للتجاة طالبا وعند هجيمته عشرين القايد فاسقطت في الأرض وتنمريرك بين اللصوص فانفصلت من الأول وثاني والثالث لكن كانوا أربعون رجل مما قدر ينفذ من الكل فلقيه رجل منهم وتبعته طمعا في صدره خرج السان يلمع مع ظهره وقفص حبه هذا جزا من استولى عليه الطمع ونادى لا خونته الغفر واللاجنة ثم أن اللصوص لما دخلوا الكنزروان لهم مما أخذ منه غصبا شديدا وغلب على ظنهم أن قاسم المقتول هو غريهم وانه هو السدي اخذ ما نقص من اموالهم لكن احتاروا كيف كان وصوله إلى هذا المكان الهجبول المنقطع الدخين على الأعيان وكيف علم سرقت الباب وما يدرى به غيرهم إلا السليمة سبجانة وتعالي فلما رأوا رومى مقتول عديهم الحركة فرحوا
I think he means as I have printed, but the writing of *hemza* is very irregular in this MS.

*2* Has this been influenced by the French "*de peur que ... ne*"? It occurs again on f. 63b and f. 83a. And also occur. An "*خوفا إن خوفا من ..." would be good classical usage, but I do not think it occurs in this story.

*2* MS. *بغلني*. 

أو طعامْتَاهُا لظنتهم أن ما عاد يرجع غيرد إلى دخول الكنيز وقالوا العمد

للذى ارحاذا من هذا المعلون، ثم لا جل أن ينكلوا به غيرد

ويَكْوُفَاهُ فتقلعوا جسدَه أربع قطع وتقلوها خلف الباب لتكون عبارة

لكم من تجاصر على الدخول في هذا المكان فبعد ذلك خربصوا

وانغثق الباب كما كان فركوا خيلهِم وانصرفوا إلى حلال سبيلهم

هذا مما كان من أمرهم ولا إما ما كان من أمر زوجة قادم

[النهاية في انتظارها وهي متعشمة بقضاء حاجتها]

ومنّى مثلاً باحتمار مه ماغويرة مس الدنيا ومستكشدة للمس الدنابير

والفليسات فسلا مسما الوقت وابتدى عليها قلقاً ومضمت إلى عند

على بابا واخبرته أن بعلها توجه للجبل من الصبح وله هذا الوقت

لم رجع وإنها خائفة أن يكون تعرُّض له شعر أو استبه مصيبة

فقطنها على بابا وقال لها أن تبتغى لان غيابه لهذه الساعة لا يكون

لا لسبب وظن أنه توقف عن دخول البلد نهارًا خوفًا لا يشتهر

امرأة وما مراده يدخلها إلا ليلًا لاجل تلقّاء حاجته في سطور وما

يمنى الأقليل من الوقت حتى تزدهِ راجع اليكُه [النهاية

وامَّا انّي لمسا بلغني* أُنه نسوى الذهاب إلى الجبل ابتغت

من الصعود إليه حكم عادته ليلًا يتضايق مس حضوره وينظ أن

مُرادى التجسس عليه ودنا يشربه وما عسر وبنغها عليه بخير

وامَّا أنت فارجعى ببيتك ولا تخفى مس شىء وان شاء الله لا

*1* MS. *حذف من*...
يحصل الأكل خير وستنيربه راجع اليك سالمًا غالبا فأعادت روجة قاسم إلى بيتها وهي في غير حال السمان وتعتلت كتيبة إلى الهمزة. فدلها من خياب زوجها النف حسرة فأصابت جميع كل حسب حالك وت fert الريحان السوء إلى أن غريت الشمس وظلم الجو وجن الليل من خيام يراد راجع اليها فبعد ذلك امتنعت من الالجاع وهجرت النوم وهي في انتظار فلما مضى الليل ولم عاينته خليدا ايسنت من جمعي وبدت تبكي وتندوّج ولكن أمسكت على الصرخ والصياح كما نفعل النساء خموشا لا يدرها الجنير وبسألونها على سبب بكاثرها فانتشلت ليلتها في نهر وعمق وقلق وأتسوسه وازعج وكابنة وأسوة الحالات فلما ادركت الصياح سعت بالذهاب لحد على بابا واعملته بعدم رجوع أخيه فكانت تحدثها وهي حزين عباية بالدموع الغزاز وفي حالة لا توصف فلما سمع على بابا ما أبدته له من الخطاب قال لاحول ولا قوة إلا بالله صلى الله عليه وسلم انا احترس في سبب غيابه لذا الوقت لك أن تمنع بنفسك إشتف عسن خبرة وأوقفك على تحقيق أمسرة ولعمل الله ان يكون السلع خير ولا العرض سوء أو ضمير ثم اعمل في أعمال حميره وأخذ فاسه وقصد الجبل كما كان يصنع في كل يوم فلما دنا من باب الكنز وما وجد البغال وراه آخر الدماء قطع العشين من أخينه وبتقن بيلاقه فنقدم نحو الباب وهو مرنوحب حاسس بالذي جرى وقال يا سبب إفتح بابك فعند قوله ذلك افتح الباب ووجد جسم قاسم مقطوع أربع قطع ومعلق خلف الباب فافشاعره بدنها من روية ذلك واضطلعت.

1 So in MS. Is it for كأيبة or for كأية ? There is a tendency to write the hemza after the alif.
2 So in MS. for اصططلعت...
سنانه وتقلصت شقنادا وكان أن يغشي عليه من الربط والفزع وحصل له غم شديد وتأسف على أخيه تأسفا عظيما وقال لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العالي العظيم آنا الله آنا الله راجعون المكتوب ما منه مهروب وما قُتِّيُر على المرء في [644] الغيب لا يُتَيَّب أن يستفاه ثم رأى أن البكا والحزن لا فائدة فيهم فهذا الوقت ولا عايدة وأين الأولى واللزنم استحصار الجيلة واستعمال سابب الرأى وسديد الحزن وتذكَّر أن تكفين أخيه ودفته من الواجبات عليه وفبرت مس فروض الإسلام فأنه ذلك اتخذ ارباع جهته المقطوفة وحِملهم على حميرة وصرِّرهم بشىء من القمامة وضاف على ذلك ما تُجمعه من دخاير الكنز وهذا ما خطَّب حمله وقال ثم حمل حميرة بالحطب ثم عبر ملبيا إلى أن دخل الليل فلما اظلمت الدنيا قصد المدينة ودخلها وهو أشد حالة من الولداحت الكبيرة لا يدري ما التدبير فامرأ المقتول وماذا يفعل [650] وما زال يسوق حميرة وهو غارق في بكير الافكار إلى أن وقف عند بيت أخيه وطرق النسابة ففتحت له جارية عربية حبيشية كانت عنده برسم الخدمة وهي من أحسن الجوهرة وأظريفة فقد صغرى السماحة السامية ونواحها كحيلة العين كاملة الوضف وأحسن من ذلك كانت ذات راي سديد وسعجل ناقب وهمة عالية وحروة زيادة في وقت الحاجة وتسفوق في تدبير الجليل الرجل الماهر الأداة وكانت اشغف البيب مركونة عليها وقصاء الحواجب مفتوحة للبيها فلما دخل على بابا الجوع قال لها هذا وقتك يا مرجحنا احتدنا الي تدبرك في أمر مسهم سابينه لك قدام سيدتك نؤمني معى [651] حتى تسمع ماذا أقول لها ثم ترك الحمير في الجوع وصعد إلى عند زوجة أخيه وطمعت

1 So in MS. for ذخائر.
Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves

1 Is this "What has hidden thee, detained thee?" or "What is behind thee, what dost thou bring?"

2 MS. خويف.

JRH. 1910.
عَطِلَتِها وَجَواَدَةُ فِي هَمِها وَسَبَادَةٌ رَأِيَّةٌ وَأهْلِيَّتُها لِتَدِيِّرِ الْجِبَلِ ثُمَّ تَرْكَهَا وَأَنضَرَفَ إِلَى حَالِ سَبِيلِهَا أَمَا الْجَارِيَةُ مَرْجِانُ لَهَا صَمَّمَتْ كَلَّامَهَا وَوَضَنَّرَتْ سَيْدَتِها وَهُوَ مَقْتُولٌ وَمُقَطَّعٌ أَرْبَعَ قَطْسَعٍ وَفَهَمَتْ [f. 678] سَبْبُ ذَلِكَ بِالْتَدْقِيقِ تَلَكَّمَتْ سَيْدَتِها وَقَالَتْ لَهَا لَا تَتَهَيَّى وَأَرْتَاحَى عَلَى مَسْ جَهِيَّةٍ لَّا نَا سَادَتِ لَكَ حِيَامُ أَمُّكَ يَحْتَلُّ لَنَا مِثْلَ الْرَاحَةِ وَلَا يَنْكَشِفُ سَتَرًا ثُمَّ خَرَجَتْ وَقَصَّدَتْ دَكَانِ صِيدِلَانِي كَانَ فِي الشَّارِعِ وَهُوَ رَجُلٌ شَجِيعُ طَاعُنٍ فِي السَّمَّ مُشْهُورٌ بِالْمَعْرَفَةِ فِي ابْوَابِ الْطَّبَّ وَالْعَلْمَةِ وَمُوسَعُوفٌ بِالْبَصِيرَةُ فِي عَلَمِ طَبِّ الْأَنْثُوُئِ مَعْرِيَّةُ الْعَفَاقِ وَقُسْمَاتُ الطَّبِّ وَطَلَبَتْ مِنْهُ مَجْمَعًا لَا يَوْضُفُ الْأَفْ الأَمْرَاضُ النَّقِيلَةُ فِي لَا نِمْ إِلَى اَنْتِجَا إلى هذَا الْمَعْجُونُ فِي مُزِّلَكُمْ فَقَالَتْ لِهَا سَيْبَى قَامُسُ لَهَا أَعْمَاهُ مَرْضٌ شَهِيْدُ قَدْ اسْرَعَهُ وَسَارَ الْآنُ فِي حَالَةِ الْعَدِم فَقَالَ الْعُقَداَرُ [f. 677] وَنَأْلَهَا الْمَعْجُونُ وَقَالَ لِهَا لَعَلَّ اللَّهُ يَجِلِّي فِي السَّفِاءِ فَأَخْذَهَا مِنْ يَدِ وَدْفَعَتْ لَهَا شَبَّرَمُ الدِّرَاهِمُ وَعَادَتْ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ ثُمَّ اسْتَجْهَتْ بَاَكَرَ الْنَّهَارِ وَرَجَعَتْ إِلَى عَنْدَ الصِّيدِلَانِي وَطَلَبَتْ مِنْهُ دَوَاءً لَا يُشْقِّي الآن قَطْعُ الْأَيَّامِ فَقَالَ لَهَا إِسْمًاءٌ نَفْعُ مَعْجُونُ اِمْسُ قَالَتْ لَهَا وَلَا اللَّهُ وَسَيِّدَا أَعْلَى أَخْرُ رَمَصُ وَسَارَ بِفَنَاعْرَ الْرَّوْحِ وَسَيِّدَتَنَى أَخْذَتْ فِي الْبَكَّاءِ وَالْآنِينِ فَاعْتَاذَا الدَّوَاءَ فَأَخْذَتْهَا وَدْفَعَتْ لَهَا ثُمَّهَا وَأَنْصَرَتْ ثُمَّ مَنْصَحَتْ إِلَى عَنْدَ عِيْبَةٍ وَآخِيرَهُ بِعِيْبَةٍ ثُمَّ دَبَّتْ مِنْ الْجِلَّةِ وَأَوْصَتْ اِنْكِرَهُمُ الدَّخُولُ فِي بَيْتِ أَخْبَهِ وَيِظْهَرُ الْمَخْزُونُ وَالْكَبْأَةُ فَنْفِعَ كَمَا أَوْصَتْهُ فَلَمَّا رَأِى أَهْلُ الْخَصْطَ [f. 680] دَخَلَ وَخَارَجَ مِنْ بَيْتٍ أَخْبَهِ وَعَلَى وَجْهِهِ أَثْرَ الْحَزْنِ سَالُوْدَ عَنْ سَبِيبٍ ذَلِكَ فَأَخَذَهُ بَعْلَ أَخْبَهِ وَأَنَّ نَقَلَ عَلَيْهِ الْمَرْضِ فَشَاعُ ذَلِكَ فِي الْمَدِينَةِ وَتَفَاقَمَتْ فِيهِ النَّاسُ فَلَمَّا كَانَ مِنَ الْغَدِ نَزَّلَتْ مَرْجَانٌ قَبْلَ اِنْشَقَاقِ الْبَيْضِ وَقَطَفَتْ فِي شُوَارِعِ الْمَدِينَةِ حَتَّى اِجْتَازَتِ بِرِجَالٍ
اسكاف اسمه الشيخ مصطفى طاسوس في الس علیه الهمة قصیر
القامة طولیه والشوارب كان يبادر في فتح حموته وهو أول
السوق في ذلك والناس تعرف منه هذه العادة فقبلت علیه
 وسلمت عليه بادب وحشمة وجلعت في يده دينارًا فلم يرا
لونه السیم مصطفى قلبًا مالًا في [f. 68b] يده وقال هذا استفتاح
بیارک لأنه فهم أنها تریس منه ملحة فقال لها اشرحني لي ما
عنكم من الاضرر يا سیدة الجوار لاقتنيكم كتب فقلت له انيهما
الشيخ خذ خیطاً وأبرأ وألغس دیدك والسیم نعلیمك ودعسي
اعصب عینيك وانهد وأذنب بي في قصص امر لطیف تكسب
فيه الاجر والاجر لا يحصل لكي منه ادنى غير فقال لها أن كان
كتابی نشیئي يرضي الله والرسول فعلى الراض والمعين لا تخالفو
فيه واما إن كان شیهى من المعاصی والحسایات أو من المآثم
والخطایات فلمست اطارتكم فيه واقتدي غبرى في قصصنا فقلت
له لا والله يا شیخ [f. 69a] مصطفی ما هو الا من المباحث.
الهجازيات ولاقتني من شیئ وعند قولها ذلك وفعت في يده
دينارًا ثانًى رفعتها يا نناده ما امكنكیدا الخالیة والنقیة ودبت قابعًا على
فدمه وقال لها أنا في خدمتكم وهمها أمیریمكی نقلیكما كن تعا
تغیب باب دكانه وانه ما يلزمه من خیط وأبریه من ذلك من الله
الخصیة اما مرجانا كأنك قد استحجزت على عصابه فعجلت
بأخراجها وعصبته بها عینه حكم الشرط لاجل ان لا يمكنه أدراتح

1 MS. المائم

2 Evidently means "to prepare, or provide one's self with"; but I can find that meaning in Spiro only, p. 139, "to bring, prepare, procure." The word occurs elsewhere in this story, ff. 62b, 70a, 86a, and 103b. On ff. 62a and 86a it is used in the sense "prepare one's self for (ل)", like the 5th stem in Dozy.
The amulet which he has prepared for the goldsmith is one of the secret alchemical formulas known as the 'secret formula' of the forty thieves. [696] It is a powerful incantation which is recited by the mage and then sealed in a glass jar along with the goldsmith's name and a small piece of his flesh. Whenever the jar is pronounced upon, it will turn to gold.

1 This extraordinary form occurs twice, here and on f. 76b; I have therefore felt compelled to retain it. Is it influenced by abadun?
وسارت من شارع إلى شارع وعطفت من عطفة إلى عطفة وهي تقفية إلى أن وضعت به إلى الدكاك قبل أن يخرج الناس من بيوتها فما أحد درى بهم فقد وصولوا للدكاك أزالت العصابة في كلها على عينونه وقالت له أكتم هذا الأمر واحذر أن تتكلم به واتحدث عندما رأت ولا تكرر فنصي الفما لا يعرف ما رسمه في ما لا يرغب في ثلم دفعت له ديناراً رابعاً وتركته وانصرفت فلم يعود إلى البيت احمرت الأما الساكنة وانصبب وقعت تغسل جسد سيدها حتى تلته من الدم ثم البسطة ثيابه ورقدته في مخبطه فلا قُلُبُها ثم ذلك أرسلت خلف على ثياباً وزوجته فلم يحضرها إلا بعثت وقالت لهم أعلنا الآن بعوت سيدى قاسم واخبار الناس به فبعد ذلك مسكون النساء في البكاء والعويل وولوا بالندب والتعوي وسرخت وطلعت على وجهها حتى سمعت الجيران وحضرت الأصدقاء وعذوه عليه فزاد البكا ونما الندب وانطلق الصرخ وتلا النوح فشاع في المدينة خبر موت قاسم فصار الجميع يترحمون عليه والاعتداء يتشارمون فيه فأعدت حصرت المغسلة ليعسلو حسكم العامة فنزلت مرجانة واخبرتهم أن مغسل محسوم وسكن واعتبرهم أجرتهم زيادة عن المعتاد فانصرفوا وهم صبورون الجاظرون استلموا من سبب ذلك ولا سالوا عن ما لا يعنينا ثم بعد ذلك حضروا بالحشش فنزلوا ووضعوا فيه ومصوا به إلى النذر والناس شاهقون جنازة ومرجانة والنساء والناجيات من خلقهم يبكين وينوحون حتى وصلوا إلى النذر فخضروا له ودفنتو رحمة الله عليه ثم عادت الناس وتفروا وانصرفوا إلى حال سبيلهم فعلي هذه الصورة خفى أمر قتل قاسم وما فعل أحد بالقصيدة المذل وظلت الناس أنهما مات حتفان الله ثم بعد انقضاء عقدتها تسوز على بابا
A woman, however, wrote a story and said, 1 [f. 72b] for an inns they
of the post, and assigned her a certain place.
In her first story, she made a certain man a free gift of his house and
land and a slave, and when she went to see it, she found that
the man had placed the slave in the post and the house and
land in another place. When she asked why, he said, ‘I did not
want to give the gift of the house and land and slave to
you, for you are a woman, and I want to give it to a man.’

A woman, however, wrote a story and said, 1 [f. 72b] for an inns they
of the post, and assigned her a certain place.
In her first story, she made a certain man a free gift of his house and
land and a slave, and when she went to see it, she found that
the man had placed the slave in the post and the house and
land in another place. When she asked why, he said, ‘I did not
want to give the gift of the house and land and slave to
you, for you are a woman, and I want to give it to a man.’

I cannot find this form anywhere, but it apparently has the meaning of
in Lane, p. 2414a, II. 18 ff.
واظهار العروة والجوهرة والنشاط تطرقاً وإدخالاً فتزنى السرعة والسعود ودروها في الامصار بالبلاد وتخسروا الأخبار وسائرها ان كان فقير أو مرتيل وانتمبر لعل تستدل تعلناً عدنا ويجمعه الله به وباختصار نحتاج إلى رجل ذي حيلة وخدعة تكون عنده نفوذ الرجال ينفر ليبحث هذه المدينة لان غسريمنا من أهلها مس خيبر شكك ولا ريبه [458] فيزبي بزي التجار ودحلها بالطين وباستشراق اختيارها ويسنا عن أحوالها وعن الجوادت التي حدثت فيها وتعمل مات اوقف في هذه المدينة الفارقة وعن اهله وبيته وكيف جرى فيه ريدما يستدل بذلك على المطلوب لان الأمر المقتول لا يخفى ولا بد ما شاع 1 خبره في البلد ودروها بالقصة الكبيرة والصغار فإن ظهر بعدونا واحترنا عن همه يكون له علماً الفضل المنفي وازيد في مرتبته ورفع درجه واجله وله عهد وان عجز عن الأمر المطلوب منه وما وف بيته ونحاب الرأي فيه يحتفي جاهل وفظي الراي قصير الحيلة عديد التدبير ف كثيراً عليه سوء فعله [474] وبطلان سمعه ونقطة قلة شنيعة له لا حاجة لنا بقليل العروة ولا ناسيداً في ابقاء عديم البصر ولا يكون لاماً ماهر الا الرجل الجاهلي العاقل بسير فنون الحيلة فما تقولون في ذلك امها الشجعان وسن فكم يتزخر بهذا الأمر العضل المتلف فلما سمعوا مقالته وما ابدى لهم من الخطاب استصوبوا راية وقبوا الشروط التي شرحها لهم وتخلفوا عليها وتعاهدوا على وفائها ثم قام من بينهم شخص طويل القامة عليه الجshield وتصدر لارتكاب هذا الطريق الصعب الوصي وقبل على نفسه الشروط المنتقدم ذكرها التي كانوا توافقوا عليها فقبلوا اقدامه وزادوا في أكرامه وصدحوا [455] شجاعته وقادمته واصحابها جون

1 Cf. la budd ma yiktib in Spiro, p. 34.
Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves

1 So in MS. for which occurs also on ff. 88b and 93b.
خيانة جيدة ولؤلؤ حذافة بصرى ما قدرت أنف ذلك فما سمع
المسارق هذه الكلام إلا واستبشر ببلاغ العزم وعلم أن سماقته القدرة
اللهية حتى عشر في مطموبه الفقاص له وهو يظهر التمجيد
انت سأده يا شيخ واظن انك ما ختيت إلا الكفن لاني ما سمعت
قط أن الميم يتخطى فقال ما قلت الاصدق ونطلقت بالواقع لكن
الظاهرة لى منك انك مقصودك تتقلى على اسرار الناس فكان
هذا مطموبه فناذهبه عني وانصب حيلك على غيرى ربيما
تتجد فنوي كثير الكلام اما أنا اسمى الصامت لا أوبح بما أريد كتمانه
ولا ارتبط 1 احدكش أى شبان ذلك هذا والص ران يقينه وتحقق أن
هذا الميم هو الرجل الذي قتلوه في الكفر فقال للشيخ مصرفى يا
شيخ لا حاجة لي بأسرارك وسكونك عنها خير لا يقال ان كممان
السهر من شيم البسر [f. 768] وأيضا مقصودي مسكت فقط 2 ان
tدلن على بيت هذا الميم ربما يكون من اقاربي أو من معارفي
فيجب على ان أعزو اهله عليه لان لي مادة مديدة غايب عن هذه
المدينة واجبنا منا حديث فيما في ايسام غيابتي ثم وضع يده في
جيبه وخرج دينارا جعله في يد الشيخ مصطفى ف اني يأخذه
الشيخ وقال لللس تسانلي عن شى لاستطيع اجاوبك عنه ان مسا
جابوني في بيت الميم الا بعدما جعلوا عنى عينى غصابة فاجهل
الطريق الموصل إليه فقال له اللص اما الدنيا ويهبته لك سوى ان
كان تقضي حاجتي ام لا تخذى بارك الله لك فيه لا الزومه برد
ولكن من الممكن [f. 774a] انك اذا تعددت تفكر قليلا تستدل
على الطريق الذي سلكته وعينيك مغضة فقال له الشيخ مصطفى

1 MS. لا بقي.
2 See note 1 on p. 352. قط occurs a few lines above.
لا يمكِّن ذلك إلا إذا كان تربط على عينيّ عصابة كما فعلوا بي في ذلك الوقت لأنّي ذاكر كيف انخدِعوا بيدى وكيف مشونى وكيف عطافوا بي وكيف اوقفونى فحينْيذ فيهما اهدى بذلك على العمل المطلوب، وانْذِكَّر عليه ففرج اللص، لمسا سمع هذا الكلام وأستبشر ونافِل للشيخ مصطفى ديناراّ ثانّيًا وقال له نفعَك كما ذكرت، ثم نيسنا الآثان قسائمًا على إقامتهما، فغقل الشيخ مصطفى دكانه وللص اخذ عصابة وربطها على عينيه، واخذ بيده ومشى معه فصار الشيخ مصطفى يأخذ على يمينه وتارة [778] يعطف على يساره وساعة يمشي قدامه ويفعل كما فعلت به الجارية مرجانة إلى أن انتهى إلى درب خطى فيه بعض خطوات. ووقف وقال للص أطلس كان وقوف في هذا العمل في ذلك حال اللص العصابة من على عينيه، وكان بالمسر المقدر صار وقوف الأسكات حذاء بيته المخوم قاسم، فسألته اللص هل يعرف رتب هذا المنزل فقال له والله لين هذا الشارع بعيد عن دكانى ولا يعرفه، فباش رحط فكره اللص واعطاه دينارًا ثانًا وقال له انصرف إلى دعة الله تعالى. فعاد الشيخ مصطفى إلى دكانه وهم سكُّر بكسب الثلاثة دنانيرًا اللص وقف يراقب البيت ويتأمله فرّى ان بابه يشيبه [78a] ببيان بيتوت الجارة كلاًّ فتى ببوته عنه فأخذ أسفيدًا جواده على عالمته صغيرة بينهما، ليسدل عليه ثم رجع إلى عند اصحابه في الجبل، وهو مسروب محبب الخاظر ومشيقن بسان الحاجة التي أرسلها من أجلها قضيت وان ما بقي الاّ اخذ الثار هذا ما كان من أمرده اما ما كان من أمر الجارية مرجانة أنها لما قامت من النوم وصلت صلاة الصبح.

1 Means apparently "a road of only a few paces length running through a khutt". On darb, khutt, etc., see de Sacy, Abd-Allatif, pp. 384 f.
كما كان عادتها كل يوم اتصلت حباجتها وخرجت لاحتمار مسا تختاينه من الماء كل والمشارك فعند عودتها من السوق أبشرت على باب البيت علامةً تبسمها فاستغبت مني ورايتها وابلغت في نفسها من الجاز [f.78b] ان يكون ذلك مسئ لعب الأطفال أو نقش نقشود صبيان الصارة ولكن بالاعض ان هذه العلامة فعل عدد قديم أو حسوب الذين لم ير سوء يقيدده ونسبة خبيثة1 يضمغ دفون الجذام ان نتنوه ونفشد عليه تدبيره المنحوس ثم اخذت استفادة وعثرت على أبواب الجيران علامات تشابة الامة التي رفعتها اللص وساهمت بنذه السماة معدة عشرة صبيان وس أبواب الصارة تم دخالت البيت وكتبت هذا الأمر هذا مما كان منها وما ناك من أمر الرجل السارق انها لم ترى قبل على اصعابه في الجبل اظهر لهم الفرج وبسرتهم ببلوغ املتهم وادركت مراهمهم وبمسرب الانتقام من غيرهمم ثم اختبرهم كيف صدف اجتجاز [f.79a] برجل اسكاف كان خطيط الغنظ وكيف استدل به على بيتة وكيف وضع عليه علامةً خروقه من التيهان والتفجع عصده فشكوره القايد ومدج مروته وفمبرج بذلك غاية الفرج وقلس للقصص فرقو جمعكم والنسوا ضياع العلوم واختروا سلاحكم وافصدوا المدينة وادخلوا فيها من مناهج مختلفة وكون اجتماعكم في الجامع الكبير وما أنا هذا الرجل عنى الجاموس نطلب بسيست غريبنا فذا وجدنا وحققنا فرجع الليم في الجامع وتنوازوا هناك على مسا يجب فعلا وتنفقو3 على ما يكون فيه الصواب سوى ان كان مسن

1 So in MS. for خبيثة.
2 MS. والبغى.
3 MS. وتتوازوا and تنفقو.
هجوم البيت [f. 798]

ليلاً أو غير ذلك فلما سمعت اللصوص خطابه استحسنوه واستصوبوا كلامه ووافقوا سراءً ثم أنهم تفرقوا ولبسوا ثوبين العوام واحتموا من تحتها سيفهم كما أمرهم القائد ودخلوا المدينة ومن طرقها مختلفة خوفًا من أشعار الناس بهم وصاروا اجتماعهم في الجمع الكبير حكم اتفاقهم أما القائد والجاسوس ساروا طالبين رقاب خلصهم فلما وصلوا إليه رأى القائد بيتًا بعامة بيضاء فسأل رفيقه ان كان هو البيت المطلب فاجابه بنعم ثم وقع منه الثقات إلى بيت آخر فرأى أيضًا على بابه علامة بيئة. فسأله أنيهما السبب فيما المقصود الأول أم السمانى فاحتر اللص وعينز عليه الجواب [f. 805] ثم خسر القائد خطوات فوجد نيف وعشرة بيوت بعلامات فقال له انى علمت على هذه البيت جميعها أو على واحد منهم فقال بل على واحد فقال القائد وكيف الذين هم ابن عشرة أو أزيد قال لا أعلم سبب ذلك فقال له هل تفرق بين هذه البيت التي ميزته وبيدت علمت عليه ساء للاعيل التشبيه بعضها بعضًا والمبيان على نمط واحد وضرورة العلامات صورة واحدة. فلما سمع القائد هذا الكلام علم أن لا يفيده حاجة من وقته في هذا المنزل فإن لا سبيل إلى ابن Cipher في هذه المرة حيث ان امته عاد خابيًا فرجع بالرجل للجمع والفرسان [f. 805] بالعود إلى الرجل وأوصاه أن يتفقدوا في الطرق كما فعلوا وقتهم. فلما اجتمعوا عند الرجل في المنزل المعتاد قس عليهم ما اتفق له مع اللص وقال عليه أن تميز بيت عددتهما. ثم قال لهم يجب علينا الان تنفيذ الحكم فيه على موجب الشروط والعوانين الجارية. بينا ناجابة على ذلك بالامتثال أما السارق الجاسوس حسوبه كان شجاع صلد القلب فما تأخر عند سمعه هذا الكلام ولا جبين بل تقدم
هو ثابت الجاش خدالي عسن الاستياعش وقال بحصفة استوجبت الموت والعقوبة بفساد رأى وقفة حيلتى حيث أني عجزت عن أدرك الأمر المطلوب مني ولا رغبة لي بعد ذلك في البقاء والموت خير من [f. 81a] الحياة في عار فعند ذلك سأل القائد سيفه وضربه ضربة على عاتقه اطاح رأسه عن بدن ثم قال يا رجال النعس والقتال من فيكم صاحب سبالة وباب شجيع القلب قوى الرأس يتصدر لهذا الخطاب العسر الجسيم والأمر المتفائط العظيم فلما ينقض عاجز ولا يائتي ضعيف فلما يقبل 1 الا اذا رأى سديد وبطش شديد وفكر صديد واحتيال عديد فقام رجل من بين القوم وسمى أحمد الغضبان وهو طويل القامة غليظ الهمة هايل المنظر قبضه الغزير اسمه اللون شنيع الصورة شواربه كشواب النهر صادق الفيران وليته كثيفة النمس بين المعز والخفران [f. 81b] وقال يا جماعة الأمائل ما يصلح لهذه المسألة الا اذا واحضر لكم ان شاء الله بالخبر الصحيح وادلكم على بسيط الغريم ووضع دلاله فقال له القائد التصرف لهذا الأمر لا يكون الا عضلى الشروط التي قدمنا ذكرها فان رجعت خايبا ما بتالك 2. 3 4 Vict. Zayid مرتينك واكرامك وترفع درجةك واعظمك وتحصل لك كل الخبر ثم ان أحمد الغضبان لبس ثياب التجارة ودخل المدينة قبل انشقاق الفجر وقصد من غير توالي حارة الشيخ مصطفى الأسكاف التي كان استدلال عليها مس كلام رفيقه فوجدته قاعدًا في دكانه فسلم عليه وجلس عنده وطلغ للكلام واندرج [f. 82a] معه في الحديث الا ان فتح سيرة الميت وذكر كيف خشيته فطلب منه أحمد الغضبان ان يدخل على البيت.

1 MS.
2 So in MS. Is it for yunālāk or must we read tanālāk?
3 So in MS.
4 So in MS.
فامتنع من ذلك الشجاعة مصطفى وابن قومه فلم يتكلم، فلم يتكلم بالمال ما استطاع المحاماة على المال لليم صايب وشفيع لا يبرد. فعند ذلك ربط عصابة على عينيه وفعل كما فعل قريته السابق ذكره ومضى معه حتى أنهى به إلى حارة المرحوم قاسم ووقف حذو بيته فثبت لما اهتدى على البيت ازال العصابة من عينيه وإعطاء ما كان وعده من الأجرة وخلع سبيله [f.82b] من وقوع ذلك جعل على باب البيت علامة صغرى حمراء صورها في مسح خفية وظن أن ما أحد يبصره ثم عاد إلى عند اصحابه واخبرهم بما صنع وله فرحان لا يشكن بالنجاح ومضيق إن ما أحد ينتظر العلامة لكونها صغرى وخفية هذا ما كان من أمرهم واما ما كان من أمر التجارة مرحة انها استكبت بأكبر التهان وهي جريت على جارية عادتهما لاحضار اللحمات والبقول والفاكههة والنقل ونقيه لوزم البيت فلما رجعت من السوق ماإ خفية عليها العلامة الحمراء بل وقع بصرا عليها وياة ابنها فكرت من ذلك واستغرت فهيمت بفراحتها وغذاراة عقلها [f.83a] أنه فعل هذه غريب أو حسنون قريب يريد السوء لاهل المنزل فلأت جل أن تتوه صورته بالاحمر علسي ابوب الجيران علامات على شكل هذه العلامة وجعلتهم في الموقع الذي اختارت أحمد الغشبان وكمت ذلك وسكت عنه خوفًا لا يحسب منبه لسيدها تلق أو تشويش هذا ما كان منها اما السارق لما رحل إلى عند أصحابه فق قل عليهم ماجرى له مع الإسكنى وكيف اهتدى على بيت

1 In Spiro, p. 181, *ahlâ sabûfîh* = "he set him free, he discharged him." Dozy has phrases somewhat similar, but not the same, using the second stem.

2 MS. تتوجة.

3 Cf. n. 2 on p. 346.
الغريم وكيف عسلم عليه بالاحمر ليستدل عليه في وقت الاحتجاج
فعد ذلك أمرهم القدام بلعيبن شبيب العوام وسائقهم من قنريتها
السلاح وبدخول المدينة من طرق مختلفة ثم قال لهم ويكون
[483] اجتمعوا في المسجد الشامسي فجلسوا فيها إلى أن نعود
اليكم ثم أنه أخذ أحد الغلابين ومضى معه في كشف البيوت
المطلوب ليستدل عليه وتحقققه فلمما وصل إلى الشرع المعروف عجز
احمد الغلابين عن تمييز البيوت لسبب كثرة العلامات الموضعية
على الباب فأحكم على دقة ذلك وشكت عن الكلام اما الذي
لما رأى عجزه عن معرفة البيوت طرق 1 وعسس ووضعخب خصبا
شديدًا كن الفضرة الزمنه بكتهم القيظ في هذا الوقت وركز في
المسجد بالساق الأكسوس فلمما اجتمع بإيابهم أمرهم بالرجوع إلى
الجبل فتفقدوا وعادوا منفردين إلى جبل سكنتمهم وجلسوا للمشورة
فعد ذلك [84a] اخترهم القدام بالباحث وان ما ساعدتهم
المقداد على اخذ النار وكشف العفار في ذلك اليوم لسوت تدبر أحمد
الغلابين وعجزه عن معرفة بيت الغريم ثم جسد سيقه وضرة به على
عاسته حتى عمرته هامة وفارقت جشته وغذل الله بروحه إلى النار
وبينس القرار ثم تذكر القائد في هذه القضية وقال في نفسه رجائي
集装箱到قلقل والطلس والمتب ولفستك الدماء وشب الغارات ولكن
ليس لهم إلهام في صوب الجيل وإباب النفاذة فإن أرسلتهم واحدا
بعد واحده لقذف هذه المصلحة عدمتهم على هذه الصورة من غير
فايدة ولا اتصل عليها أياً فالمصوب أن باشر بنفسه هذا [84b] الأمر
العمر ثم أخبر الصوص بذلك وإن ما يعنى إلى المدينة الاهو

 applicant to be read as passive ; see Lane , p. 1851a , sub طرق .
We would say "he was knocked out" .
قالوا له الأمراء: كُل وإن نهيك، ففعل ما بدأ لك. فعند ذلك تغير نسبته واصبح معونته إلى المدينة وطابا الحاج Moshtafy, الإسكندر، كما فعل رسوله المتقدم ذكرهما فلم يسع وجدته، ابتدأ عليه وسلم عليه ولاطفه بالكلم واندرج معه في الحديث إلى أن فتح سيرة البيت المقتول وما زال يضايره وبعده بالمنقوشات إلى أن ارتفع ووافقه الشيخ مصطفى على مقصوده، ونالت منه القاية ما اراده مس معرفة بيت عدوه هذا على الصورة التي ذكرناها انقا فلما وقفت عند البيت أعتي [855] للشيخ مصطفى جاويبه زيدة، جدا ما كان أوعد به وصار به، ثم ركب البيت وتأمل فيه ولا زعم وضع علامته عليه بل عدة أبواب الحارة إلى حد 1 باب البيت المقصود وحفظ عددها ونظر في طبقات الشاعرية، وتميز توضيحا، بل أطعه حتى عرف جيد المعرفة هذا وهو يتعفف في الشارع خوفاً لا يربطوا أهله من طول وقوفه ثم عاد إلى أصحابه واعترفهم بما صنع وقبائل لهم عرفت الآن بيت غريندا فاتي ان شاء الله وقت الانتقام وأخذ الثار فانتكر على طريق الوصول إلى ذلك وسيلة الدخول والاجام عليه فاستلمه لكما فنان رايتهم متناسب شرعننا في عمله وان [855] ما استصوبتهم فلذى في ضميره حيلة أند من حيلته فياظهراً ويتكلم بما بدأ له ثم انسه اطعهم على ما أنضروا ونواب فاستحسنوا وتوافقوا على فعله وتوافقوا باللهم، 2 ما ما أحد منهم يتاخر عن صاحبه في طلب الانتشار، عند ذلك أرسل جماعة منهم في البلاد القريبة، وأمرهم بشير اربعين قرية، مس القراب الكبار ورسالاً بالبقية، ارسل رجالة في القرى المجاورة وأوصاه بشري عشرين بقلة فلما ابتدعوا ما أمرهم به حضروا بالجميع.

1 Semi-colloquial for nawet.
2 So in MS. = بالأيدي.
بين يديه ثم فにとっては كل قربة على حد مما تسع دخول الرجل وكل واحد من هذه اللصوص دخل في قربة من القرب المفتوحة وبيده خاتم قلوب [f. 862] مما دخلوا الجميع وصاروا في هذا الجبل السيف خيط القائد الأعظم كما كنست وطفل القرب بالزيت حتى يظل النظر فيهم أنهم سلاليين زيت وشعل كل قربتين على ظهر بغلة أما القربتين الزايدين فعلاهما زيتا بالحقيقة ووضعهما على بغلة منهما فصاروا العشرين بغلة مجدلتين تسع عشرة بالرجال وواحدة بالزيت لا كان عدد اللصوص ثمانية وثلاثين رجلا بعد فهد الأثنيين الذين قتلهم القائد ثم لما تم استخفاره سابق البغال قداء ودخل بهم المدينة بعد غروب الشمس لما أمسيت المسأة وظلمت النهار وشحث من نعمة وتعليم على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصور الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب على وسادة سلمية فنظر فيه فوجد مسؤولو حمورابي جصول الخاطف في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل إلى عند المنازل عليه وجد على بابه بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منته مكتوب
فيبقى لك على الفصل الجميل والإحسان الجزيل وتكسب اجربة عند الكريم العنان الجميل والإحسان والصبر والعمارة من القيمة بالغفاران وفجعلاً فلنترUILT الله أنزل السوق وأتبع زيدتي وأنصرف عنك شاكراً وجميلك مادحًا فاجابه على بابا بالرضا والقيدسون قائلًا [f. 876] له مرحبًا وأهله بالله الطارق علينا انتض ضيغنا اليوم العبارت وتشننا في هذه الليلة السعيدة وكان على بابا عندت الكرم والجبون وكان سيفي حسن الخلق جميل الأوصاف صاف النبأ لا يظن في الناس الآخر فيها فصدق ما افترى عليه التاجر الكذب ولا خطر في بالله أنه قايد لصوم الجبل ولا عرفه لإ ما كان رأوه الأزمة واحدة وف تغير هذا الزى فنزل على عبد الله وامرأة وابنها السباغال فاستقبل عبد الله وامرأة ودخل القايد خلف دواية لنزول الأحمال فنزل هو وعبد الله القرى في البغال وصفوه جنب الصياج في ساحة الدار ثم أخذ عبد البغال وادخلهم [f. 888] الاستبكل ووقع عليهم بالشعر واما القايد كان قد بيح في الساحة عند قريه واعتد الأحمر من دخوله القاعة متعللاً يحكي القول لاهل الدار وكان في الحقيقة لاجأ أن يملك غرفته ويمكن فبما أن يكون عليه من العيانة فما وقف على بابا على ذلك بل حلف عليه بالدخول وما زال يلق عليه حتى أن اجبره 1 فهرب على رجم من مراعفته فما امكنه الخلافة ودخل معه فوجد القايد نفسه في قاعة وأسبعة ملكية قد بلغت أرشه بالله، ينزع الزكاة وف صدر المكان سرير واحد مصنكوين مفروش بالحرير الملكي بمراتب مفخضة [f. 885] وستور مكللة فاجلس على بابا على ذلك السرير وأمر بوقود الشموع وارسل

1 So in MS. for ز: جذبه, for د and prefixed Syrian a.
لمرجانه واخبارها وحضور ضيفها وأمرها أن تصنع للعشاء ما يليق به من لزيز الطعام ثم بعد ذلك جلس إلى جانبها واخذ في منادمتها ومسامرتها إلى أن أتى وقت العشاء فحين ذلك مروا الجبوان وحجزوا بالطعام فواني الفنة والذهب ودروما العايدة بين يدي القائد فأكل هو وعلى بابا من جميع اللوان حتى اكتفوا ثم رفعوا الطعام وحجزوا بعتيق المدام فدار الكاس بينهما فعلا فرغنا وأكتمنا أكلا وشربا تعدا ثانيا في حديثهما ومسامرتهما إلى حصة من الليل فلما آن وقت الرقاد والاستطاع قام القايد ونزل في الساحة [f. 89a] فلأنا أمر قبل النوم يزيد الكشف على دوابه واما في المحققة لا ياقة مع اتباعه على حال 8 فدنا من الأول الذي كان كما قلنا داخل الفترة الأولى وقال له بصوت صخري إذا رويت علىكم حسب من الطاقة فشقوا القرب بحجراحكم والعوين ثم قال للثاني مثل ذلك وللثالث إلى أن انتهى إلى الأخير واما على بابا حيث كان نوى دخول الطعام في صيحة هذه الليلة وعلى مرجانه بتجهيز النفوذ اللزوم له وأمرها أن تعطيهم لعبد الله وتصنع له مرقة لحم يشريها عند خروجه من الطعام ثم أوصاها أيقا بكرام الضيف وانها تفرش له فرشا ناعما لياقا بمقامه وتقدمه بنفسها وتقوم معه بوجه وحقوص [f. 89b] النضافة فاجابته بالسمع والطاعة ثم أنه ذهب إلى مخبيه واتطعع وم زوج الرمان إلى حديث القايد ونقل وبالله التوفيق إنه لما اتفق مع اصحابه وأحفاده ودير معهم ما وجب فعله طلع الى عند مرجانة وسالها على حصل مرقده فأخذت شمعة وأوسلته الى مقصورة مغروسة بأحمر الفراش فيها

1 So in MS. for لذيذ.
2 So in MS. for تحيوان.
3 "For a moment".
ALI BABA AND THE FORTY THIEVES

جَمِيعٌ مَا يَحْتَاجُ الْيَهُوُدُ فِرْشٌ وَقُطْنَاءٌ ۱ وَخِيَارٌ ذَلِكْ مِنْ النَّوْمِ وَمَسْتَ عَلَيْهِ وَعَادَتْ إِلَى الْمَطْبِحِ فِي اسْمَتَالٍ مَا أَمْرَهَا بِهِ سَبِيْلَهَا فَجِئَتِ فِي الْفَوْلِ وَلَّا الْبَعْضُ وَبَلَّمَتِ الْجَمِيعِ لِلْخَادِمِ عَلَى الْلُّجُومِ ثُمَّ رَكَبَتِ الْلُّجُومَ وَقَادَتِ النَّارَ مَثْلَ الدِّسْتِ هذَا كَلِهٌ وَنَظْرُ السَّرَاجِ يَضُعِفُ قَلِيلًا قَلِيلًا مِنْ عَدْمِ الْلُّجُومِ حَتَّى [f. 90a] انطُفَّى مِنْ اِسْتُحْيَا. فَانْقَبَدَتُ فِي الْلُّجُومِ وَجَدَتُهَا فَأَرَوا وَلَقَرْنُ كَانَ الشَّمْعُ فِي غَيْرِ اِسْتُحْيَا اِحْتَارَتُ إِنْ مَأْمُرَهَا لَأَنَا كَانَتِ مُحْتَاجَةً إِلَى الْنُّورِ لِلْعَجَمِ طَبَقَةً فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ أَبِي الْلَّهِ حَيْرَتُهُ قَالَ لِي لَا تَنْتَقَرُوا وَلا تَنْطَبْسُوا لَنَمَا زَالَ الْلُّجُومُ مَوْجُودًا فِي الْبَيْتِ وَهُدُوْبُهُ بَكْرَةً هَلْ نُضِيَّ قُبُبُ الْخَادِمِ؟ إِلَّا مَا لَبَى الْمَعْلُوِئِينِ زِيَتُ الْمَعْلُوِئِينِ فِي سَاحَةَ الْبَيْتِ فَانْزَلَ لِخَذُّ مَا شَيْتُ مِنْهُ وَإِذَا صَعْبَ السُّبْحَانَ دَفْعَانَا لَعَنْ الْلُجُومُ فَلَمَّا سَمِعَتْ مِنْ هَذَا اللُّجُومَ اسْتَحْسَنتْ مَا فِيهِ مِنْ الصَّوَابِ وَشِيْرَتْ عَلَى شُورَهَا الْعَجَمِ وَنُمِلَّ بالكَرَوْدَةَ مِنْ الْفَرْبِ إِنَّا لَعَمَّودُ حَتَّى [f. 90b] تَعَادِلُوا فِي سَجَرَبِهِمْ الْقَيِّمِ وَتَعَبٌّ مِنْ أَخْضِطِ الْظَّهَرِ فَتَسَافَتْ اِنْفُضَّاهُمْ وَتَكَسَّرَتْ اِعْتِمَادُهُمْ وَانْهْضَتْ اِعْظَامُهُمْ وَلَقَّبَ لَهُمْ صَرْفَ عَلَى هَذَا الأَجَالِ وَلَطَاَقَةِ الْيَطْوِلُ الْجَبَّةَ فَلَمَّا سَمَعَوا صُوْتُ مَرَجَّاتٍ ظَنُّوا فِي غُفْلِتِهِمْ اِنْخَدَاعٌ وَأَنْفَصَّتِهِمْ عَلَى الْقَبِيدِ لَتُوْنِفِذُنَّ سَبْعَةً قَتَاءَ فِي مَغْلِبَةٍ وَخِيَارٌ أَمْرَهُمْ فُنُقَّلَ لَمَّا خَلَدُ الْخَوَازِي قَالَ الْرَّأْيُ لَهُذَا الْكَلِمُ الْحَجَيْبُ وَالْأَمْرُ العَظَبُ الْغَرِيبُ لَمَّا سَمَعَتْ مَرَجَّاتُ صُوْتُ رَجُلٍ يَتَكُلِّمُ مِنْ دِاخِلِ الْقَرْنِ فَذِفَتْ فُرَّةً شَدِيدًا وَأَرْتَدَتْ فَرَائِدُهَا مِنَ الْوَجْلِ وَارْتَغَتْ رَغْباً عَظِيمًا وَنُوْرُهَا كَانَتْ سَقِطَتْ مِنَ الْقَفْزُ أو صَرْحَةٍ [f. 91a]

۱ So vocalized in the MS.; the first vowel is colloquial; see Spiro, ghata.
۲ MS. مَازِل.
كانَت عندها شجاعة القلب وسرعة القفزة فلمحت في الحال صورة الواقع وفهمت أمر ما لم تلمح البصر أنهم لمتصور قاصديم خيانة فدبرت من غير إبطاء ما يناسب من التدبير لعلها انتهت أن صرخت أو تحركت هلكت من غير شك وحلكت سيدها وجمعت اهل البيت فامسكت عن العويل والحركة وشرعت من غير مهالة في فعل ما نوته من الجملة فلمحت صوتها وإجابتها اللص الأول قائلة تأني قلبي ما بقى من الوقت اللى ليسير ثم دنت من القرية الثانية فسالاً اللص الثانية كما سالاً الأول فاجابتهما عمدوا صورة الجواب المذكور وما زالت [f. 91b] تمر على القرب ويكملونا اللصوص واحد بعد واحد وهي تجاوبهم وتصبرهم إلى أن انتهت إلى قرب النزيت في آخر الصف فلا زوجها صلى فهعت فهعت انهم خالقين من الرجال فلم يقتلهما وصرت انهم ملائقي من النزيت فاقتته الواحد منهما وانشبته منه في كوزها ما تشير ونادت إلى العطان وعة السراج ثم تمامت إلى دست كبير مرس النحاس الأحمر ونزلت به في الجموش وتهبته من النزيت وعلمت ركبته على النار وكثرت وقد احتجت تحت منه إلى أن غلبت النزيت لفما تم غلبة هناك نزلت بالدست وصمت بالكوز النزيت في كل قرية حيث وقع النزيت الساحر [f. 92a] على رأس اللصوص فافناهم وحلكوا من آخرهم ثم لما تحققته أن لما Ils منتهم بقية وانهم ماتوا باجتمعهم رجعت في العطان وصمت طبابة مرقة اللحم حكم ما أوضها سيدها وبعد ما خلصت أشغالها طفت النار والسراج وجلست تنظر وتراقب ما يفعل الغايد أما هو لما دخل المقصورة التي أغلقت له لخلق الباب وطفي الشمعة وانطمع خلف على فراش كالنائم

1 So in the MS., but I cannot find this form anywhere.
They remained silent." For تَمَّمُ in Syrian Arabic, see Oestrup, p. 156, and Hartmann, under bleiben. Ṣ Hartmann gives tamm and damm as Syrian forms, but dann as Egyptian. For Egyptian see Spiro, under ضن; Willmore, §§ 218 ff.; Spitta, Grammatik, pp. 328 ff. But in Egyptian the construction is different, the subject being expressed by a suffix. For Algeria, Beaussier, Dictionnaire arabe-français (Alger, 1887), p. 68, gives ضن ُ، وتعاموا رأيكين، "de la ils s'en furent." But the original form was ضنُ. This was apparently recognized first by Stumme, who has a short note on an occurrence in his Tunisische Märchen, i, 25. See also Landberg's Hadramout, pp. 276 f. and index, p. 537, under ضنِّ، and ضنُ. The form ضن occurs several times in the Galland MS. of the Arabian Nights; see, for example, in my print of the "Story of the Fisherman and the Jinni", p. 16, last line, ضن. ضن باليبرين, but Dozy does not seem to have quite grasped its meaning.

مَـبـِيلًا ينـُظـِرُ حـَيـَّةُ فـِلـَأـ، فـَأـَتَهُ مـَـا رَأـيَ نَورًا [f. 925] أـَهـَلُ الـِـبـِـيتِ كَـلَـا فَانـَـخَ حـَـصَى وَطَـرـِـحُـمِ فِـي السَـاـحَـةِ ــلـى مُوـجـِـبِ اتـِـقَـهُ، لِـعِـبَـسِهِمَّ وَـعَـبِرُ قـَـلِـبًا يـَـنـُـظـِرُ خـِـروجِ رـِـجـَـالِهُمْ فِـي فَـأـَتَهُ مـَـا رَأـيَ نَورًا [f. 93a]
ونظر داخلياً فوجد رجالة هالكين ما يتين فلما رأى ما أخذ من قرب الريت فهم على قوة فنيها وسبب هلاكهم فاضتم لذلك غمًا شديدًا وبكى على فقد إنسانيته بكاء عزيزًا وخفى عليه نفسه من التنبيه فنوي الهروب والفرار قبل أن يسدو عليه الطريق فلأجل ذلك فتح باب البستان وسلقي عناقه وتحلي النغمة وفَلَوَّل قلبه البعض وذهب نزلت وغفلت باب البستان الذي [938] كان فتحه الليل وزادت مكانة هذا ما كان حينها وما ما كان من أمر على بابا أنه لما أصبح الله بالصباح وضاء بنور والخ وسلمت الشمس على زين العمل استيقظ من منامه ولذى إحلائه ولمس ثيابه وخرج طالبًا دخل النجمة وسعد عبد الله خففه يحمل الله الغسل والقطرة اللازمة له فعمر النجمة واشتعل ودمع في غاية البسط والسور لا يدري ما حصل في منزله في هذه الليلة ومن اى خطر اتجاه الله ثم لما فرغ من الغسل ليس ثيابه ثانية وعاد إلى بيته فعند دخوله الساحة رأى القرب في عينيه فأخذه التجفيس من ذلك وقال لمرجاته ما بال هذا التاجر الغريب يأخير نزول [940] السوق فقالت له يا سيدى كتب الله لك عمرو طولًا وقصى لكت حظاً غالبًا لأن سلمت في هذه الليلة من خطر عظيم واشتكى الله حسنين نبتلك من البلاك ومن قتلة شنيعة انتم ولأجل بيتك وذلما كانوا حفروا لك حفيرة اوقعهم الله فيه وجراهم على سوء نيتهم وحدثاها عقبتها الغيبة والذى وابقيت كل شيء على حاله لتنظر بعينك ما كان احب لك التاجر المفضل عليك وكثيراً وشجاعة جارتك مرجانة متقدم وابصرما في باطن هذه القرب بعد ذلك
تقدم على بابا فلما رأى في قلص البقرة المجاورة له رجلًا بيده خاتم أسفر لونه وتبغثر كونه وتأخر خاينًا فقال له للاستفسار
[496] لان هذا رجل ميت ثم أورته 1 بقية البقر فوجد في باطن كل قربة رجلًا ميتًا وبيده خاتم فوق ساقيه ويتذكر تارة إلى مرجانة ونارة إلى البقرة وهو ياهل مروعٍ لا يدرى ما الخبر فقال لها جلب على تفسير ما عاينته وأوجز في الكلام لان اربعين ما رأيت جاية الربب فقال له تأتي درجة ولا تعلмя صوتكم ليا تقدري الجبهر بنا لا يناسب نشره بل هون نفسك وأذهب إلى تأعتك واجلس على ختمك حتى تسترشد وااحصر لك معركة اللحم التي طبختها لك فشربها ويسكى ما أصابك من الفزع ثم خصت إلى المطافى ونعس له بالمرة وناله اباؤها فشربها ثم بدت خاطبه بهذا الكلام [496] امرئي اعمال باخيبيلة المعلم وبتصنيع معركة لحم فيها كنت مشغولة في امنتمال ذلك إذ انطلقت سراجي من عدم النزيت فطلبت كوز الزيت ووجدته فارغًا فاحترقت صارل إلى أن قال لي عبد الله لا تحمل هم ذلك لن ما زال الزيت موجود عندما بكشرة وأنزلي خذى ما يسلامفكن من قرب التاجر البابست عندما ونما ندفع له ثم أنه فرايت شورته حميدة ونزلت بالكوز فلما تقدمت إلى عند البقر سمعت من داخلها صوت رجل يقول هل اتي وقت التحسن فعلمت انهم قدشين خيامه فقدن له من غير وجل ولا كوف لا ولكن ما بقي من الوقت الا البسيمر فمرضت على بقية البقر ووجدت [496] في باطن كل قربة رجلًا سالمًا هذا السوال أو خاطبيني بما يقارب هذا الكلام فجاوينه بهذا الجواب إلى أن انتهت إلى قريتي ملاني زيمن

1 Colloquial for أرت. See Spiro, p. 214.
ALI BABA AND THE FORTY THIEVES 373

فغبيت منهم كوزى وولدعت سراجي، وإخذت دستاً كبيراً ملبيته من الزيت وركبتهم على النار حتى على الزيت ومحمية منهم في فم كل قربة حتى هلكت السراقي من تأثير الزيت الساخن كما رأيت ثم طلعت السراج ووقعتت في عقد الرجل التاجي الأنايا الكاذب فرآيتها يقفز حي من الطاقة لينبه رجاله وتكبر فعل ذلك مراراً فلما توقفوا عن الخارج، ودوس مس روحتهم نزل ينظر ما سبب توقفهم فرآهم فنمو عن آخرهم فعند ذلك خلاف على نفسه مس القبض [f. 96a] أو القتلى فتسلق على حايط البستان ونط منه في الشارع وزهراً فابيت أن استيقظت خوفاً من خجالة اهل الدار فانتظرت رجوعك لقص على القصة فهذا الخبر مع هولا الخيمة والله أعلم فانبي أيَّن الخمرك بشي حصل من قريب وكتمته عنك وهو ان من مدة يسيرة وانا راجعة من السوق انبرت على سبيل بيتنا علامة بيناء فجعل من رؤيتها ارتياح وتشويش وتعلمت ان هذا فعل إعادة ضمر لنا الحموص اناجل ان انكوه صورت على أبواب بيوت الجبران علامات كهذة علامات بعيثيم ثم بعد أكم يوم رايت علما باب دارنا بعلامة حمراء فجعلت على أبواب الجبران بهذا [f. 96b] اللون علامات تشابها وكتمت ذلك عنكم خوفاً ان ترتابوا منه فلا شرك ان وانعسين العلامات هم هولا الرجال الصيحيون واتهم اللصوص الذين عدرت بهم فالمجبل فتبحث عرفوا طريق منزلنا لا راحتنا لنا ولا امان

1 Dozy gives from Bochtor خمین خانی as a plural of خمین، but I cannot find خمین anywhere.

2 MS. اعتو

3 Colloquial, "some, a few," see Spiro, under کام.

4 MS. خوف.
طالما واحد منهم موجود على وجه الأرض فتينغبني إنا نكسر على حذر من كيد الذي هرب لانه لا شكر ان يسعى في هلاكنا فيجب علينا حرس انفسنا وإنا أمكن أولكم في الاحتراز واليقظة قال الرأوي فلما سمع على بابا خطاب جاريته مرجانة استعجب غاية التجرب مما جرى له ولها من غريب الانتفاخ وقال لابا ملسم من هذه ورطة ولا تجوت من هذه الخطرة إلا بقدرة الغاليين المنان المعين [علينا بالفضل والاحسان وبسنداد رأيك ووجودة فطنتكم ثم شكرنا على حسن فعلنا وشجاعة قلبيها وجلالة رايبا وجودة تدبرها وقال لنا من هذا الوقت انت حرّة معتوقة لوجه الله وفضلت علينا باكى وساسيركي بك خير فكما قلنا لا شقت ان هؤلاء الرجال هم لصول الغابة فالح Deadpool لله على خلاصنا مثيم فيزونا للن دفنتهم وسستر ما جرى لنا معهم ثم نادي عبد الله عبده وأمرد باحترام معولين فأخذ هو واحد ودفع له واحد وشرعا في حفر خندقًا طويلًا في البستان وجزيه 1 اجساد اللصحوص واحدا بعد واحد ورموهم فيه وردوا [f.97b] السراب عليهم حتى غاب الرثم اما البغال فباعوهم في السوق على امرار مختلفة وكسليك فعلوا بالقرب فهذا ما كان من هؤلاء اما ما كان من امر قايد اللصور إنه لما فرحنا با من بيت على رابا وأتي إلى الغابة ودخل الكرف في الحسب حال بنى على وحشتة ووجوهه وقف يتالف ويتالم على خبيبة أمله وعكس عمله وفقدن رجاله وكرت الحياة وتمين الموت قايك يا أسفاد علينا يا ابطال الزمان يا رجال النبه الساعده والطماع يا فرسان الجبال في حومة الميدان يا ليست آتكم الموت في وسط الحرب والقتال ولفتام الوفاة والفوت في الخصم والجبال اما موتكم 1 So in MS., cf. الجزية on p. 366, n. 1.
حتوى جاحظ عار وةنا الشقى سبب هلاك من كنت
افديهم بالروح يا ليت 1 شقىت كاس الرداء قبل ما اشاهد هذا
البلا ولكن ما إباني العولى عز وخجل الالاخذ الشار وكشف العار
وسانتقم من عدوتي أشر الانتقام وأذوق اليم العذاب وتنظيم العتاب
وانا الكاف على فعل ذلك ولو كنت وحيد وذلت تحيزت عنه
الرجال الكثيرة انتبه ان شا الله بعفرلدي ثم بات وباله يجلو في البحر
الفكر وطلب مشغول بطلب حيلة يرسل بها الى غرفة وهجر لذبذ
العوم وأصبح ترك عزيز الطعام ثم اقتنى رايه على تدبير حيلة
ظل ان يدرك بها امله ووقف على امر رفعه مناما 2
[ f.98b]
بينال به مراد وسغى به امر رفعه فلما اقبل النهار بدل
ملموس واخذ ثياب التجار ووقف المدينة استساح مرورا في احد
البحات الكبار واخذ حموتا في سوق التجار فنقل فيها من الكنسر
على امر متفقة بصميم ظريفة وامشية مذهبة نفيسة فعنتها
التفاصل الهندية والطاقات الشامية والثياب الديماجية واللجه
السنية والملاس البريسيمة والجزء المعدنية هذا كله من نيب
البلاد وما والعباد الموضع في الكمر ثم قعد في حصنوته في بيع
وشرا واخذ وعطاهم مع الناس وصار يسالمه في الاسعار ويكس في
[ f.99a]
الاثمان وينقل الناس بما يشتهموه الى ان اشتهر امرود وشاع ذكره وانتشر خبره وانسعت سيرته فزارد
اكبر وتزاحمت عليه الصغار وهو يقبر الناس بمعروف وباشاة
ويعاملهم باللين والباشاة ويشترتهم سماحة الوجه وحسن الاحلم
ولطف في خطابه وحسن في جوابه حتى ان حبوه الناس باجمعهم

1 MS. يا ليت شعري, of which I can make nothing.
2 MS. تزير.
وقد هذا كلمة ضد طبيعته إن كان مجبول على القساوة والغلاطية والفساد والفظاعة، وعناد على القتل والنهب وسفك الدماء والسلب لكي
الضرورة إلى ما احتجوه إلى ذلك فما يوصف بعلم ولا قضاء ولا من يرجع إليه في انتفاض ولا امتلاك ولا إمام
مسيح [f. 996] ولا خطييب ولا من فئته يسأل فيه فرح ولا مس يتجه في رأى فيه فخذي أو يصيب ولا مجدل بحبيت ولا متكمل في قديم
وجد حديث ولا معروف بهدنة وصلح ولا فرسان حرب وکفاح ولا راشق
بسهم ولا طاعون بروح ولا نار بحبيت ولا ناد ولا حاضر ولا مقيم ولا
ساحر ولا أذار ولا نازر ولا مسلم في ظاهر ولا عرب ولا
ساحر ولا راعي ناف ولا اسم ولا فرقة للذين لا يدبار ولا لا
لادار ولا ناس في حضر ولا بادية ولا ساحر بيوت ولا جدار ولا مثبج في البخار ولا سائر في
البري ولفقار حتى اتى إلى عنده وابتناغ من تماشيه ومتاعه
وزارت كل جزيرة وهمية خماسية النقد سايلة التصد قايمة
[f. 100a]
التي عبئة السواطع عظيمة الروادف لها ضيوع كعسون
الغزول وعواجب كالقصيسان وأذان كالكيسان وصرور كالزوران وكم
كجاتم سليمان وشفاف كالعمق والمرجان وقد كفصر الباقون واعداد
كالشيخان وإنقس كالباسان تن=document removed
لا يستطيع خطيباً وتشغيف الساقم بكمامة المجل الرخم وتبادرة التي عسدة كل سمحة
تمية كميحة الطرف متممة الطرف كاملة الوصف تأويلة اللفد
معتدلة إلا أنف مكلحة الشفيفين مورة التدقين نفيلة الفرددين دقيقه الساقين كميحة العينين حمراء الوجئتين بنها من الحمس
والجمال والبهاء والجمال والولد والاعتدال صاحب [f. 100b] المتكم

1 MS. إناء، of which I can make nothing. I conjecture with
diffidence.
2 MS. وبادية بدار.
البلبنغ عن وصفه ولا يبلغ العالم الواضح إلى ذكر نصفه وسارعت إلى لقاءه كن صوره ونحواه ومسموع وحاجب مسموع وجسم أشر وشعر
ذهب ووجه الغش وطرف الأسماق وساق الأخفام فانظر وقدم
مايل ومنظره دليل ومنظرهات سايل ولون حايلا شفاخة رشاحة نازلة
اللصاح والأخفام كثيرة النسا والزرات ١ عديمة الصمت والنشاط زائدة
في الكلام والعياض تفرت النفوس من صورتها وتفرعت من روبتها وجالسه
كل شاب إذد٢ الماجزين خفيف الغزير وليس فيهم أوراق٠ خفيفة
ذات عزار٣ وأذهت انواره وظهرت اقماره وخيفت الوؤاز يتعمّل
من الأجنب والنبي وتبين من الدلال ما فيه ويبتكر الشهد م٤ فيه
[١٠١][١٠٠] وحصراً إلى حدود كن أمر ظريف ذى طرف نسيف
وعنار خفيف وثوب نظيف ووجه اشعروحة احمر وجبن ازهروبه
أيضًا بين كميم وخد أسيل وخصر خميل ورفد فقيل وساق فقيل
تشفي السقيم وروبه وبكر الكليم مشاهده وقلب بشاعته كل كبل
كامل اللسان قوى السمر والنس طويل القامة كبيرة الهامة وأفر اللمحة
العاجزين جعد الشعر الغزير به من البطالة والبسالة ما يفوق
الفارس الشجاع ويتاهل المدد الخشن واشترى مس سلطته كل
شيخ حرم طاعين في الس نفر الرأس نفيف البصر متكى على
عصده قد مارس الأمور ومادبه السدين والمدهور [١٠١] وشابت
لجمته مين نوابب الزمان واحني ظهره من تداول الليلي٤ والليام
ونطق لسان حاله يقول شعرًا [١٠٢]

١ So in MS. for أُزج.
٢ So in MS. for أُزج.
٣ So in MS. for عذارد.
٤ MS. الليلي.
ارعشنی الدهر ای رعشة والدهر ذو قوة وبطس قد كنت ممشی ولست عشیا واليوم اتیا ولست امتشی وهو يقبل كل من هم بالرحب والسعة ويسأوا بين القوى والمعنی والمدى والشريفة ولا يفرق بين الامیر والمامور والطیق والمیسور ولا بين الجمل والجیسر والغیب والفقیر بل يعظام العالم الأديب كما لا يتحکر السوارد الغريب ويغفل التحیس وبكم الجیار القريب حتى عمت الثقلوب سبیت وشملت النفوس مسودته وقدر النقاد جمل جلالة لأمرأراانفازة وحكم قناعه على عباده ان حونت هذا الغدار سار يواجه حنوت ابن على بنیا وکان اسمه محمدًا فتحیث كانتا جیران وحیت علیهما حقوق الغناوة فلاجل ذلك تعارفا وتوالفا ولا كأن احد منهما يعرف من هو صاحبه وما هو أسله فازداد بينهما الود والعصبة وسارا بجلاسیا عند بعضهما ولا أحد منهما يصر على جارد فصدف في بعض الايام ان على بابا جالس عند ابنه محمد لقصد الزيارة طالیا التبزی في سوق التجار فوجد الناس الغريب جالسًا عندن فاول ما ابسره الغاید عرفه جید المعرفة وتحققت أنه غريبه الذي جاء یطبه ففرح لذلک قلبه الفرح واستبشر بقصده حاذطه وبغور اریه وبخذ الفارکن كن هذا ولغیره وعند ما انصرف على بابا سال عنه ابنه متظاهرًا ان لا يعرف أنه فقال له محمد هذا هو ابی فلما فهم ذلك وتحققه سأر يکثر من الجیسوس عند محمد ويزيد في اكرهه وبیالغ في احترامه ويظهر له الالفة والمحبة والصداقة والمودة وقد كان يدعیه عندن لکل الطعام ويصنع له الولائم والصیافات ويطلبه للسهرات ولا يصبر عنه في المنامات والمساء الراست ويهادیه البدايات

1 So in MS. for نفاده.
النفيسة والتجف الطريقة هذا كله لتنفيذًا، غرض كان انعمر
ولتمكين ما كان انطوي عليه من الغدر والخيانة [f. 103a]
اما محمد لما شاهد فرط معروفه ورأى حسن عشرته وزيادة صداقة حبته
وصلت محمد فيه لغت استغلالها وبدأت إلى النهاية لما كان يظن فيه من
خلووق النية وصدق الطوية وكان لا يصرع عنه ساعة واحدة ولا يفارقه
لا لبس ولا نهار ففيك لا ابنه، ما كان يصنع به من المعروف الناجر
الغريب وما ظهير له من الود والمحبة وانه رجع بنى كريم سنتى
ومن الأمثال والأخ في مدحه وذكر أنه يدعه عندنا في كل وقت لأكل
الطعام اللذيذ ويبانيه بالتجف النفيسة فقال له أبو وأجاب عليه
يا ابنى أنت تقابل، بما يعاملك به وتصنع له ولبيعة وتدعى، ويكون
ذلك في يوم [f. 103b] الجمعية، فادا خرجتنا معًا من صلاة الجمعية
فوق الظهر ورتما على بينتبا فاعظم عليه بالدخول فكون
متساخرًا على ما يناسب ويليق لمقام هذا الصيف الجليل فلما
كان يوم الجمعية، منى القايد وقت الظهر إلى المسجد وجميع محمد
فبعد ما صلا صلاة الجمعية خرجنا معًا لقصد التنزد في المدينة
فمازالت يجولان فيها إلى أن انتهى إلى يش Registrar على بابا فلما وصل
لعنده البيت عزم محمد على رفقة بالدخول لأكل الطعام قاليًا لـ
ان هذا منزلي نبأي واشتمع من ذلك بضرب من العلل فكاد
عليه محمد وحلف عليه وما زال وراد حتى رضى قاليًا له، فأوقف البك
على مراكث لد حت لتجم مناجم/Baktrik [f. 104a]
يكون على شرط انكم لتسنف ملحا في الطعام لا ان كره ذلك غاية
الكرامة ولست استطيع أن أتكلم ولا اسم راجي، فقال له محمد هذا أمر
هين وحث عن من معدتك لا تقبل العلّم لا ي茭ص بين يديك إلا

1 So in MS. for. لتنفيذ.
طعام من دون ملح فلمما سمع كلاهما فرج في الباطن فرحًا شديداً لان غابة مقصودة كان الدخول في البيت وكل ما صنع من الجيل كان لجل إذرك هذا الغرض وتحصيل هذه الأئمة فصيحة رسمية إيقين باخذ النار وتعظيم تمكتن الانتمام وقال في نفسه اوقفهم الله بين يديه مسان غيصر محلة ولا شيك فلما خطتا العتبة ودخل الدار ترحب به على بابا وسلم عليه بغاية ما يكون من الدب والمشمره [f. 104b] وأجلسه في صدر المكان بظنه أنه تاجر جليل وعرف أنه صاحب النزية بنفسه بسبب تغيير رواه وصورةه وخطبته وأن دخل الذيب بين الغنم والسدا بين النعم وقعد يحاته ويowanسه اما ابنه محمد فاتى لعنده مرحابة وأوساه بعدم دخلال الخيل في الاطعمة كون أن نعمتهم لا يقدر على أكله فاختبرها ذلك لانها كانت صنعت الطعام الفائز بطبخ غيره من دون ملح فليس استغرت ذلك وربما امر واشتبات أنها تنظري فهذا الرجل الذي لا رغبة له في الخيل ولا يذوقه من دون الناس كلها لن حقيقة [هذا الشيء لا يسمع به ولا يشتقق فلما استوى [f. 105a] الطيب وأن وقت العشاء حملت العيدة هى وعبد الله وقعداها بين بيد الجماعة فعند ذلك لاحت منها التنفرة إلى الناجر الغريب فعرفته في الحال لنراضتها وجودة فتانتها وتحققت أنه قايد اللصوص من غير مشك ولا ريب ثم اطلقه في النظر فابصر تحت رداية يد خاجر فشقت في نفسها فهمت الان سبب امتثال هذا الخادع عن اكل الخيل مع سيدى وهو أنه يريد قطع فاستيقظ فعل ذلك واستطعه بعد اكل الخيل لكنه يانى الله تعالى ما ينال مقصود ولا ابقيه يسمع ذلك ثم انصرفت لتشغالي ووقف عبد الله للخدمة

1 To be read, I suppose.  
2 MS. Fatanah.
Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves

...THEY EAT ALL THE COLORS and work on Baba to make him buy what they want and charge him high prices. They also control the food and water supplies, preventing anyone from getting them. This continues for a long time, and people are afraid to speak out. One day, a merchant named Abû Hamîd comes to the village and hears about the situation. He decides to do something about it.

MS. سیکت

1 So in MS. for فاخر

Colloquial falsain or falsan rumman.

JRAS. 1910.
في مثل هذا الرومان فلها على الجميل وهي عنده اعترام السنة فانظر بها سبدها جمال وجدتها ورشاقة قدها وحسن رقتها وذراف حزها ولفت حركتها وما هو فكأن غريبًا لكلاهем ولا صاحب تجديده بل غائب عن وجوده مقدمة عليه وقيظة على مدخوله هذين الشخصين الذين افسادا عليه ما اعتن من السوء على أهل المنزل وما اضمر من الغدر والاغتيال. ثم أن مرجعانة رقتا حسبًا حسبًا ينادي [f. 107a] رقص أهل الصناعة ورقصت فيه إلى أن جدبت خنجرا كأن على متنها ورقصت به هي ماسكاد في يدها كما هي عادة العرب فتارة تتسع نصله على صدرها وتارة على صدر على بابا وتارة تقربي من صدر أبتسه محمد وتارة تجعله على صدر القائد ثم اخذت الطبل مس يد عبد الله وقدمته رأى على بابا وشاركت عليه ان يعطيها شيء فارى لها دينارًا ثم انتقلت بالطلب لعبد ابنا محمد فروى لهها دينارًا اخر ثم دانت من القائد بالخجار من يد والطلب من يد فاراد ان يعطيها شيء ولذلك وضع يده في جيبه فبينما هو على هذه الحالة صلبًا باخراج ما تيسرغ الدراهم ان غرزت الخنجر في صدر فشيق شهقة عظيمة [f. 107b] وما تفعلت قاما مسرعين ووقفا متفاجئين وصرخا عليها قائلين لها باخريته يا بنت الزانية يا عاهرة يا قليلة الفضل ما سبب هذا الغدر الفزع وما احوجكت إلى هذا الفعل الشنيع قد رميتيكما في بلوة لا تنجو منها أبدا وتكونين سبب هلاكنا وفقد ارواحنا لكن أول ما تعاقب انت يا ملعونة وان سلميت مس بيد المحكم لا تسلمي

1 So in MS. for ماسكاة ; colloquial ; see Willmore, § 116, p. 100.
2 MS. يتعاقب.
So in MS. for 1. روّنا.
2. وزدا.  
3. So in MS. for وارتهما.  
4. cf. n. 1 on p. 370.
أتجاهما الله من خطر عظيم وملا عطبة جسمهم بوسيلة جاريتهما مرجانة وتحتقا صدٍّ مقالاتها وعظمت لديهما جراء قلبها وفعلتها فعند ذلك شكاها على فعلها المجمد ومدا حود رابيها السديد ثم إن قال لها على بابا ما استبعدتك سابقاً أو ابتدين على أكثر من ذلك فيضّقت في هذه الساعة أن أفٍّ يعدهد وانجز بودوي وأنا إلى ما كنت اضربت فيه في مقابلة ما صنعته عена من المجر وإناز بك على حسن فعلتك وهو أن زوجتك بابي محمد مثلا تقولان في ذلك فاجابه محمد [f. 109b] في تقياً للكن السمع والطاعة فيها دبرت ورسمت ولا اختالفك فيما نهيت وأقسمت ولو كان شىٍّ ينجبني أو يقلقي اما زواج مرجانة فهو نية مرادى ونهاية مقصودى وذلك لأن كان يتعشقيا من زمان وشغفته فيها وعمل إلى الغاية ودكرت النهاية لى ما كان فيها من الحسن والجمال والبهاء والكمال ولما حوت من جودة الفريدة وحسن الاختلاق ولما جمعت من كريم الأصل وطيب الإعتراق ثم شرعوا في دفن الغاية فصرفوا له في البستان حقيقة واسعة فبرد فيها وتحقت باستحباب اللجودين الكثرة الملائين وما شعر أحد من خلق الله بهذه الأمور الغريبة والتفاوتات [f. 110a] العجيبة وما ما كان من إمر حنوتة أنه لما غاب عنه مدة مستطيلة من الزمان وما ظهر عنه خبرهما بان له الامرأة بيت المال على ما كان يحبه من المال وعلي غير ذلك من أمواله ومتركتاه ثم لما استكتوا وامتنعوا وف اوجنهم ارتكتوا وراقت الأمور وظهر السرور ارتفع الشروط تزوج محمد بالجاربة مرجانة وكتب عقد نكاحها عند قاني المسلمين ودفع لها صداقتها والنزم بما تأخر منه وجمعوا الناس وقاموا الإفراح ويهوا في الليلى العلاج وعملوا الواليسم

1 MS.
والصيامات وجمعوا أرباب العلاهي والمغني وأهل السحريات إلى أن جلها عليه وخلا بها [f. 110b] وأزال بكارتها يوم الفجر الثالثة أيام ثم لما قضى سنة كاملة مس بعد هذه الإمرون على بابا الذهاب إلى الكنيز وكان من ذلك بعد موت أخسائه خوفا من غدر اللصوص فلما أراد الله منهم ثمانية وثلاثين رجلا على يدى مرجانة وملك بعدهم الفايد فلظ أن الباقى منهم رجال لان كان عدهم في الجبل ووجدتهم أربعين شخصًا فلذلك توقف عن الذهاب هذه المدة كلها خوفًا من غدرهم فلستما عدم خبرهم وثني لهم أثر تيقن بفقدهم وتجاسروا على التوجه فاضخ معه ابنه لاجل يريه الكنيز ويعمله سر الوصول اليه والدخول فيه فلما قررا من السكنز وجدًا العشب [f. 111a] والعوجس الشوائب قد تكاثفت قرب الباب وسبط الطريق فعلما من ذلك أن مس مدة مستطيلة لم دخل في الكنيزات أسئ ولا حس حسس فعند ذلك تيقنا بولات الصص الباقين وزال خوفهما وتجاسروا على التقدم والعبور فأخذ على بابا قاسه وقطع العشب والشوائب حتى اتسعت له العنيف وملك الوصول إلى الباب ثم قال زن مسمه افتح بابك فانفتح الباب ودخل منه هو ابنه ففرر على ما يصوونه مس الاموال والغريبان والاجابيف فيهم من شوية ذلوك وتجيب غاية التجيب فلما جالا في الكنيزودا وشقا في فاعاته وسيرا واكتفا [f. 111b] من تقليلب الجوهر والماء عنصرا على الرجوع ففعد ذلك اخذا مما سمحهما من لطيف الكنيز وما خلق حمله وعلي تمته وعادا الى منزلهم ثم سرين ولكسب الاموال فرحانيين وما زالوا ينقلون مس الكنيز مسا يريدون وهم في ريح عيش واهتنا إلى ان اتأهم هادم اللذات وخير الجماعات وتخرب القصور ومعمر القبور وهذا اخبر مائتي كتبه
حديثهم وغاية ما بلغنا من أخبار تديمهم وحديثهم من خط العبد
الفقير الرازي غفران مولاد المعلّى التديري بون يوسف وارمي
تجاوز الله على زلاته وسيئاته وأجزل ثوابه وحسناه وجعل
الفرود متوها ودار الخلد لأواد أنه على كل شيء تدیر

1 MS. حديث.
X

SENNACHERIB'S CAMPAIGNS ON THE NORTH-WEST AND HIS WORK AT NINEVEH

By T. G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

The British Museum having been fortunate enough to acquire a new historical document from Assyria of considerable importance, it has been thought that (notwithstanding that an excellent translation and commentary upon it, from the pen of the copyist of the text, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, has been published) a few notes concerning it would not be without interest to the readers of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and more particularly those whose studies deal with the pre-Christian Semitic East, especially the tract lying north-west of the Persian Gulf.

The inscription referred to is one of the large cylinders, or rather prisms, which the Assyrian kings were accustomed to use for the recording of the events of their reigns; and, incidentally, their own military glories, and their architectural works. The occasion of their composition was generally the last-named, and the king made use of the opportunity thus offered to give an account of his achievements on the field of battle. Warlike by nature, the Assyrians regarded military prowess as being of the greatest importance. After that came the building or rebuilding of the temples of their gods, who gave them the victories of which they boasted; and hardly second to this was the building of palaces, the outward and visible sign of their own power.

This newly-acquired prism-cylinder, which closely resembles many others from the same country, is of baked clay, and has, upon its eight faces, an inscription of
740 lines devoted to the campaigns and the architectural work of Sennacherib, king of Assyria from 704 to 681 B.C. Though all the campaigns recorded here are given by other texts, and are therefore well known, the inscription upon this cylinder is a document of the first importance, in that it not only treats of two campaigns in which he did not personally take part, but it throws fresh light on the personality of that remarkable and somewhat ruthless king, who, whatever he may have been to those who saw in him a merciless enemy, was for his own countrymen a wise and beneficent ruler, advancing the welfare of his subjects by every means in his power.

There is no need to go through the history of the reign of Sennacherib further than to say that the present text gives, in the selfsame words as the other inscriptions of his reign, the usual honorific introduction; his first campaign, which was against Merodach-baladan; his second, which was directed against the Kassites and the Yašubi-galleans; his third, which was against Hatti, the object being to chastise Hezekiah and set things right, in accordance with his own views, at Ekron; his fourth, which was against the Chaldean state of Bit-Yakin; and his fifth, undertaken to subjugate certain cities occupying the mountain fastnesses of Mesopotamia. It is after these narratives that the sections containing the account of certain important campaigns not conducted by himself, but by his generals, begin. The following is the text of these in transcription, with translation appended (Col. IV, ll. 61 ff.):—

61. Ina limu Šul-mu-bēli ša-kin al Ri-mu-si
62. m.Ki-ru-a êm-bēl-āli ša al Il-lu-ub-ri
63. êm-ardu da-giš pa-ni-ia ša iz-zu bu-šu tân-šu
64. ba-hu-la-te al Hi-lak-ki
65. uš-bal-kit-ma ik-šu-ra ta-la-zu
66. nše a-ši-bu-ut al In-gi-ra-a a al Tar-zi

¹ The Bellino-cylinder, Taylor-cylinder, and other texts.
67. i-da-a-šu  is-ḫu-ru-ma  gir-ri māt Qu-e
68. is-ba-tu  ip-ru-su  a-lak-tu
69. ām.Šābē ṣmqāšti na-ši tuk-ši ā is-ma-ri-e
70. ṣnarkabāti sisē  ki-šir šarrū-ti-ia
71. u-ma'-ir  ši-ru-uš-šu-un
72. ša ba-hu-la-te  āl Hi-lak-ki
73. ša i-da-a-šu  is-ḫu-ru
74. i-na ki-rib šad-ši mar-ši is-ku-nu taḥ-ta-šu-un
75. āl In-gi-ru-a ālu Ta-ar-zu ik-šu-du-ma
76. iš-lu-lu  šal-la-su-un
77. ša-a-šu ki-rib āl Il-lu-ub-ri āl dan-nu-ti-šu
78. ni-tum il-mu-šu-ma is-ba-tu mu-šu-šu
79. i-na qur-rub šu-pi-e num-gal-li ūdīr
80. ū lab-ban-na-te mit-ḥu-šu zu-uk šēpē
81. tap-da-a-šu is-ku-nu-ma is-ba-tu āla
82. m.Ki-ru-a ṣmētubēl-āli a-di šal-lat ālān-šu
83. ū niše  āl Hi-lak-ki ša i-da-a-šu
84. is-ḫu-ru a-di ūmerc ālpe ū še-enī
85. a-na āl Ni-na-a a-di mah-ri-ia ūb-lu-ni
86. ša  m.Ki-ru-a ma-šak-šu a-ku-us
87. u-tir-ma āl Il-lu-ub-ri a-na es-šu-te aš-bat
88. niše mātāti ki-šū-ti qātē-ia i-na lib-bi u-še-šēb
89. ṣmqakkī ṣu Aššur bēl-ia ki-rib-šu u-šor-me
90. ṣmnarā-šu  ša ṣmnparātī u-še-pīš-ma
91. ma-ḥar-šu  ul-zi-iz.

61. In the eponymy of Šalmu-bēlī, governor of the city of Rimusu,
62. Kirua, prefect of the city of Illubru,
63. an official dependent upon me, whose gods forsake him,
64. caused the people of the city Ḥilakku
65. to revolt, and gathered an army.
66. The people inhabiting the cities of Ingrā and Tarsus
67. rallied around him, and the road of the land of Que
68. they occupied—they stopped the way.
69. The bowmen, shield (?)- and spearmen,
70. chariots, (and) horses of the army of my kingdom,
71. I sent against them.
72. As for the people of the city of H̄ilakku
73. who had rallied to his side,
74. they accomplished their defeat among the difficult
mountains.
75. They captured the cities Ingirā (and) Tarsus, and
76. carried off their spoil.
77. Him within the city of Illubru, his fortified city,
78. they surrounded with a barrier, and took his exits.
79. With advance of engines, catapults, fortifications,¹
80. and earthworks, attack of foot-soldiers,
81. they accomplished his overthrow, and took the city.
82. Kirua, the governor, with the spoil of his cities,
83. and the people of the city H̄ilakku who had
84. rallied to him, with asses, oxen, and sheep,
85. they brought to Nineveh to my presence.
86. I flayed off the skin of Kirua.
87. I returned and took the city of Illubru anew.
88. I settled therein the people of the countries, the con-
quests of my hands.
89. The emblem of Aššur my lord I set up within it—
90. I caused my memorial-slab of alabaster to be made, and
91. set it up before it.

¹ The characters which I have translated "catapults, fortifications"—
a provisional rendering—are 𒂗𒈗𒇾, numgulli dūri, translated by King "'great flies' of the wall'", though he further
suggests that they were siege-engines, "probably with an armoured
roof expanding rearward like a fly's wings." As all Assyriologists
know, the character num ("fly") is used, in the Flood-legend, to
indicate something corresponding with the rainbow in the Biblical
account, and a great cross-bow or ballista may have suggested, to the
imagination of the Assyrians, a giant fly with outspread wings. It is
also noteworthy that the word for "lightning" in Sumero-Akkadian is
𒂗𒈗𒇾, num-gir, "fly-sword." Cf. also 𒂗𒈗𒇾=zumbi-abni,
"the fly of stone," perhaps a catapult or ballista for throwing great
pebbles. In Boissier's Divination, p. 6, this group should be followed by
ZA-GIN, Semitic zumbi žbnu uknī, "lapis-fly," a name probably due to
its colour.
From this campaign we learn that "the city of Hilakku" (from which the name of Cilicia apparently comes) was the capital of the district known as Que, a tract often invaded by the Assyrian kings; and it is therefore probable that Que was the Assyrian designation of the district known classically as Cilicia, though there is naturally doubt whether the boundaries coincided, even approximatively. The residence of the governor was called Illubru. The name of the governor, Kirua, suggests that he was not an Assyrian, which would explain how it was that he desired to throw off the Assyrian yoke. To accomplish this, he persuaded the people of the city of Hilakku to revolt. Having been joined by the people of Ingirâ and Tarzu (Tarsus), Kirua seems to have felt himself strong enough to resist the forces which, as he expected, Sennacherib would send against him. Being a mountainous region, they thought they could hold the Cilician way (girri mát Que), and thus stem the tide of invasion. In this they were disappointed, however, for after defeating the united forces, in the difficult mountainous country (where the Cilicians naturally expected to be successful), the Assyrians captured Ingirâ and Tarsus. Kirua was then besieged within his capital Illubru by the Assyrians, with all their warlike devices (for at this time they apparently aimed at efficiency, and evidently with much success). The end was what a governor who had turned traitor might expect, for he was brought to Nineveh on the capture of his city and flayed, in all probability alive. The wording of the record leads one to think that the Assyrians had to abandon the city, probably for fear of being cut off from their base. A second expedition was therefore sent to retake it, and to settle therein captives from other lands which the Assyrian arms had conquered.

According to Alexander Polyhistor, it was in consequence of having received a report that the Greeks had made a descent upon Cilicia that Sennacherib marched against
them. He fought with them a pitched battle, in which, though he suffered great loss, he nevertheless overthrew them, and erected upon the spot a statue of himself as a monument of his victory, ordering his prowess to be inscribed thereon "in Chaldee characters", in order to hand down the record to posterity. Sennacherib does not claim to have set up an image of himself, but only a symbol of his god Aššur. He placed there, however, a memorial-slab giving an account of the conquest, and though it is not mentioned, there may well have been a bas-relief, representing the king, above the inscription. Polyhistor states that Sennacherib marched to the conquest of Cilicia in person, but the cylinder indicates that this was not the case, so that he did not in reality know what his generals there had done in the matter of memorials of the exploit.

Polyhistor also states that Sennacherib built (better rebuilt) the city of Tarsus, after the likeness of Babylon, and called it Tharsis.¹ If this were really the case, excavations on the site might result in the discovery of a record of the fact that the Assyrian king had become a creator rather than a destroyer, for Babylon itself suffered greatly at his hands in consequence of his resentment at the opposition to his rule which it had offered, and which his son Esarhaddon's mildness and favours towards the city were powerless to remove. Perhaps, however, it was rather to make a rival than a counterpart of Babylon that Sennacherib desired. With regard to the change of name, that the new inscription does not throw much light upon—perhaps it was at a later date that the change took place. The spelling on the cylinder is 𒆜𒊩𒅗, 𒆜𒊩𒅗, Tar-uzu, and 𒆜𒊩𒅗 𒆜𒊩𒅗 𒅗𒆜𒊩, Tu-ar-uzu, both of which were read in the same way.

¹ So according to the Armenian text—cf. Schoene's Eusebius, col. 27, and Eusebi P. Jo. Baptista Aucher, Venice, 1818, p. 21.
namely, Tarzu, or, possibly, Tharzu. The presence of \(z\) for Armenian \(s\) is in accordance with the spelling which was common among the Semites, the Phœnician form of the name being Ṭarzū.

The name of the city is found as early as the time of Shalmaneser II, who, in his Black-Obelisk Inscription, states that, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, having crossed Mount Amanus for the seventh time, he went for the fourth time against the cities of Kātī, ruler of the Qauians (people of Que or Cilicia). After subjugating Tanakun, a fortified city belonging to a chieftain named Tulka, and ravaging the land of Lamena, Shalmaneser marched against Tarzu (Tarsus), which submitted, and paid tribute in silver and gold. Kātī, the ruler of the city, was deposed, and his brother Kīrīî raised to the sovereignty over the people in his stead.

Though this is the only previous mention of Tarsus, it is not the only mention of Que or Qau, as Cilicia was called, in the Assyrian inscriptions; and there is no knowing at present how far back their connexions with, and consequently their incursions into, that district go, for the Cappadocian inscriptions, which are essentially Assyrian, show that Assyrian influence had reached that point, and probably gone even farther west, about 2000 years B.C. or earlier. Tukulti-Ninip (Tukulti-En-usāti), about 1275 B.C., warred in the same direction, but it is doubtful whether he went so far as Cilicia. Among the predecessors of Sennacherib who warred in that part of Asia Minor, however, may be mentioned Tiglath-pileser III, who received tribute from Urikker or Uriaiku of Que, and Sennacherib's father Sargon, who seems to have taken a city in that province whose name begins with Ab-. . . . , which had been already captured by Mitā, king of Muski or Mesech. Other cities of Que, which Sargon afterwards refers to as having been annexed by Mitā, are Harrua and Ušnanis, which had been in his possession some time. These were
restored to their original province, probably under an Assyrian governor—to whom, indeed, Sargon refers; and it is to his efforts that the success of the Assyrian arms seems to have been due.

The second additional campaign contained in the new text took place apparently during the following year, and follows immediately upon that translated and discussed above. It refers to operations in Tubal, but is unfortunately not so well preserved, though several of the lines can be restored from duplicate texts:—

1. I-na li-mu Aššur-bêl-ûsur âveluša-kin . . .
2. a-na áli Til-ga-ri-[im-mu]
3. a-lum ša pa-a-ši mât Ta-[ba-li]
4. ša m-Hi-di-i šarru-tu-[us-su]
5. ir-ku-su įnuakk[ê-ia]
6. as-su-uk-ma âvelušabê šiğdša ra-ši [tuk-ši]
7. ú as-ma-ri-e įu-narkabati sî[sê]
8. ki-šir sarru-ti-ia u-ma’-ir ši-ru-uš-šu
9. álu šu-a-tum ni-i-tum al-mu-ma
10. i-na maš-pak e-pi-ri ú kur-ru-u[b šu-pi-i]
11. mit-hu-su zu-[uk šepê i]š-ba-[tu ála]
12. niše a-di tláni [a-sib lib-bi-su am-nu šal-la-ti-iš]
13. Alu šu-a-tum [iq-qu-ru]
14. a-na tilî [ú kar-me u-tir-ru]
15. i-na šal-lat mátat[i(pl.) ša aš-lu-la]
16. šelaši le’im [înuqášti . . . a]-ri-t[u]
17. i-na [lib-bu-šu-nu a]k-sur-ma
18. ė[lí ki-šir šarru-ti-ia] u-rad-di
19. [si-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri] ka-bit-tu
20. [a-na gi-mir karáši-ia] bêl-piháti(pl.)-ia
21. [u niše ma-ha-za-ni-ia] rabúti
22. [kíma ši-e-ni lu-]u-za’-iz

1. In the eponymy of Aššur-bêl-ûsur, prefect of . . .
2. to the city Til-garimmu,

1 I have adopted the restorations given by Mr. King in the British Museum publication referred to.
3. a city of the borders of the land of Tubal,
4. whose kingdom Hidi
5. had consolidated, my weapons
6. I sent down, and bowmen, bearers of shields
7. and lances, chariots, horses,
8. my royal force, I sent against him.
9. I surrounded that city (with) a wall, and
10. with heaping-up of embankments, and advance of siege-engines,
11. attack of infantry, they took the city.
12. The people with the gods dwelling within it I counted as spoil.
13. That city they destroyed;
14. to a mound and heaps they reduced (it).
15. Among the spoil of the lands, which I carried off
16. 30,000 [bows and . . . ] shields
17. I collected among them, and
18. added to the (military) store of my kingdom.
19. [The rest of the] heavy [spoil of the enemy]
20. [to the whole of my camp], my provincial governors,
21. [and the people of my] great [cities]
22. like sheep I distributed.

Til-garimmu has been identified with the Biblical Togarmah, but it cannot be said that the two forms afford satisfactory material for a philological comparison, at least in the present state of our knowledge. Sennacherib had already made an expedition into the neighbourhood of Tubal, when he went against Tumurru, Šarum or Šarma (קַוּרְמָא)-(טַוּרְמָא), Ezama, Kipšu, Halbuda, Qûa, and Qana, "whose situations are placed, like the nest of an eagle, the prince of birds, upon the height of the land Nipur, a difficult mountain." The king complains of the difficulties and fatigues of the march, and of having to rest sitting upon a stone, and drink cold water from a bottle of skin. On this occasion
he attacked also the cities of Maniae of the city of Ukku, which he captured, carrying off their spoil, together with the plunder of thirty-three cities of the neighbouring district. Sennacherib's bull-inscriptions, Nos. 2 and 3, speak also of a march to Hilakku (Cilicia), whose people dwelt in lofty wooded heights; but he slaughtered them "like lambs". To this he adds (as also in the text of his memorial-slab) that he captured and reduced to ruins the city Til-garimmu, on the borders of the land of Tubal. It seems not improbable that this latter reference, which is tacked on to the end of the account of the expedition to the mountain-cities, is the same as that of which a longer account is given in the new cylinder-inscription.

But the longest section of the text on this new and exceedingly interesting cylinder is that recording Sennacherib's work at Nineveh, in the walls of which the monument in question is supposed to have been found. This portion of the text, which occupies no less than three-quarters of column v, and the whole of columns vi, vii, and viii (345 lines), gives an idea of the importance which Sennacherib attached to the work. Whether the length of this part shows he had recognized that he would be remembered as a builder rather than as a conqueror, or that he desired to be so remembered, is doubtful, but fate had ordained that he should go down to posterity as the ruthless and rapacious ravager, who more than once felt the heavy hand of the vengeful and jealous God of the Hebrews.

The introduction to the account of the work done at Nineveh, which occupies twenty-nine lines, gives a general description of the Assyrian capital as the city beloved of the goddess Istar, wherein exist all the shrines of the gods and goddesses. It is described as the eternal groundwork, the everlasting foundation, whose design had been fashioned and whose structure shone forth from of old with the writing of the (starry) heavens. It was a place
craftily wrought, wherein was the seat of the oracle, and all kinds of art-works, every kind of shrine, treasure, thing of delight (?). It was there that all the kings his fathers had ruled the land of Assyria before him, and had directed the followers of the god Enlil.¹ None of the kings, however, had turned his mind, as Sennacherib had done, to the widening of the city’s area, to building the city wall, to straightening the streets, and none of them had had his attention directed to digging a canal, nor planting a plantation. Nor had he set his mind upon the palace therein, the lordly habitation, whose site had become too small, and whose construction was not artistic. It was to all these things that Sennacherib, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, turned his mind and his attention, according to the will of the gods.

For this purpose he set the people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Mannites or Armenians, Que and Ḫilakku (both mentioned as countries, though in the historical part the latter appears as a city), the land of Pilišti (Philistia), and the land of Tyre. All these nationalities, who had not submitted to his yoke, he carried away, and placed them in servitude, and they made the bricks for the extension and beautifying of the city. The former palace, which extended to 360 cubits in length and 95 in breadth, he found too small for his needs, and also too plain in its architecture for his taste, notwithstanding that they had had alabaster (?) quarried in the city of Tastiate on the Tigris, and brought down on rafts (literally “ships”) for the winged bulls and lions which ornamented the gates of the palace. For these rafts they had cut down great trees throughout their land. It was at the time of the spring floods in the month of Iyyar that they brought them over with difficulty to the Nineveh side of the river. “At the crossing of the quay walls,”

¹ Probably the Babylonians in general, in which case “the older Enlil” may not be intended, but Bel-Merodach.
Sennacherib says, "the great boats [gišma-gula] sank deep, their crews groaned, their bodies were distressed; with hardship and labour, toilingly they brought them, and set them up in their gates."

This palace, however, was doomed to disaster, for the River Tebiltu, a violent stream, had since remote days sought to reach the palace, and in its flood had caused damage to the foundation, and destroyed the platform or terrace. This small palace Sennacherib pulled down entirely, turned the course of the Tebiltu from the middle of the city, and directed its outflow to the district behind. With the aid of great blocks of stone, reeds, and other material, Sennacherib reclaimed from another river, the Khosr, a piece of land 340 cubits in length by 289 in width, taking also a portion of ground belonging to the city, in accordance with the plan. This was added to the extent of the former platform, and its surface was raised to a height of 190 tipki. In order that this substructure should not be weakened in course of time by the violence of the current, the terrace-foundation was faced round with great blocks of stone. The palace itself was enlarged to a length of 700 great suklum and a width of 440, and palaces (that is, separate sections or divisions of the whole structure) were then built, and adorned with gold, silver, bronze, santu-stone, tur-mina-banda-stone, white limestone, ivory, ušu-wood, urkarinnu-wood, palm, cedar, cypress, burašu, ělammaku, and sindá-woods. He then caused a gateway to be made after the likeness of that of a Hittite palace. Beams of sweet-smelling cedar and cypress, the produce of Amanus, and Sirara of the white mountains, were then set up over them, and doors of cedar, cypress, burašu, and sindá, covered with a plating of copper, were hung in its gateway. Some of these details are naturally difficult to understand, because there are no remains of the superstructure of the palace;
but excavations have shown that the Hittite palaces, like those of Assyria, were decorated with winged bulls and lions, and it would seem, therefore, as though the Assyrians borrowed the style from them. This probability, moreover, is all the more worthy of notice, because Assyrian sculpture seems to be midway between that of Babylonia and the Hittites, the Assyrians having apparently come into contact with the nations to the north and west of them at an early date (it is known that there was an Assyrian colony at Kaisarieh about 2000 years before Christ) and absorbed many new ideas upon art and other things, whilst still keeping, however, their own national characteristics.

In the shrines which were within the royal chambers, Sennacherib opened _aptī birī_, regarded as meaning "light-holes", or windows. This is followed by a description of certain female winged colossi of a white stone and ivory, which, he says, carried _illuru_, possibly columns placed upon their backs as an artistic support for the top of the shrine or recess. These female colossi are described as being mantled in the power of life with strength and lustiness, and curving their fingers (or talons), as Meissner and King seem rightly to translate. "I set (them) up in their gates (entrances) and caused (them) to pass as a wonderment," says the king. If one might make a suggestion with regard to these interesting decorative statuettes (for such they seem to have been), they were probably the same as, or similar to, the beautiful winged lioness found by the late George Smith in 1873-4. "A very curious and beautiful little specimen [he says], discovered at Kouyunjik, is a small model in fine yellow stone of a winged cow or bull, with a human head, the neck adorned with a necklace, the head surmounted by a cylindrical cap adorned with horns and rosette ornaments, and wings over the back. On the top of the wings stands the base of a column, having the uniform pattern found on Assyrian
bases.\textsuperscript{1} He gives the dimensions as being 3 inches long, present height (the feet being broken off) 3 inches, probable original height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, height of base of column three-quarters of an inch; total breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The object found by George Smith might also be regarded as a winged lioness-sphinx as well as a human-headed cow, there being no indication of the udder whatever. The nearly cylindrical hat is adorned with three horns springing from each side (six in all) and terminating in front. The rosettes at the top are surmounted by a row of feathers, and the feathers of the wings extend down as far as the thighs of the fore-legs.

Architectural details concerning the newly-erected palace follow. He speaks of the lighting of the recesses of the chambers, which he made "like the day", and the interiors he surrounded with decorative ornaments of silver and copper (is this the Assyrian for bronze made with an alloy of silver?). They were also decorated with burnt brick and valuable stone, one of the kinds mentioned being lapis-lazuli. Some of the great trees used for the decoration and building of his palace, Sennacherib says, were planted in secret places among the mountains within the land of Sirara, and their position—the place where they grew—was revealed to him by his gods Aššur and Ištar, lovers of his priesthood. The stone (marble or alabaster) used was that regarded in the times of his fathers as precious for the decoration of the sheath of a sword. This was discovered in the land (or mountain) of Ammanana, and the tur-mina-bandā-stone used for the great receptacles of the palace, which had never been seen before, occurred in the city of Kabri-dargilā, on the boundary of Til-barsip (identified with the modern Birejik). The white limestone used for the winged bulls and lions, and the sculptured images of alabaster, which was found in abundance, came from the district of the

\textsuperscript{1} Assyrian Discoveries, by George Smith (2nd ed., 1875), pp. 430-1.
city of the Balaṭians near Nineveh. The bulls and lions were made in a single block of stone, and it is noteworthy that the transportation of these, probably for the palace in question, is represented more than once on the slabs from Sennacherib's palace, which were discovered by Layard and are now in the British Museum. Everyone recognizes in them wonderfully instructive illustrations of the way in which the great Assyrian palaces were constructed—how the mounds were raised by the forced labour of many captives, and how the unfinished colossal bulls were dragged up to their places on the platforms. The king speaks of the female colossi as being perfect in form, and their bodies as shining like the bright day—words doubtless intended to describe the brilliant effect which they must have had when first set up in all their original and pristine newness. The slabs used in the construction of the palace were cut off on both sides whilst still "in their mountain", detached, and transported to Nineveh. Some of the winged bulls, lions, and female colossi, however, were completed in the district of the Balaṭians, and brought to Nineveh (to all appearance) afterwards.

At this point Sennacherib touches upon another subject, namely, the casting of bronze. He says that when in earlier days the kings his fathers desired to make an image of themselves in bronze to set up within the palaces, they caused all the artisans to groan in their reproduction, and from want of instruction and comprehension of the matter, poured out oil, and sheared sheep in their land for the work of their desire. Whether this refers to divination by means of oil and the making of offerings, as King suggests, I am unable to say, but it seems very probable. Sennacherib, however, "the chief of all kings, who has knowledge of work of every kind," through the clever understanding which the (divine) prince Nin-igi-azaga (the god Ḫa) had conferred, by his own research,
he took into deep consideration, and by the counsel of his understanding and the inquiry of his mind, he constructed the bronze-work and produced it artistically. By his superior science, therefore, he was able to make great columns of bronze, and colossal lions "open of knee"—that is, in all probability, with the legs separated from each other, and not joined by the core of metal which the kings preceding him had to content themselves with when they caused similar work to be executed. Of great beams and smaller woodwork he made, therefore, the framework for twelve great polished lions, with twelve glorious (bull and lion) colossi, which were perfect in form; and twenty-two female colossi mantled with glorious strength and benevolence, and abounding in exuberant force.

According to the command of the god, then, Sennacherib made moulds of clay, and poured the bronze within them; and as in the casting of half-shekel pieces, he made their form perfect. Two of these brazen colossi were overlaid with what is suggested to have been gilding, and were placed, with others of limestone and male and female colossi of alabaster, in the gates of his palaces. The king then speaks of the "sublime columns of copper", with the great columns of cedar, the produce of Mount Amanus, which he covered with copper and lead (probably an alloy formed with these two metals), and erected upon lion-colossi, setting up beams as a framing for their doorways. Then upon female colossi of alabaster, with those made of bronze, which were covered with gilding (?), and yet others made of a substance called gu-anna (possibly a kind of zinc), whose forms were brilliant, he erected columns of all the kinds of wood regarded by the Assyrians as precious—usu-wood, cypress, cedar, duprānu, pine, and sindā, on which a plating of pasalli-metal and silver was placed, and erected as the colonnades (?) of "his lordly dwelling".

To this point the text agrees with that of Meissner and Rost in their Bauinschriften Sannheribs, taken from texts
already well known. The references to images of mountain-wethers which that edition contains are omitted, but the great slabs of tur-mina-banda, alabaster, etc., for the walls of the chambers are referred to, though in a somewhat shorter form than in Meissner and Rost. In both texts the slabs are described as being produced wonderfully, from which may be gathered that the king refers to the bas-reliefs with which they were sculptured. Next comes his account of the irrigation-works which he instituted. In order to have water daily in abundance, he caused swinging beams and buckets of bronze to be constructed, and set up the necessary framework over the wells—a description of the shadouf, with which many travellers in the East are well acquainted. "As for those palaces," says Sennacherib, "I caused them to be produced beautifully—the surroundings of the palace I made delightful as the wonderment of multitudes of people—I called its name 'The Palace which has no rival'."

The next thing described by Sennacherib is the great park, "like Mount Amanus," which he planted, wherein were all herbs and fruit-trees, trees produced on the mountains, and in the land of Chaldea, with trees bearing wool. This, as Mr. L. W. King points out,¹ must be a reference to the growing of cotton, as is shown by the statement that the material was used for clothing (see below). Here, again, the text differs from that translated by Meissner and Rost, which also refers to the park (or, rather, plantation) in question, but omits the description of the wool-trees.

And now we come to Sennacherib's work upon the city of Nineveh, that great city concerning which there is still so much mystery—mystery which will continue to exist until not only the ruins of the site in its narrowest

sense, but all the outlying districts, including the suburbs incorporated as time went on, shall have been explored.

From ancient times, the king says, the area of the city had been 9300 cubits in its circuit (tišit li'īm šalšet meqina šen ammat šábat limēti-šù), and he makes the rather surprising statement that the princes going before him had not caused the inner and outer walls to be constructed, which, if true, shows how confident they were that the place would never be taken by an enemy, at least in their time. This, however, must have made it all the easier for the king to add the extra 12,515 (cubits) by which he claims to have enlarged its extent. This text also gives us the important information that the šuklum, a measure of which the equivalence has been hitherto unknown, is the same as the 𒂗𒆠, which is generally read ammat, or cubit. The great wall of which he records the laying of the foundations was called Bad-irmula-ḫi-ḫu-kurra-šušu, which he translates as dūru ša namiriru-šu nakiru sahpu, "The wall whose glory overthrows the enemy." He made the brickwork 40 (? cubits) thick, which would probably not greatly exceed the estimate of the late George Smith, who reckoned it to have been about 50 feet, but added that excavation would probably decide that point—it would certainly decide the length of the measure designated 𒇊𒉗𒆠 or šuklum, as used in Assyria. The height of the walls he raised to 180 tipki, which, according to Diodorus, should amount to a total of about 100 feet. In this great wall he caused to be opened "to the four winds" fifteen gates—"before and behind, on both sides, for exit and entrance." He then proceeds to give their names:—Libur-issuk-Assur, "May the viceroy of the god Assur be strong," was the name of the gate of Assur of the city of Assur; Sapin-gimir-nakiri, "the overwhelem of the whole of the enemy," was the name of the gate of Sennacherib of the land of Halzi; whilst Enlil mukin-pātitu, "Enlil
establisher of my rule," was the appellation of the gate of Šamaš of Gagal. Ša-Sin-āhe-ēriba itti manzalti-ērikki kinni-pasi-šu, "Establish the reign of Sennacherib with the constellation of the coat-of-mail," was the long name of the gate of Enlil of the city of Kar-Ninlil; whilst the covered gate had the comparatively short name of Mušēsat-ēir-āsakki, "Sender forth of the flesh of the fever." The gate of the city Šibaniba was called Dumuq ašnan ú rubši (?) kirib-ša kāan, "the choice of wheat and cattle remains within it;" whilst the gate of Ḥalahhi (Ḫalah) in Mesopotamia—probably not Cilicia, which is Ḥilakku—was called Babilat hizib huršāni, "the bringer of the produce of the wooded heights." These were the gates looking towards the sunrise, facing the south and east.

Turning to the other side, Adad šarik hengalli ana māti, "Hadad, bestower of abundance on the land," was the name of the gate of Adad as god of richness of vegetation; Ura šaqiš zamāni (var. a(y)abi)-ia, "Ura, destroyer of my enemies," was that of the gate of Hadad of the city of Tarbiṣu; and Nannaru nāsir āgi bēlūti-ia, "Nannar, protector of the crown of my dominion," was the name he appropriately gave to the gate of Sin, the moon-god. This made a total of three gates facing the north.

The third and final section gives the names of the five gates on the west. Èa mušēsir įappi-ia, "Èa, the director of my water-springs," was the name of the gate of the watering-places; Mušēribat mihirti dadmi, "the bringer-in of the tribute of the peoples," was that of the Quay-gate; Katēr Sumuʾili ú Tēme kirib-ša IRRUB, "the presents of the Sumuʾ-llites and the Tēmites enter within it," was the name of the gate of the land of Bari. Pakidat kalama, "the guardian of everything," was the gate of the tribute palace or armoury—possibly a museum of all that the Assyrians considered as curious and precious in the way
of tribute, gifts, and trophies. Finally, there was Šar-ur mušamqīt a/yāb šarrī, "Šar-ur, who overthrows the foe of the king," which was the name of the gate handūrī, a word of doubtful meaning. "Altogether five gates of the direction of the west."

Here Sennacherib gives an account of the outer wall, named Bad-nig-erim-hulukha, "that which terrifies the enemy," as he translates it. The depth of the foundations of the wall was for the purpose of frustrating any attempts at undermining. Digging down 54 gar, the workmen reached "the waters of the underground courses", and at that point blocks of stone were placed as a foundation, and it was then carried up to the height fixed upon for the coping with further massive blocks. Unakkil śipir-šu, "I made skilful its work," the king concludes. He then repeats that he enlarged the area of Nineveh, the city of his dominion, broadening its open spaces, and making it bright "like the day"—an improvement which Oriental cities often want even more than Occidental ones. The outer wall, which he had caused to be constructed, he made high like a mountain. Above and below the city he constructed plantations, setting therein the vegetation of the mountains and the countries around—all the (sweet-smelling) herbs of the land of Heth (Palestine and Phoenicia), and plants called murri, among which, more than in the homeland, fruitfulness increased. Every kind of mountain-vine, and all the fruits of the nations, (sweet-smelling) herbs, and sirdā-trees Sennacherib planted for his subjects (ba’ali: probably the higher classes of the people—lords or chiefs—are meant).

And this naturally leads the king to speak of the arrangements he made for the water-supply, which was of the utmost importance, not only for his parks and plantations, but also for the city in general. The water of the Khosr, an important stream flowing through
Nineveh, had taken a low level for a considerable time, and "among the kings my fathers no one confines them, and they flow into the Tigris," he adds, using the present tense to give greater vividness to the narrative. To increase the sources of supply, therefore, he dug and caused a watercourse to be carried from the borders of the city of Kisiru, through height and lowland, and made the water available for the district of Nineveh, conducting it among those orchards by means of irrigation-channels. For the purpose of arranging the work and seeing for himself, he made a journey to a place called Bit-rêmâme, at the foot of Musri, a mountain, and ascending to the city of Elmuna-qinnâ with some difficulty, found wells above the cities Dûr-Istar, Šibaniba, and Sulu. The springs of these he enlarged, and turned into a reservoir. Difficult mountains and steep places were cut through with pickaxes, and the outflow was directed to the land around Nineveh. "I strengthened their channels like the heaping up of the hills," the king says, "I placed those waters within them—according to the plan I added them to the waters of the Husur (Khosr) for ever." With these, apparently, he watered all the people's orchards, and in winter a thousand cornfields above and below the city.

To stop the force of the current the king created a swamp, and planted reeds and rushes within it, and let loose there wild-fowl, wild-swine (lit. swine of the reeds), and some kind of forest-animal, possibly deer. In accordance with the word of the god (of the place), the vines, all the fruit-trees, the sîrdâ-trees, and the herbs, throve considerably more than in the homeland; the cypress, palm, and all the trees flourished, and produced shoots plentifully. The reed plantations prospered, the birds of heaven and the wild-fowl of distant places built their nests, and the wild-swine and forest-creatures spread abroad their young. The trees useful for building,
which grew on the spot, he used in the construction of his palaces. The trees bearing wool they stripped, and beat out for garments.

The completion of the work upon the palace was marked by a great festival, worthy of such a king, who, whatever may have been his conduct with regard to other nations, was at least mindful of the welfare of his own people. The gods and goddesses of Assyria were assembled in the palace, and victims in great number were sacrificed, and there the great king offered his gifts. There was oil from the sirādā-trees (which must therefore have been the olive, or something similar), with produce from the plantations more than in the lands whence the trees therein came. At the dedication of the palace, he says, he saturated the heads of the people of his land, probably with the oil of those trees, and he filled their bodies with wine and mead. The inscription ends with the usual exhortation to those "among the kings his sons" who should come after:—

"For after days, among the kings my sons, whose name Assur shall call for the shepherding of land and people—when this wall grows old and decays, let him renew its ruin, let him find the inscriptions written with my name and anoint them with oil; let him sacrifice a victim, and restore them to their place. Assur and Istar will hear his prayers."

After a double-ruled line comes the date—

"Month Ab, eponymy of Ilu - itti - ia, governor of Damascus."

A duplicate text gives another date, containing the day of the month (8th, 18th, or 28th), in the eponymy of . . . -usur, probably Nābū-bēl-usur, governor of a place ending in . . . -nunna. This official was eponym for the preceding year, so that the inscription was written in the year 696 B.C., and the cylinder itself a year later, namely, 695.
How many modern rulers could say that they have done as much for the capital of their country as Sennacherib claims to have done for Nineveh? He probably did not do it with his own money, but he saw to the work, and seemingly superintended it. The labour, too, was cheap, for it was that of the men captured in his wars, and tells, as only too commonly in those barbarous days, of the infliction of unspeakable hardship and misery on many of those unfortunate men, as may be judged from the representations of the taskmasters over them, who, it is clear, were not sparing of the whip. We see the winged bulls, of colossal dimensions, sometimes lying down on the sledges (which are in the form of a boat or Assyrian ship), sometimes standing up, carefully propped so as to prevent breakage, being dragged and forced forward, upon rollers, by means of ropes and enormous levers. In the background are the soldiers of the guard, and behind them extensive wooded hills. In other sculptured pictures, however, it is apparently the pleasure-grounds of the palace which we see, with a background showing an avenue of trees, alternately tall and short, on the banks of the river, whereon are boats, and men riding astride on inflated skins. At what is apparently yet another stage of the journey, we see the great king himself in his handchariot superintending the work. The background consists of reeds and rushes, wherein are deer and a wild sow with a litter of young. One of the slabs copied by Layard he describes as "Obelisk or stone in boat." This is apparently floating in the water, and being dragged by long rows of labourers, who tug at the ropes attached to it. Many of them are naked, and all seem to be toiling in the water. The ropes attached to the boat-like sledges or rafts are excessively long, and even in the incomplete state of the slabs as Layard saw them, thirty-six men to each may be counted. The great pioneer of
Assyriological exploration gives an excellent drawing of a winged bull and winged human figure from one of the gates in the old wall of Nineveh, showing how very excellent the work of Sennacherib's stone-carvers was. It is said that some of these sculptures have of late years been destroyed, and if this be the case it is an irreparable loss. Fortunately, we have Layard's drawings of this and other monuments, but though really excellent they are but a poor substitute for the colossal originals.

When this paper was read before the Society some interesting points were raised in the discussion, and it has been thought that it would be useful to refer to the following among them:

The size of Nineveh.—According to George Smith, the west face of the wall is over 2½ miles, the north about 1⅓ miles, the east about 3½ miles, and the south rather more than half a mile. The inscriptions seem not to recognize any extension of the city outside the walls, except that portion which was called Rébit Ninua, which probably means "the extension of Nineveh", and is identified with the Biblical Rehoboth-Ir. As an explanation of the expression in Jonah that it was an exceedingly great city of three days journey, it has been suggested that we should include Nimroud on the south and Khorsabad on the north, a distance of about 30 miles, which, at a speed of about 10 miles a day, would take three days to traverse. For further details, see Murray's Illustrated Bible-Dictionary, pp. 599-604.

The currency used in Assyria.—To all appearance, the Assyrians had no coinage, but used pieces of gold and silver of the weights required, and perhaps marked with their value. Coined money seems to appear only in the reign of Cambyses, and is referred to on tablets from Babylon. Unless Sennacherib confuses the two processes
of casting and striking (which is not likely), the pieces of precious metal used as a medium of exchange were cast.

Were the winged bulls a Hittite design?—As far as we know, the winged bulls were wholly Assyro-Babylonian—it was only their arrangement as the decorations of the gates which was of Hittite origin, and if this be the correct explanation it is confirmed by recent discoveries (see Garstang in the Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, December, 1908, pls. xl, xli). It is to be noted, however, that Aššur-našir-âpli, king of Assyria 885 B.C., also placed winged lions or bulls at the entrances of his palace.

The Arameans.—These people probably settled first in the Aramean states, the positions of which are well known (Aram Naharaim, Aram Zobah, etc.), and only migrated to Babylonia at a comparatively late date. They spoke several slightly-varying dialects, that of Sam'alla (Zenjirli) being one of the most interesting.
WHILE preparing an article on Buddhist Councils for Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I came to identify the so-called "Five Points" of Mahādeva with some "heretical" tenets of the Kathāvatthu. If I am right in this identification, and I believe I am, the fact cannot be without importance, for it establishes a link, hitherto wanting, between the Cingalese tradition of the Third Council and the Northern traditions concerning councils and the origin of the Mahāsāṃghikas. I do not intend to draw the conclusions that can be derived therefrom, namely, as concerns the redaction of the Kathāvatthu: this book, one of the richest of Buddhist antiquity, has not yet been studied enough, and its interpretation is beset with many difficulties. Careful comparison with "Northern" documents on sects would prove very useful, and, to say the truth, much help will be derived from the forthcoming translation of the Kathāvatthu itself.

What I shall try to do is (1) to "situate" the problem, and in doing so I shall refer to the excellent article of Mr. V. A. Smith: "Identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems" (JRAS., 1910, p. 827)¹; (2) to show that the author (?) of the

¹ The title is somewhat misleading; therefore Professor R. O. Franke ("Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesāli": JPTS., 1908) and myself ("Buddhist Councils": Muséeon and Indian Antiquary, 1908) may be excused for having ignored Mr. V. A. Smith's origina and persuasive views.
Kathāvatthu has dealt with the "Five Points" styled "Mahādeva's Points".

I

1. According to Bhavya (Nikāyabhedavibhaṅga-vyākhyāna), there is a tradition—which we know from elsewhere to be a tradition of the Sammitiyas—that a council was held at Pātaliputra, 137 A.D., under the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma. The controversy seems to have been concerned with the Five Points [of Mahādeva], and to have resulted in the Mahāsāṃghikas' schism.

2. Again, according to the same Bhavya, professing to follow the Sthaviras' tradition, a council was held at Pātaliputra, 160 A.D., under Dharmāśoka, on some controverted points (vivādavastu), and resulted in the Mahāsāṃghikas' schism.

3. According to Vasumitra (Samayabhedoparacanacakra), a council at Pātaliputra, 100 A.D., under Aśoka, on the Five Points [of Mahādeva]: Mahāsāṃghikas' schism. The same tradition apud Yuan-Chwang (Beal, i, p. 150), who knows Mahādeva by name, but does not allude to the Five Points.

To sum up, several traditions indicate that there was a council concerning the Five Points, and that this controversy was the origin of the Mahāsāṃghika sect.

Concerning Mahādeva—

1. Bhavya mentions two originators of the Five Points. We may summarize his narrative as follows: “In the

1 See Rockhill, Life of Buddha, pp. 181 ff. I have used the "red" edition of Tandjур, Mdo, vol. xc.
2 Mahājughosahāsavadajra's Siddhānta, the treatise quoted by Wassilieff, p. 260 (287), fol. 133 of my copy, a precious gift of M. de Stécherbatskoi.
3 See V. A. Smith, JRAS., 1901, p. 851. The Tibetan has "King Nanda and Mahāpadma"; but the remarks of Rockhill, Life, p. 186, note, do not seem conclusive.
4 See Wassilieff, p. 223 (245) ff.
5 In the words of Mahājughosahāsavadajra; Rockhill's translation seems to be inaccurate. On Mahādeva, see Professor Rhys Davids, JRAS., 1892, p. 9.
year 137 after the Nirvāṇa, at the epoch of the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma, in Pāṭaliputra, Māra the wicked, (under the name) ‘Bhadra’ (bzvaṅ-po), wearing the cloth of a monk, exhibited manifold miracles, and owing to the Five Points created a great division of the Church ... [These Points are part of the doctrine of the Mahā-samaṅghikas.1 For, later,) from a branch of the Gokulikas, the sthavira named Caitika. This man, an ascetic named Mahādeva, became a monk, resided on the mountain ‘where is a caitya’, and professing the [Five] Points of the Mahā-samaṅghikas, created the sect named Caitika.”

2. More details in Tāranātha (pp. 41 = 51), where occurs Mahādeva as the originator of the Five Points;

3. And in Yuan-Chwang (Beal, i, p. 117). See Watters (i, p. 267), who refers to the Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-śāstra. Mahādeva, a parricide, a matricide, an arhatcide, committed schism with equal success and perversity. He defeated his adversaries in the council and established his doctrine in Pāṭaliputra; while the orthodox (500 arhats), embarked in rotten boats on the Ganges, were going to Kaśmir by aerial ways.

4. Whether, as pointed out by Watters, our schismatic has something to do with the Mahādeva of Buddhaghoṣa, a saint and a missionary (Samantapāśādikā, Pāli Vinaya, iii, p. 316)—whether he is merely an incarnation of Śiva, as suspected by Professor Kern—we confess we do not know. It is safer to believe that there was a schismatic Mahādeva.

II

Concerning the tenets of Mahādeva, we possess, from Pāli and Tibetan sources, short “formulas” or points (gzh‘i = vastu), which are very like some other “aphorisms” of Buddhist antiquity; for instance, the “points” of the

1 “In den chinesischen Memoiren Tschu-san-thsang-ki heisst es sogar dass die Anhänger Mahādeva’s sich Mahā-samaṅghikas benannt hatten” (Wassilieff, aprad Tāranātha, p. 293).
Council of Vaiśāli and the rules of the Prātimokṣa as given in the Mahāvyutpatti. These formulas may be the actual words of the schismatic (or the schismatics), the "phrases" or "idioms" into which the sectarian tenets were embodied.

We possess also some more explicit documents, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese, which seem to be commentaries or rather glosses on the "points". These commentaries do not always agree, and there are also discrepancies in the wording of the "points" themselves.

Let us begin with the sources which explicitly refer to Mahādeva—sources to be compared with the Pāli documents which profess to refer to the Third Council; and to make the reading easier, let us begin with two documents en langage clair, two Chinese "commentaries" on the "points".

1. According to the Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāstra, the five tenets of Mahādeva, as translated by Watters,¹ are—

   (1) "An arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation."
   (2) "One may be an arhat and not know it."
   (3) "An arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine."
   (4) "One cannot attain arhatship without the aid of a teacher."
   (5) "The 'noble ways' may begin with a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such exclamation as 'How sad!' and by so doing attain progress towards perfection."

2. According to Palladius²—

   (1) "Obwohl die Arhants sündlos sind, giebt es solche, welche sich Schwächen zu Schuldern kommen lassen."

¹ Nanjio, No. 1263, a commentary on Jñānaprasthāna (see Takakusu, JPTS., 1905, p. 129). See Watters, I, p. 267.
² Arbeiten der Pekinger Mission, ii, p. 122, quoted apud Tāranātha, p. 293. As appears from (4), the source of Palladius is not the source of Watters.
(2) "Ein Arhant kann sich auch nicht als Arhant anerkennen, obwohl er in der That ein solcher ist."
(3) "Der Arhant kann Zweifel und Missverständnisse haben."
(4) "Der Arhant kann sich von seiner Würde durch Versicherungen anderer überzeugen."
(5) "Die Stimme (die Ausrufungen) kann als Hülfmittel bei der Vervollkommnung dienen."

3. According to Vasumitra¹ —
(1) "Gzhan-gyis ņe-bar-bsgrub-pa."
(2) "Mi ˢes-pa."
(3) "Som-ňi."
(4) "Gzhan-gyi rnam-par-spyod-pa."
(5) "Lam sgra-hbyin-pa dañ bcas-pa."

4. According to Bhavya (fol. 179a) and to Tāranātha (p. 41, 20–52) —²
(1) "Gzhan-la lan gdab-pa."
(2) "Mi ˢes-pa."
(3) "Yid gűis-pa."
(4) "Yons-su b[r]tag-pa."
(5) "Bdag-ňid gso-bar byed-pa ni lam yin-te."

5. According to Vinitadeva —³
(3, 2, 1) "Som-ňi dañ mi ˢes-pa yod-de bstan dgos-so."

¹ See Wassilieff, p. 223 (245) ff. The Points are quoted — (1) As the origin of the Mahāśāṃghikas’ schism; (2) as adhered to by the Mahāśāṃghikas: "In the Arhats, there is gzhan-gyis . . . ."; 2 and 3 wanting; (3) as adhered to by the Bahuśrutiyas and the Haimavatas.

² The Points are quoted by Bhavya (see Rockhill, Life, pp. 181 ff.) (1) as the origin of the schism; (2) as adhered to by the Ekavyavahārikas (with variants, a. dgra-bcom-pa-rnams kyañ gshan-dag-gis bstan-pa bsgrub-par byed-do . . . e. sdog-bsnaî spoi-bași lam yod-do) ; (3) on the Bahuśrutiyas: dgra-bcom-pa-rnams-la gshan-gyis ņe-bar-bstan-pa bsgrub-paḥo , yau-dag-par bsgrugs-paḥi lam yau yod-do , mňam-par bzhag-pa-la yau-dag-par hjug-pa-la (?) yod-do ; (4) the "Pārvasthaviras" deny the Five Points; the first one = dgra-bcom-pa-rnams-la gshan-gyis[s] ston-šiũ bsgrub-pa ni [med-do].

³ Nikāyahbethadesanā näma samgraha (?) , fol. 188a (Tandjur, Mdo, xo)—doctrine of the Lokottaravādins.
(4) "Hbras-bu-la gzhan-gyi brda-sprod dgos-so."
(5) "Sdug-bsnal smos-siṅ sdug-bsnal tshig-tu brjod-pas lam skye-bar ḡgyur-ro."

6. Mahādeva, according to Tāranātha (p. 41. 14–51), first proclaimed his heresy in the following stanza:

"Lha-rnams ma-rig-pa-yis bslus
lam ni sgra-yi rgyun-las byun
the-thsom can-rnams gzhan-gyis bjug
ḥdi ni saṃs-rgyas bstan-pa yin." ¹

It will be seen that the heretical tenets in the Kathāvatthu, ii, 1–5 (6),² agree with the Tibetan and Chinese "points", sometimes in meaning, sometimes in wording, sometimes in both.

First Point.—The reading of Vasumitra may be translated [arhatāḥ] pareṇa upahāraḥ. ḍhāra is doubtful; sgrub is one of the words which cannot be safely "transposed" into Sanskrit; one has the equivalents: sadh, yam, arj, anuṣṭhā, vidhā, upapad, har. This last (mñoṅ-par bsgrub-pa = abhinirhāra) is far from being the most common, and I only claim for provisional acceptance of the translation pareṇa upahāra.

If it turns out to be right, we have to recognize here Kathāvatthu, attī arahato parūpahāro ti.

The reading of Bhavya and Tāranātha is translated by Schiefner "der Antwort", by Rockhill, "answer to another," or "advice to another". But our Lexx. give the equivalence lan-ḥdebs-pa = visarjayati = (1) "answer questions, so the Pāli visajjati" (Divyāvadāna, p. 162. 20, and Index), (2) "to emit, to create," etc. There is, therefore, a curious analogy between Bhavya's lesson

¹ See below, p. 421.
² These figures refer to the sections in Kathāvatthuppakarana (PTS., 1894–7); the Atthakathā (JPTS., 1889) differs, 2, 3, and 4 forming § 2. The reader will, of course, compare Professor Rhys Davids' article, "Schools of Buddhist Belief," JRAS., 1893.
and another reading of the Kathāvatthu, [asuci sukka] visatthi = visṛsti.\footnote{Kathāvatthu: “Attī arahato asucisukkavisatthi” (ii, 1, 1) ... “Handa hi Maraṇiyāka devatā arahato asucisukkavisatthim upasamharanti” (ii, 1, 3) ... “Attī arahato parupahāro ti” (ii, 1, 23). In the words of Professor Rhys Davids, “Can an arahat be guilty (unwittingly and through the action of Mara) of indecency?” Succubus deities are here intended. The Kathāvatthu denies, against the Seliyas (comm.), the possibility of such an event, and refers to a formal assertion—too formal!—of Buddha himself (ii, 1, 21); it admits parupahāra in this sense only that “others” (pare) may “take away” (upasamhāreyya) the robes of an arahat, etc. (ii, 1, 23).}

From the other variants apud Bhavya, it follows that there has not been unanimity in the exegesis of this Point, which is made by several additions to “clearly” refer to the teaching necessary to an arhat (as heretics say).\footnote{Addition (?) of betan-pa and ston-sin (see p. 417, n. 2: Arhantāh parair (or parena) deśītāḥ sādhyanti).} To say the truth, the Pāli interpretation is far from being conclusive.

The Tibetan wording of the Second Point is clear: \(mi \ sēs-pa = aĵnānam\). The Kathāvatthu has “attī arahato aṁnānam ti” (ii, 2).

But the meaning cannot be as easily ascertained. With what sort of ignorance are we concerned? It happens that an arhat is ignorant of the names of men or women, of herbs and trees, of the direction of a road (ii, 2, 22–3).\footnote{Compare Milinda, pp. 266–7 (Rhys Davids’ translation, ii, p. 100). Ignorance concerning such trivial matters even in a Buddha, see the rather heretical assertion, JRAS., 1894, p. 372, n. 2.} But according to the orthodox author of the Pāli treatise, an arhat is not unaware of [his possessing] the fruits of Srotāṇapatti ... of arhatship.\footnote{One may refer to Professor Rhys Davids’ excellent article on Arhat in Hastings Encyclopedia, I, p. 774 (quoting Majjhima, III, p. 100; see also Aṅguttara, V, pp. 155, 162), and to the delicious Psalms of the Early Buddhists (Sisters), PTS., 1909. The history of Ānanda clearly shows that a clever man is well aware of his spiritual deficiencies (Culla, xi, 1, 6), but it may be said that Ānanda is not an ordinary “ordinary man” (prthajjana) (Aṅguttara, I, p. 225).} Compare the translation...
of Watters and Palladius. Last, not least, the ignorance may be the ignorance of the Law.

* * * * *

Third Point.—The som-ni of Vasumitra is kānksā; the yid-gnis of Bhavya, etc., is vimati (mati-dvayaam). The Kathāvatthu has attthi arahato kānkhā ti (ii, 3, 1), attthi arahato vimatīti (ii, 1, 5).

Doubt can be understood as bearing on the names of men, women, etc. (ii, 3, 21), on arhatship: “Am I an arhat?” (ii, 3, 22). But there is a third “edge” to the problem: “Does an arhat have any doubt on the Teacher, the Law, the Congregation, the rule, the past, the future, the past and the future, the things produced by dependent-origination?” (ii, 1, 5). Thus understand Watters, Palladius, and possibly Vinitadeva too, for his Lokottara-vādins seem to say: “As there are ignorance and doubt in the arhat, teaching is necessary.”

* * * * *

Fourth Point.—We have now some reasons to suppose that the Mahādeva’s Fourth Point will be found in Kathāvatthu, ii, 4: attthi arahato paravitāranā ti.

Vasumitra’s [arahataḥ] parasya(?) vicārah(‘caranam)(?) and Bhavya’s paricintanā (or parīksā) are not clear by themselves; but Vinitadeva’s gloss agrees with the original Pāli commentary. It may be translated: phale paravyā-karanaprapyojanam = “Another must say [to the arhat] that he has acquired the fruit.” Thus Palladius and Kathāvatthu, ii, 4, 22: “Do others teach an arhat that he has obtained the fruit of Srotāpatti ... of arhatship” (... sotāpattiphalam pare vitāreyyum ...). Wassilieff quotes an instance to support the affirmative (heretical) answer: in the Mahāsiṣakas’ Vinaya, the heroes of the Vaiśāli’s Council, Revata and Sarvakāma, ask

1 Above, p. 417, under 5.

2 Vyākaroṭi is the phrase used in Pāli for “declaring” one’s spiritual progress (aṇṇa) (Aṅguttara, V, p. 155, etc.).
one another whether they are arhats or not (ad Tāranātha, p. 293).

But Watters has: "One cannot obtain arhatship without the help of another;" and *vitāraṇā* seems to be understood as meaning "leading over," "bringing across" in Kathāvatthu, ii, 4, 1 ff.: "Is an arhat to be led by another, dependent on another, etc.?"  

To sum up, there are three possible translations of the "Points" 2–4, namely, (1) an arhat may be ignorant of the names of men . . . ; he has doubts on such matters . . . ; he learns them from others; (2) an arhat may be unaware of his arhatship; he doubts whether he is an arhat; he gets certitude from the asseveration of another; (3) being ignorant and subject to doubt, an arhat ought to receive instruction.

The last interpretation gives us probably (?) the original meaning of Mahādeva. His śloka is somewhat obscure, but the general import seems to be a strong depreciation of the arhats—if arhats are really concerned: "Gods (arhats?) are deceived (or beguiled) by ignorance; Path is produced by the stream of voice; who doubt, enter [into the Path] through others: such is the teaching of Buddha."

* * * * *

Fifth Point.—The Tibetan tradition shows a great variety of forms.

(1) Vasumitra: *mārgo vāg-udīraṇena sahitah* (or *śabdodīraṇena*, in Pāli *vacībhedena*), "Path is accompanied by emission of voice." That is a tenet of the Mahāsāṃghikas, and Vasumitra adds that they affirm: "Suffering causes Path; to say 'Suffering!' is useful; in order to abandon suffering, wisdom is of use (?)"

1 But, again, the "crossing over" may refer to doubt: *vitāṇnakankha* is a well-known phrase, see Childers.
2 See above, p. 418.
3 Arhats are *visuddhidevas*, kings *sammatidevas*, and gods *upattidevas*, in Vibhaṅga (PTS., 1904), p. 422.
4 See above, p. 417, n. 1.
(2) Vinitadeva, instead of the "Point", gives us a gloss: "Saying 'Suffering!'; pronouncing 'Suffering!'; Path is born." Compare Watters and Palladius.

(3) Bhavya is obscure, and, I may say, troublesome. It is difficult to guess what is meant by Rockhill's "restoration of the self" or Schiefner's "Wiederherstellung der Selbстheit", and how such "restoration" may be said to be the "Path". The Sanskrit rendering seems to be something like ātmapiṣṭaṃ māraḥ. Gso-ba = pus, "to feed,"¹ may be connected with the āhāra of the Pāli tradition dukkhāhāro maggam, for one of the meanings of āhāra is "food"; but bdag-nid (atman) cannot be an equivalent of dukkha, which we want in this place (?)

(4) The following tenet of the Lokottaravādins (apud Vasumitra), samāhito pi vācāṃ bhāṣate,² "one speaks even in trance, during samādhi or samāpatti," is not reckoned as one of the "Points", but, as it will be seen from the Pāli sources, it is not here without interest.

(5) The Mahāsāṃghikas seem to maintain the contrary. They say, concerning Buddha: nety (nāstity) api na vadati nityam samāhitatvat = "he does not say even 'no', for he is always concentrated".³

The Kathāvatthu deals (ii, 6) with the dukkhaḥāra-kathā, "problem concerning the exclamation 'Suffering!'", and (ii, 5) with the vacibhedakathā, "problem concerning voice-bursting-out."

Āharati, "to tell, to relate;" therefore āhāra, "naming, pronouncing;" at least, the author understands the heretical tenet, dukkhāhāro maggam maggaparyāpannam, as meaning "the phrase 'suffering!' is a limb

¹ Also cikitsa, "to cure."
² "Mām-par bzhag-pa yaṅ tshig smraḥo."
of the Path." "Not so!" answers the Pāli orthodox; "whosoever says 'suffering!' (ye keci dukkhan ti vācaṁ bhāsanti) does not cultivate or produce the Path (maggam bhāventi)."\(^1\) Compare Vinitadeva, Watters, and Palladius.

Emission of voice is not possible during dhyānas; such is the import of Kathāvatthu, ii, 5: samāpannassa atthi vacibheda ti. Compare the opinion of the Lokottaravādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

We opine that, as a matter of fact, Kathāvatthu, ii, 1–5 (6), forms the Pāli counterpart of the Northern Mahādeva's "Points". Whether these tenets—four concerning Arhatship, one concerning Samādhi or Path—are rightly styled Mahādeva's, whether they were the leading motive of the Mahāsāṃghika schism, is an altogether different question. Again, one may maintain that this strongly tied group of points seems to be en place, as geologists say, in the Northern tradition, whilst it looks in the Pāli treatise like a bloc erratique. But we said at the beginning that we should abstain from concluding. There are so many "points" in the Kathāvatthu that any judgment on his value as a Tissan work would appear presumptuous. As has been well said by M. A. Foucher, Indian history is too often "un exercice de philologie à l'usage des indiannistes avec des règles du jeu connues des seuls initiés".\(^2\)

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\(^1\) The exclamation "Suffering!" does not always imply the notion of the Noble Truth of suffering; in the same way, one may realize the notion "space (ākāśa) is infinite" without being a saint. On the importance of such exclamations, see Mrs. Rhys Davids' Buddhist Psychology, p. 71, note. Compare Kathāvatthu, ix, 9; xi, 4; xviii, 8.

\(^2\) Compare JRAS., 1909, p. 577, n. 1.
XII

MAHISHAMANDALA AND MAHISHMATI

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

THE Dipavamsa tells us (8. 1, 2) that:—"The far-seeing Moggaliputta, having by supernatural vision beheld the establishment of the [Buddhist] doctrine in the future in the border-land, sent out the Theras Majjhantika and others, each with four (companions), to establish the doctrine in the border-land for the enlightenment of sentient beings." And it tells us in verse 5 that the Thera Mahadeva was thus sent to the Mahisa country, Mahisaraṭṭha, = Mahisharāṣṭra. The Mahāvamsa, in its account of the same matter, calls this territory (12. 3, 29) Mahisamanḍala, = Mahishamandala. Buddhaghōsha, dealing with the missions in his Samanta-Pāśādikā,1 quotes a verse, very similar to that of the Dipavamsa, which mentions it as ratṭham Mahisam, but uses in his own prose the forms Mahisakamandala and Mahiṁsaka2; in the latter case, with the insertion of a nasal in a manner which is not uncommon in Pāli. And this last form is also found in the Jātaka and its commentary.3 We adopt the form Mahishamaṇḍala, because it is the one which, in its Pāli shape, has been habitually used by other writers.

Some comments must be made on the passage in the Dipavamsa thus cited:—

(1) The sending out of the missions took place just after the Third Council. The Dipavamsa, 7. 37, 44, places this Council 236 years after the death of Buddha. The Mahāvamsa, 5. 280, places it in the seventeenth year of Aśoka. Both authorities, and Buddhaghōsha, agree that

1 See the Vinayapiṭaka, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 314 ff.
2 Ed. Fausbøll, 1. 356: 5. 145, 162, 337.
it lasted for nine months. And the Mahāvamśa adds (12. 2) that the missions were sent out in the month Kārttikeya. We understand the Dipavaṁśa as referring to the end of the Council, and the Mahāvaṃśa to the commencement of it. And we thus gather that the Council began about the middle of January, B.C. 247, and ended about the middle of October, and that the arrangements for despatching the missions were made before 6 November.\(^1\)

(2) The Dipavaṁśa, Buddhaghōsha, and the Mahāvaṁśa all agree that the Council was convened and the missions were sent out by the great priest Moggaliputta-Tissa; not by Aśoka, as is asserted by lax writers.\(^2\)

(3) The name of the place or territory to which the Thēra Rakkhita was sent is not stated by the Dipavaṁśa; unless, in verse 6, we may amend *vehāsam abbhuggantvāṇa*, “having risen into the air (so as to travel through it)”, into *Vanavāsam abbhāgantvāṇa* or *gantvā*, “having gone to Vanavāsa”; or unless *vehāsa* is a corrupt reading of some name (?) Vērāṭa) for which Vanavāsa was afterwards substituted. This name is supplied as Vanavāśi by Buddhaghōsha, and as Vanavāsa by the Mahāvaṃśa.

(4) The words which we have rendered by “in the border-land” are *pachchantamhi* in verse 1 and *pachchantē* in verse 2: in both cases the locative singular. Professor Oldenberg has rendered them by, respectively, “in the neighbouring countries” and “in foreign countries”. In deviating from his choice of words, we have been guided by the point that the term *pachchanta*, = *pratyanta*, “bordering on, adjacent or contiguous to, skirting”,\(^3\) is practically the same with that which we have in the expression *pachchantimā janapadā*, presented in, e.g., the Vinayaapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, 5. 13. 12, in defining the limits

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1. See my table in this Journal, 1909. 27.
2. See, fully, my remarks in this Journal, 1908. 493.
of the Buddhist Madhyadēsa or Middle Country, and appropriately translated there by "border countries". In the accounts of the missions, the Mahāvaṁsa has pachchantēsu; Buddhaghōsha has pachchantimēsu janapadēsu.

(5) Altogether nine missions were sent out. The name of one of the territories is (as we have said) apparently wanting in the Dipavaṁsa. And another territory, called Gandhāra by it, is called Kasmira-and-Gandhāra by Buddhaghōsha and the Mahāvaṁsa. Otherwise, however, the three accounts all agree. The order in which the missions are named is the same in all three. And in the terms of the Mahāvaṁsa (ed. Geiger, 12. 3–8) the full list of the territories is:—

1. Kasmira and Gandhāra.
2. Mahīsamaṇḍala.
3. Vanavāsa.
4. Aparantaka.
5. Mahāraṭṭha.
6. Yōnaloka.
8. Suvanabhūmi.
9. Laṅkādīpa, i.e. Ceylon.

Now, No. 9, Ceylon, is distinctly not a border-land of any Indian Middle Country. But it was hardly possible to avoid including the mission to Ceylon along with the others. Though, however, that was the most important of all the missions, it is mentioned last; which tends to exclude it from the same category with the others. We therefore separate the other territories from Ceylon, and consider how far they come under the definition of border-lands; that is, of countries more or less adjacent to the Buddhist Middle Country.

We easily recognize what may fairly be called border-lands of that country in No. 1, Kashmir and Gandhāra, the latter being, roughly, the modern Peshāwar and Rāwal Piṇḍi Districts; in No. 4, Aparānta, 'the western ends', the Koṅkaṇ, with (we hold) also northern Gujarāt, Kāṭhiawāḍ, Cutch (Kachchh), and Sind; in No. 5,

1 For translations of this passage see SBE., 17. 38, and this Journal, 1904. 84. Regarding the impossible dimensions assigned to the country in other works, see my remarks in this Journal, 1907. 653, note 3.
Mahārāṣṭra, the Dekkan; in No. 6, Yōnalōka, 'the region of the Yavanas', taken as meaning the Greek settlements in the Panjāb and its western neighbourhood; and in No. 7, the Himalayan region.

There remain Nos. 2, 3, and 8. As regards No. 8, the case seems fairly clear. Suvaṇṇabhūmi, = Suvaṇṇabhūmi, 'the gold-land', is understood by the Burmese to be what is also called by them Rāmaṇādēsa; namely, Lower Burma between the rivers Sittaung and Salwin, with also parts of Pegu and Moulmein. And it has been generally believed, until recently, that that territory is really the Suvaṇṇabhūmi to which the mission was sent. This belief, however, is now abandoned, in view of the position, which appears to be well established, that the earliest Burmese Buddhism was Mahāyānist, and reached Burma from China and only in the fourth century A.D. We would supplement that by suggesting that the real Suvaṇṇabhūmi is the country in Bengal which is mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na, = Karnasuvarna; or else the country along the river Sōn (Śōna), also known as Hiranyavāha, 'the gold-bearer'.

No. 3, Vanavāsa, can hardly be regarded as a borderland if it really means, as is usually supposed, the territory that belonged to Banavāsi in North Kanara. That understanding, however, is open to question, in view of

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1 For a map of the Rāmaṇā country see Ind. Ant., 22. 328.
2 It has also been understood to be the Golden Khersonesē of Ptolemy: see, e.g., Ind. Ant., 13. 372.

This change of view, of course, does not in any way impeach the credit of the Ceylonese chronicles: quite the reverse. The supposed fact of an introduction of Buddhism into Burma in the time of Aśoka does not rest on either them or the Samanta-Pāśādīka: it rests entirely on the mistaken identification of the Suvaṇṇabhūmi mentioned by them: they do not say anything to locate that country in Burma.

The Burmese have taken over the names of many Indian countries and places. Notably, in addition to a Suvaṇṇabhūmi they claim a Vanavāsi, an Aparantaka, a Mahārāṭha, and even a Mahīṣākamāṇḍala.
the point that Vaijayanti seems better established than Vanavāsi as the more ancient name of Banawāsi. But we must set this detail aside for future consideration.

That No. 2, Mahishamaṇḍala, was a border-land, we propose to show now.

* * *

The Imperial Gazetteer of India says that the Mahishamaṇḍala, thus mentioned as one of the territories to which Moggaliputta-Tissa despatched his Buddhist missions, is the modern Mysore.¹ And this has certainly been the belief for a long time past. We do not know exactly with whom it originated. Turnour, in 1837, entered Mahishamaṇḍala as “one of the ancient divisions of India, not identified” ;² and in 1854 Cunningham said “this country is not known: it may be Maheswara, on the Narbada”.³ On the other hand, Wilson, at some time before 1860, explained the Māhishakas of the Mahābhārata as “the people of Mysore”.⁴ And the identification of Mahishamaṇḍala with Mysore was presented in 1874 as an established point, needing no citation of authority, by the editor of the Indian Antiquary (3, 273). It would seem, therefore, that the belief is based on something which was advanced conjecturally between 1854 and 1860, and was gradually converted into a supposed certainty in a not infrequent manner. And the identification is given as a certainty in two other recent works which are intended, like the Imperial Gazetteer, to be authoritative guides. It is asserted by Mr. Vincent Smith in his Aśoka (2nd ed., 1909), p. 44; where, by the way, the first component of the name is shown in the mistaken form mahiṣu, ‘lord of the earth’. And, to the extent that Mahishamaṇḍala means, not the whole of the Mysore

¹ Vol. 18 (1908), pp. 162, 169, 253, 261.
² Mahāvamsa, index and glossary, 16.
³ Bhāsa Tapes, 117.
⁴ Vishnu-Purāṇa, translation, 2, 178, note 6.

JRAS. 1910.
territory, but "the country round [the city] Mysore", it is presented on p. 14 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, which book, "published for Government" in 1909, puts forward (we regret to have to say), as sober history for the period before A.D. 750, much fabulous matter which has no basis except in spurious records dating from the tenth century and onwards, in late chronicles which display great ignorance of the real facts of early times, and in legends which we cannot even dignify by calling them traditions.

Support of the views thus expressed has been found in the fact that we have two *Aśoka* edicts engraved on rocks at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri, and Jaṭṭīṅga-Rāmeśvara in the Chitaldroog District of Mysore: it being also asserted, on the same basis, that Mysore was included in the Maurya empire. That, however, has nothing to do with the case. We cannot here elaborate the history of what is now the Chitaldroog District: but the following brief statement may be made. It was only about A.D. 950 that the Chitaldroog territory first passed into the hands of any ruler who held also the southern part of Mysore, where the modern name-giving capital is. It subsequently developed into a separate petty state, under Poligars: and it was only in A.D. 1779 that it was annexed to the territory of the present rulers of Mysore.¹ It was certainly foreign territory as regards the dominions of *Aśoka* and his line.² And there is every reason for believing that Isila, the ancient town at which there resided the officials to whom the edicts in question were transmitted from Suvarṇagiri in Magadha, and in the neighbourhood of which they were published on the rocks by them, was at that time, and probably for many centuries afterwards, a subdivisional town of the great kingdom of Vanavāsī,

¹ See the Imperial Gazetteer, 10. 291; and compare Mr. Rice's *Mysore 1897*, 2. 500–4.
² See, fully, my remarks in this Journal, 1909. 997.
or more strictly Vaijayantī; it was at any rate not in any territory bearing the name Mysore; no such territory existed then. Further, according to our own view, the first of these two edicts embodies the dying speech of Aśoka, and they were framed some twenty years after the Council and the sending out of the missions: while, according to another view, these two edicts were framed in the thirteenth year of Aśoka, four or five years before the Council, and were probably the very first of his proclamations. From either point of view, these edicts have no connexion with either the Council or the sending out of the missions: except that we believe that Isila was selected as one of the places to which the last words of Aśoka should be communicated, because a Buddhist settlement had been established there as a result of one or another of the missions sent into the territory on the south of the Narbada.

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In looking into this belief that the Mahishamandala of the Buddhist books is Mysore or some part thereof, the first points that suggest themselves for consideration are:—To what date can we carry back the existence of the name Maisūru, Maisūr (the original of the anglicized Mysore), in its present or any previous form? And what can be the connexion, if there is any, between that name and Mahishamandala or any such appellation?

An inscription at Nandigunda in the Naṅjangūḍ taluka of the Mysore District, dated in A.D. 1021, mentions a territorial division named the “Maysunṇāḍ”, and places in it Nandigunda itself, which is about twelve miles south-east from the city of Mysore. And the spurious

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1 Epi. Carn., 3 (Mysore). Nj. 134. The text in roman characters gives to the name which I quote the form Mayasun-nāḍ; the translation gives Maysūr-nāḍ; and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maysun-nāḍ. As the Kanarese texts are the bases of what is published in the volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica, I adopt the last form.
record on the Tanjore plates,¹ which purports to have been framed in A.D. 248 but was fabricated not earlier than the tenth century, claims to convey a village, situated in the “Maisunādu seventy”, named Orekōdu, which is shown by the full details given in the record to be the ‘Wurcode’ of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 60 (1828) and the ‘Varkod’ of the quarter-sheet No. 60, S.W. (1892), about seven miles east-by-south from Mysore. These two records locate the territorial division thus mentioned. The second of them marks it as a group of seventy villages. As we know that any such group usually included a leading town or village bearing the same name with the group itself, and as the Kanarese word for ‘village, town’, is ār, āru, we may venture to assume that the two names thus presented are carelessly written forms of Maysūr-nāḍ and Maisūr-nāḍ: especially because in this group of seventy villages we certainly have the original of the present Mysore tāluka, one of the subdivisions of the Mysore District,² and because an inscription, which is attributed to about A.D. 990, at Kuppēhālu in the Kaḍūr District,³ appears to mention, among the witnesses to the grant registered by it, “the (officials of the) Maysūr-nāḍ seventy”, with reference to probably the same group of villages. And we may thus carry back the existence of the name Mysore in the form Maysūr, and of the city Mysore as a village bearing its present name, to the tenth century. But that is all that we can do.⁴ And it is sufficiently

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 8. 212: and see my list of spurious records in id., 30 (1901), 215, No. 10. Spurious records, though mostly valueless for chronological purposes, are frequently of considerable use from the geographical and other miscellaneous points of view.

² That the Mysore tāluka now includes one hundred and fifty towns and villages, is of course immaterial. The numbers in the territorial divisions of India have been altered and are still altered from time to time; for improved administrative purposes, as well as because of new villages growing up, and old ones becoming deserted.

³ *Epi. Carn.*, 6 (Kadur). Kd. 9.

⁴ Pending the issue of a proper index to the volumes of the *Epigraphia*
obvious that the place was then nothing but a small one, which had not given its name to even the area which makes up the present Mysore District, and was quite incapable of providing an appellation for the entire territory in which it was situated. This position is borne out by every other consideration; even apart from the point that no remains or other tokens of antiquity are found there, which indicates plainly that we have not even the case of an ancient city sinking into insignificance and then rising again.¹

The territory now known as Mysore, and the district now known as the Mysore District, owe their appellations simply to the accident that the village Mysore has developed into a modern capital. The Mysore territory is composed of provinces and districts which in ancient times had their own quite different names. In the north it includes part of a province known as the Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, and part of the Vanavāsi kingdom generally known in later times as the Banavāse 12,000. The rest of it consists mostly of districts and provinces such as the Kuvalāla 300, the Edetore 1000, the Pūṇāḍ or Punnāḍ 6000, the Gāṅga 6000, and the Koṅgalnāḍ 8000, which were massed under one name as the Gāṅgavāḍi 96,000, meaning "the territory of the Gāṅgas comprising Carnatica, it is not practical to use them exhaustively. But the above-mentioned three records give the only references that I have been able to find for the Maysūr or Maisūr seventy, and the earliest instances of the existence of the same: and Mr. Rice himself does not claim to have done more; see, e.g., his Mysore (1897), 2, 280:—"We find Maisu-nāḍ or Maisur-nāḍ mentioned in inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries."

A group of villages known as the Maye-nāḍ appears to be mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1136, and in another which is referred to about A.D. 1200: Ep. Carn., 5 (Hassan). Bl. 17; Hn. 130. And the same seems to be mentioned as the Maise-nāḍ in inscriptions of A.D. 1117 and 1174: ibid., Bl. 58, 59, 71. But that is marked by the records as a different group, close to Bēlūr in the Bēlūr tāluka of the Hassan District.

¹ Compare Mr. Rice's remarks in Mysore (1897), 2, 280, 281:—"The present town of Mysore cannot perhaps boast of much antiquity. Here a fort was either constructed or repaired in the year 1524."
(according to tradition or conventional acceptation) 96,000 cities, towns, and villages \(^1\). The city Mysore is situated in the southern part of the ancient Gaṅgavāḍī country, the connected authentic history of which, as established by the inscriptions, dates from closely about A.D. 750, when there arose a Gaṅga prince, Śivamāra I, whose descendants ruled till about A.D. 1000.\(^2\) The first mention of the 96,000 province is found in the inscription of the first year of the rule of Śripurusha-Muttarasa, son of Śivamāra I,\(^3\) which speaks of “all the subjects of the 96,000”, apparently as witnesses to the act recorded in it. The earliest known instance of the use of the full appellation “Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000” seems to be found in an inscription of Ereyappa, of the period about A.D. 908 to 938,\(^4\) which describes that prince as “governing the Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000 as a united whole (lit., in the shade of one umbrella).” And it remained in use, even when the Gaṅgas had passed away, until at least A.D. 1200. For the Gaṅga period, the only recognizable capitals are, as Mr. Rice has told us,\(^5\) Kōḷār and Taḷakāḍ. And during that period, and for six centuries after it, no mention of the name Mysore in any form, and no allusion to the place, can be found, except as stated on pp. 431–2 above.

\(^1\) Nothing could be clearer than the proof that this is the meaning of these numerical designations: yet Mr. Rice in his recent publication has repeated prominently an old mistake in asserting (p. 174) that the numbers denote the revenue values; and the mistake has found its way, from his previous writings, into the Imperial Gazetteer, 10. 291, note 2. I shall hope to give a separate note on this matter.

\(^2\) There were, indeed, Gaṅgas in Mysore before A.D. 750, in the sixth and perhaps even the fifth century. But no authentic details are known about them.

\(^3\) At Taḷakāḍ, Epi. Carn., 3 (Mysore). TN. 1.

\(^4\) At Bēgūr, Epi. Carn., 9 (Bangalore). Bn. 83: previously edited by me in Epi. Ind., 6. 48. The Maṭīvāḷa inscription, Epi. Carn., 10 (Kōḷār). Kl. 79, is probably also of the time of Ereyappa: if, however, it might really be referred to Raṇavikrama, then the full expression is carried back to about A.D. 810 to 840.

\(^5\) Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 29.
After the period marked by the Nandigunda and Kuppelahū inscriptions and the record on the Tanjore plates, the town Mysore commences to figure only in connexion with its present rulers, who trace their line back to a certain Hīre-Bēṭṭada-Chāmarāja to whom the date of A.D. 1513–52 is assigned. Their ancestors first came to the front in the person of Rāja-Wodeyar, who in 1610 overcame the Vijayanagara viceroy, and established himself at Seringapatam. They appear to have been members of a local family residing at Mysore. And the inscriptions describe them in the simplest terms as belonging to the Ātreya gotra, the Āśvalāyana sūtra, and the Rīgveda sākhā. But, as they rose to increased prominence, they required, like other great families of Southern India, a Purānic pedigree connecting them with either the Solar or the Lunar Race. The latter was chosen. And the account devised for them says that some members of the line of Yadu in the Lunar Race went from Dwārakā (in Kāṭhiauḍ) to the Karnāṭa country to visit their family-god Nārāyaṇa at Yadugiri, —Mēlukōte in the Seringapatam taluka, Mysore District, about twenty-five miles north of Mysore; and, seeing the land to be a beauteous one, they settled at Mysore, protecting the people, and doing service to the goddess who guarded the city and whom they adopted as their own deity. In their line there seems to have been born a Chāmarāja; then a son of him, also named Chāmarāja; and then his son, the Hīre-Bēṭṭada-Chāmarāja mentioned above. He, it is said, had three sons, amongst whom he

1 See the table in Mr. Rice's Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 126.
divided his principality while he was still alive. Two of them died without male issue. And so the whole went to the remaining son, Bōl-Chāmarāja, to whom he had given Mysore itself. The family thus commenced ruling at Mysore. As has been said above, in a.D. 1610 Rāja-Woḍeyar made a step in advance, and established himself at Seringapatam. From 1760 to 1799 the family was under the domination of Haidar Ali and Tipū Sultan. Then, on the defeat and death of the last-mentioned, the British Government placed Mummaḍi-Krishṇarāja-Woḍeyar on the throne, and the court was removed back to Mysore, which has continued to be the dynastic capital.

The name Mysore figures freely enough in the epigraphic records of this period; especially in the standing expression "(so-and-so) of Mysore", with reference to the place of origin, which was used even when Seringapatam was the capital: for instance, Maisūra Chāmarāja-Woḍeyarū in a record of a.D. 1633, and Mahiśūra Krishṇarāja-Woḍeyar-avaru in one of 1717. In Kanarese prose passages it is found in the various forms of Mahiśūr or Mahiśūr (a.D. 1614), Mayiśūr (1625), Maisūr (1633), and Mahiśāpura (1672). In Sanskrit verses it is found as Mahishāpur (a.D. 1639), Māhīṣi and Mahishipuravarā (1647), Mahishanagara (1662), Mahiśūra (1663), Mahishapuri (1666), Mahishapura (1675), and Mahiśūrapura (1679); but we do not trace any use of the name Māhishmati, to which we shall come farther on. And the goddess, whose shrine appears to be on the

2 At Belūru, Epi. Carn., 5 (Hassan). Bl. 29.
3 I can, of course, only quote the forms as they are given in the texts in roman and Kanarese characters in the volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica; and the readings do not always match each other. I have preferred, as a rule, to follow the Kanarese texts, because they are the bases of the others. For the reason stated in a previous note (the absence of a proper index), I cannot guarantee that I have exhausted all the forms: I give only each form, and the earliest instance of it, that I have detected.
Chāmunḍibēṭṭa hill close on the south-east of the city of Mysore, is mentioned as Mahishāsuramardini in a record of A.D. 1639,⁴ and Mahishāsuramardini-Beṭṭada-Chāmunḍéśvari-amma in one of 1673:⁵ she is to be regarded as a local form of Chaṇḍā, Chāmunḍā, Durgā, as the destroyer of the buffalo-headed demon Mahishāsura.⁶ We note the occurrence of the expression Mahisūra saṃsthāṇa, "the Mysore State", in an inscription of A.D. 1852,⁷ and perhaps of Maṅṣūra saṃsthāṇa in one of 1672-73.⁸ But we do not find any indication of the name Mysore in any form, Kanarese or Sanskrit, having been used to denote either the whole territory or even that portion of it which is now the Mysore District: the application of the name in this way seems to be of purely modern and official origin.

In view of all the facts set out above, it must be clear that any such appellation as Mahishamaṇḍala to denote the Mysore territory or even the country round the city Mysore itself.—(assuming that such a term has ever been used at all in that sense, of which there is no evidence)—could only have come into existence after A.D. 1600, when the occasion arose, in devising the Purānic genealogy, to Sanskritize the vernacular name, of a place rising to importance, which presented a certain adaptability.⁹ But

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3. The inscriptions do not seem to show how Yādavas who had come into Mysore to visit their family-god Nārāyaṇa became Śaivas with Durgā as their tutelary deity: and the "tradition" reported by Mr. Rice (his latest book, p. 125) does not furnish any clear explanation.
5. At Maṅchanahalli, Epi. Carn., 3 (Mysore). Ml. 69.
6. The suggestion (Epi. Ind., 4. 58, note 2) that Mysore is mentioned as Mahishavishaya in the inscription A. of A.D. 945 at Śalōṭgi in the Índī tāluka, Bijapur District, cannot be accepted. This "Māhisha district" is certainly to be located somewhere not very far from Śalōṭgi: and the village Kāṇchana-Muduvōl or Kāṇchina-Muduvōlāl, which the record places in it, is perhaps the modern Kāṇchinal in the Índī tāluka.
we can hardly avoid noticing, before we go farther, two observations attached by Mr. Rice to his assertion that the Mahishamandala of the Buddhist books is the country round the city Mysore.

He has said in the first place:—"Mysore, properly Maisūru, derives its name from mahisha, Sanskrit for buffalo, reduced in Prakrit to mahisa and in Kannada to maisa, and āru, Kannada for town or country". On the last point we must observe that the Kanarese ār, āru, does certainly mean 'village, town', but never 'country'. For the rest, does the word maisa really exist in Kanarese? It may perhaps be assumed to exist, because Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, though not giving it, does give maisi, from the Šabdamanidarpana (thirteenth century), as the tadbhava-corruption of the feminine mahishī. But no instance is adduced of the actual use of even maisi. And the facts set out above make it plain that the Sanskritized forms of the name Mysore were based on the form Maisūr, instead of the reverse being the case. We do not believe that the name even means 'buffalo-village': the Kanarese people have their own words, kōna, 'a male buffalo', and emme, 'a female buffalo', and would naturally have used one or other of them to form any place-name connected with the idea of 'buffalo', and would have given us Kōnanūr or Emmeyūr. We may suggest that the name may just possibly be connected with the Kanarese mé, mēy, mēyu, 'to graze', mēyisu, 'to cause to graze'. But we do not put forward even that with any confidence. We prefer to take this name, just as we have to take so many others, as one for which no certain origin can now be found.

Mr. Rice has further said (loc. cit.):—"Mahisa-mandala

1 Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions (1900), p. 14, note 1. From an earlier writing by him, this derivation is given in the Imperial Gazetteer, 18, 161.

2 Mr. Rice seems to have been thinking of the Sanskrit uru, 'wide, broad', whence we have urvi, 'the earth'.
appears in the Tamil form Erumai-nādu in Māmūlanār’s Aganānūru, which is of the second century.” Here, several points arise. In the first place, it does not seem correct to ascribe the Aganānūru to Māmūlanār, and to assign it to the second century: we are told elsewhere that the Aganānūru is an anthology on erotic subjects, consisting of stanzas composed by about a hundred and sixty poets (of whom Māmūlanār is one), and that it was compiled by Uruttiraśanman under the auspices of a Pāṇḍya king named Ugrapperuvalūdi:¹ and an indication has been given to us that it cannot be placed before the close of the eighth century. Secondly, in view of the inference which is plainly intended, we should like to know exactly what Māmūlanār has said about the Erumai-nādu, and why his ‘buffalo-district’ is supposed to be Mysore: but the vague reference that is given hardly helps us to find the passage. Thirdly, if the name Erumai-nādu ever existed as an established name of Mysore, it is strange that it is not found so used in any of the Tamil historical poems published in the Indian Antiquary; nor in any of the numerous Tamil inscriptions which exist in Mysore and have been published in the Epigraphia Carnatica; nor in any of the Tamil inscriptions from other parts which mention the Chōla conquest of Mysore; the term used in the latter is always Gangapāḍi, = Gangavāḍi. But we may be sure of one or other of two things. Either Māmūlanār’s Erumai-nādu is to be located somewhere in the Madras Presidency, where erumai is a not infrequent first component of place-names in the Coimbatore, Madura, Tinnevelly, Tanjore, Salem, North Arcot, and Chingleput Districts.² Or else, in view

² The Village Postal Directory of the Madras Circle (1893) shows, under e and y, eighteen such names, and is suggestive of there being also others, not correctly spelt there. And, judged by maps, this compilation is not exhaustive.
of the particular nature of the Aganānūru, it denotes the territory with which we shall now proceed to identify the country in which we are interested.

The Mahishamaṇḍala to which Moggaliputta-Tissa sent one of his Buddhist missions is distinctly not the modern Mysore territory or any part thereof. As our first step to its real identification, we take the first component of its name as denoting, not the idea of 'buffalo', but a people whose name is found in the various forms of Mahisha,1 Mahishaka,2 Māhishaka,3 and Māhishika.4 The passage in the Bhishmaparvan of the Mahābhārata classes the Māhishakas as janapadā dakshināḥ; and the Mārkandeya-Purāṇa calls them dakshināpatha-vāsināḥ: this means that they dwelt anywhere on the south of either the Vindhya range or the river Narbadā, whichever is taken as the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India: it does not mean that we must look for them in the extreme south. And we may note here that the Vishnu-Purāṇa, in its account of the various hells and the people who go to them, mentions, amongst those who are doomed to the Rudhirāndha, certain persons to whom it applies the term māhishika: here the commentary explains that a wife who dispenses her favours at random is termed mahishi, 'a female buffalo', and a husband who condones such conduct is styled māhishika.5

We will not venture to decide whether the Mahishas, Mahishakas, Mahishakas, Māhishikas, derived their name from being special breeders of buffaloes, or from a laxity

1 Brīhat-Saṁhitā, 9. 10: Harivamśa, 782.
3 Mahābhārata, e.g., 6 (Bhishma). § 9. 366: Vishnu-Purāṇa, book 4, chap. 24 (Bombay text, 1866, p. 42a); Mārkandeya-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind.), chap. 57, verse 46.
4 Matsya-Purāṇa (Calcutta, 1876), chap. 113, verse 47; text in the Ānandaśrīrama series, 114. 47.
5 Book 2, chap. 6: Bombay text (1866), p. 146.
of morals which led them to connive at free-love on the part of their wives. But, taking the word as the name of a people, we locate the Mahishamandala, "the territory of the Mahishas", by recognizing as its capital a city Mahishmati, which was of considerable antiquity and repute.¹

This city is mentioned by Patanjali in his comments on Varrtikas 10 and 15 under Pāṇini, 3. 1. 26, where he introduces it in illustrating a use of the causal to indicate something remarkable:—"Setting out from Ujjayini, he makes sunrise (sees the sun rise) at Mahishmati": he thus indicates that the distance between the two places was appreciable, but could, as a special feat, be covered between sunset and sunrise. It is mentioned as Mahissati in inscriptions at Sâñchi, in which visitors to the Stūpas are described (in somewhat misspelt terms) as coming from Mahisati, Māahasati, Māhisati.² And it was still flourishing in the thirteenth century: the inscription on the Māndhātā plates of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla ³ tells us that in A.D. 1225, when he made the grant recorded in it, he was staying at Mahishmati, and (we may add) that he made the grant after bathing in the Narbadā.

Some references to this city in the Mahābhārata are as follows:—In 2 (Sabhā). § 30. 1124–63, we are told that the Pāṇḍava prince Sahadēva, in the course of his tour to subjugate the countries of the south (dakshinā) for Yudhishthira, went to Mahishmati, and there fought and conquered king Nila: and a story is introduced (1130–43) narrating how the god Agni had conferred on the women of the city the boon of being allowed to behave just as

¹ From mahisha we have mahishmat, 'possessing buffaloes'. The name Mahishmati is explained by the St. Petersburg Dictionary as being the feminine of māhishmata from mahishmat. There are indications that in some of the passages presenting the name Mahishaka, etc., there are various readings which give shm instead of sh in the third syllable.

² Epit. Ind., 2. 109, No. 111; 389 f., Nos. 313, 314, 317.

³ Epit. Ind., 9. 108.
they might like. In 13 (Anuśāsana). § 2. 89, Daśāsva, one of the hundred sons of Ikshvāku son of Manu, is mentioned as a king of Māhishmatī. And in the same book, § 152. 7187, we are told that the thousand-armed Kārvirāṇya, the Haihaya, reigned over the whole earth at Māhishmatī.

The city is also mentioned in the Harivamśa. We are there told in one place (1846–7) that it was founded by king Mahishmati, the heir (dāyāda) of Sāhaṇja who was descended from Yadu through Haihaya; but in another passage that the founder of it was king Muchukunda. This last-mentioned person is there treated as a son of Yadu: but elsewhere in the same work (711–14, 6464) he is mentioned as a son of Māndhātri.

* * * *

Regarding the identity of this city Māhishmati there have been for a long time two views. One is that it is Mysore. This had its origin in a conjecture put forward by Wilson in 1822 in the Calcutta Annual Register. It has been asserted recently by Mr. Rice. So also the

1 Compare the explanation, mentioned above, of the term māhishika as used in the Vishnus Purāṇa.

2 In accordance with this, certain princes in Southern India, of the 11th and 12th centuries, who claimed to be of Haihaya extraction, used the title “lord of Māhishmati the best of towns”, to indicate their place of origin: see my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, in the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, part 2, pp. 439 and note 2, 450, 451, 457, 523; also Epi. Ind., 4. 86.

3 On the descent compare Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 4. 53 f.

4 So also in the Vishnus Purāṇa, translation, 3. 268.

5 There has also been a third view, which, however, we need not consider; namely, that Māhishmati is ‘Mandlā’, the head-quarters town of the Mandlā District, Central Provinces: see Sleeman in JASB. 6 (1837). 622, and Cunningham in Ancient Geography, 488.

6 See Vishnus Purāṇa, translation, 2. 166, note 8.

7 See, e.g., his Mysore (1807), 1. 280; 2. 280. He has said that Sahadēva crossed the Kāverī to reach Māhishmati. I do not find any mention of a Kāverī in connexion with Māhishmati in the Calcutta text of the epic. But, in case such a statement is really made anywhere else, it may be noted that the Indian Atlas shows a ‘Cavery R.’ flowing into the Narbadā from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhishmati.
Imperial Gazetteer says (18. 261) that Mysore appears as Māhishmati in the Mahābhārata. We need say no more about that, beyond making one brief remark. The Mahābhārata tells us that Sahadēva subjugated, next after Nila of Māhishmati, the king of Tripura. This place, as is well known, is Tewar, in the Jabalpur District. And the statement about Tripura should have been sufficient, for many years past, to prevent any repetition of the idea that Māhishmati is Mysore.

The more general view has identified Māhishmati with a town named Mahēshwar, on the north bank of the Narbadā, in the Nimār Zillah of the Indore State, which is shown as 'Mahesar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 37, N.E. (1892), in lat. 22° 10', long. 75° 38'. This identification was stated—apparently as an already accepted point—by Wilford in 1807.¹ And it has been last repeated in the Imperial Gazetteer.² The residents themselves seem to believe that Mahēshwar is Māhishmati; since we gather from the Imperial Gazetteer that they recognize the Māhishmati-Māhātmya as their local Purāṇa. And, though the names do not match,—Mahēshwar being plainly Mahēśvara, and having no connection with mahisha,—support for the view has been found in a passage in the Suttanipāta which tells us that, when the disciples of Bāvari, the hermit dwelling on the bank of the Gōdhāvāri (sic) in the neighbourhood of Alaka in the territory of Assaka (verse 997), journeyed to the north to look for Buddha, they went (verse 1011) to Patiṭṭhāna on the east of Alaka, then to Māhissati, and then to Ujjēnī, Gōnaddha, Vēdisā, Vana-Kōsambil, Sākēta, Sāvatthi, and so on.³ This places Māhishmati between Paṭhan,

1 Asiatic Researches, 9. 105.  ² Vol. 17, p. 9; vol. 21, p. 118.
³ Verse 1011 ends with Vana-savāhaya; and verse 1012 begins with Kōsambil chāpī. The translation (by Faussbøll, SBE., 10. part 2, p. 180) says: "... Vēdisā, Vanasavāhaya, and also to Kōsambil, Sākēta, ..." Vana-savāhaya means 'having the appellation vana'. It might of course be taken as denoting some place bearing any such
which is the ancient Pratishṭāna, on the Gōdāvari, and Ujjain. And Mahēśhwar answers well enough to such a location: it is closely about 185 miles north of Paithan and 70 miles south of Ujjain, and is almost on the straight line between the two places. It has, however, been lately shown that this identification is not the correct one.

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Mr. Pargiter has drawn attention to two instructive statements about Māhishmati.¹ One is in the Raghuvamśa, in the account of the svayamvara of Indumati. When the chief portress, who introduces the various suitors, comes to Pratīpa, king of Anūpa, a descendant of the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya, she says (6. 43):—“Be thou the Lakshmi on the lap of this long-armed (king), if thou dost wish to see through the windows of (his) palace the Rēvā (Narbadā), charming with rippling waters, which is a girdle round the hip-like ramparts of (his city) Māhishmati.” As Mr. Pargiter has observed, this distinctly

name as Vanapura, Vananagara, or even Vanavāsa: and the division of
the verses may be adduced in support of that. But the whole passage is
little more than prose, with the addition here and there of suitable words
to make it scan. And I venture to take it as speaking of “Kōsambī
which had the appellation Vana”, that is “Kauśambī in the Forest”, on
the strength of the gana attached to Pāṇini, 4. 2. 97, which gives the
name Vana-Kauśambī; it may be mentioned that the Nara-Kauśambī of
the Benares text of the Kāśikā, 2nd edition, is a mistake; all the other
versions have Vana”. The gana presents, in fact, two names: Kauśambī
and Vana-Kauśambī. But we seem to be justified in taking them as
denoting one and the same place by what Huen-tsiang says: after his
description of Prayāga, he continues (Beal, Life, 90, and compare Si-yu-ki,
1. 234):—“From this, in a south-west direction, we enter a great forest,
in which we frequently encounter evil beasts and wild elephants. After
going 500 li or so, we arrive at Kiao-shang-mi.” Also, the Antagadā-
dasō mentions Kōsambakāṇa, “the Kosamba forest” (translation by
Barnett, p. 81), though it may not place it in the same locality.

At the beginning of the passage in the Suttanipāta, the words are:—-
Alakassa Pahiṭṭhānaṁ purimāṁ. Here, also, I venture to differ from
Fausbøll, who translated:—“To Pahiṭṭhāna of Alaka first, then to
Māhissati, . . . ”

¹ See his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, p. 333, note ‡ (issued
in 1896), and introd., p. 9 (1905).
locates Māhishmati, not on the Narbadā, but in the middle of it; that is, on an island in it. The other statement is in the Harivamśa, in the passage (5218–27) which narrates the founding of the city by Muchukunda. His father had expressed the desire (5211) that he should found two cities against the mountains Vindhya and Rikshavat, in the shelter of the hills. Accordingly, he first made a settlement on the bank of the Narbadā, at a place full of rough rocks, which he cleared and adorned with a bridge, moats, temples, streets, and groves; and he then made Māhishmati, at the feet of the two mountains Vindhya and Rikshavat, and also a second city, Purikā, on the bank towards the Rikshavat.

Mr. Pargiter has pointed out that this latter passage marks a locality on the Narbadā where the Vindhya and Sātpurā (Sātpūḍā) ranges contract the valley, and come close to the river; that Mahēśhwar does not satisfy the conditions of either of the two statements;¹ and that the place which does satisfy them is the rocky island and village of Māndhātā, now sacred to Śiva, and containing a famous shrine of him as Ōmkāranātha, about thirty-five to forty miles higher up the river. And he has accordingly located Māhishmati there; a conclusion which we heartily endorse.

This island-village of Māndhātā, belonging to the Khandwā tahsil of the Nimār District, Central Provinces, is shown in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 53, S.W. (1891), as ‘Mandhatha’, with also the name ‘Unkarnath’ attached in more conspicuous type, in lat. 22° 15’, long. 76° 12’, six miles east of ‘BARWAI’, and seven miles east-north-east of ‘Mortakka’, stations on the Mālwa section of the Rājputānā–Mālwa railway. And the map shows clearly how spurs of the Vindhya and Sātpurā ranges come close

¹ There is no inhabited island there; and the hills do not close in on the river. Moreover, the place does not seem to have any remains suggestive of antiquity.
up to it. In addition to satisfying the conditions of the Raghuvamśa and the Harivamśa, it answers just as well as does Mahēśhwār to the statement in the Suttani-pāta; being only about thirty miles to the east from the straight line between Paṅthan and Ujjain, at a distance of closely about 195 miles from the former place and 70 miles from the latter. It answers to Patañjali’s indication that the distance between Ujjain and Māhishmatī, though appreciable, could be covered, as a special feat, in one night. It is distinctly referable to Southern India, whether we take the Vindhya mountains or the Narbada as the dividing line between the north and the south. Its present name is well accounted for by the mention of Māndhātri as the father of Muchukunda in one of the versions of the parentage of the latter. And we may locate Purikā, the second city attributed to Muchukunda, on an open area, on the south of the island, where the map shows villages named ‘Godurpoora, Bainpoora, Bamunpoora, and Dhooka’; and may probably place Muchukunda’s preliminary settlement (on the north bank) on the east of the island, where the map shows two villages and ‘Jain temples’. It may be added that the Imperial Gazetteer tells us (17. 152) that the village of Māndhāṭā stands partly on the island, partly on the south bank of the river, and — (a detail in which the place still answers to the words of Kālidāsa) — that on the island it includes rows of houses, shops, and temples, with “the Rao’s palace conspicuous above the rest”, standing on terraces scarped out of a hill; also, that “upon the summit of the hill are signs of a once flourishing settlement, in the shape of ruined fortifications and temples.”

In short, then, we locate the Mahishamaṇḍala, “the territory of the Mahishas”, to which Moggaliputta-Tissa

1 A town Purikā is mentioned in some of the inscriptions at Bharaut: Ind. Ant., 21. 234, No. 83; 236, Nos. 117–9.
sent one of his Buddhist missions in the time of Asoka, by recognizing it as the country of which the capital was Māhishmatī. We agree with Mr. Pargiter in placing Māhishmatī on the island in the Narbadā which is now known as Māndhātā. And we thus find in the Mahishamaṇḍala a border-land of the Buddhist Middle Country.

Looking to the general features of the country as shown in the Atlas sheets, we may probably take it that the territory belonging to Māhishmatī lay on both sides of the Narbadā, and extended on the west far enough to include Mahēshwar; in short, that it consisted of the present Nimār Zillah of Indore with part of the Nimār District of the Central Provinces. This would help to account for any transfer of the name and traditions of Māhishmati, along with the Māhishmatī-Māhātmya, to Mahēshwar; a transfer which, if established, may be instructive in some other cases. It would also help to explain the mention of Māhishmati as a city of the Avantis, the people of Ujjain, in the Dīgha-Nikāya (see this Journal, 1907. 653); it may easily be the case that the Ujjain territory was sometimes bounded on the south by the Vindhya range, but sometimes reached as far as the Narbadā.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

PARALLELS TO THE LEGENDS OF CANDRAHĀSA

The European literature is full of parallels to the history of Candrahāsa (No. 31). Not only is it found in many modern collections of fairy tales, as will be seen later on, but it appears already in mediaeval tales and legends, nay, is one of the German epic tales. As told by ancient chroniclers the history of the Emperor Henry III, of the eleventh century, is almost a copy of that of Candrahāsa. It occurs in the Gesta Romanorum, No. 20 (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p. 315), De miseria et tribulatione, and in the Golden Legend of Jacobus à Voragine, Latin edition by Greasse, No. 181 (not 171 as given by Oesterley), pp. 840–1, in the history of the Pope Pelagius. In the annotations to No. 20 (pp. 715–16) Oesterley has given a long list of parallels in the mediaeval literature, notably in Latin and German chronicles, most of them identical with the list in the Kaiserchronik (ed. H. F. Massman, Quedlinburg, 1854), vol. iii, pp. 1094–5, and in note 2, the full bibliography, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, a fact not so well known as it ought to be. The history, then (Gesta Rom., 20), is briefly as follows: In the reign of the Emperor Conrad there lived a certain Count Leopold, who, for some reason or other, fled from the Court and hid himself with his wife in a hovel in the woods. By chance the emperor hunting there lost his way and came to the hovel to spend the night. The same night the hostess was delivered of a son. Suddenly the emperor heard a voice saying: "Take, take, take." Then again: "Restore, restore, restore." A third time the voice said: "Fly, fly, fly; for the child that is now born shall become thy son-in-law." The emperor, terrified, ordered in the
morning two of his squires to take the child forcibly away and to kill it. Moved by pity through its great beauty they placed it upon the branch of a tree, so as to save it from wild beasts, and killing a hare they brought its heart to the emperor. Soon after a duke, travelling in the forest, discovered the child, took it in the fold of his mantle, and brought it to his wife to nourish it as their own, and he gave it the name of Henry. The boy grew handsome and eloquent, and became a general favourite. The emperor, learning of the quickness of the youth, desired his foster-father to send him to Court, where he resided for some time, and was held in great esteem by many people. (Some versions of the legend then tell that the emperor having learned that the child was not the son of the Duke Henry of Suabia, but a foundling, recognized him to be the child whose death he had encompassed in consequence of the prophecy he had heard on the occasion of his birth.) According to the Gesta, the emperor, afraid lest he be the child he had commanded to destroy, now wanted to make sure of his death. So he wrote a letter with his own hand to the queen to the following purport: "I command thee on pain of death, as soon as this letter reaches thee, to put this young man to death." The young man who was to bear this letter to the queen by chance passed a church, and setting himself upon a bench fell asleep. The letter was enclosed in his purse. The priest of the place, impelled by curiosity, opened the letter and read the contents. Horrified, he cunningly erased the writing, and wrote instead: "Give him our daughter in marriage." The queen, seeing the emperor's writing and the impress of his signet, called together the princes of the empire and celebrated the nuptials with great pomp. The emperor hearing of it was first greatly afflicted, but on hearing afterwards all the miraculous circumstances from the squires, the duke, and the priest, acquiesced in it and resigned himself to the dispositions of God. So he
confirmed the marriage, and appointed the young man heir to the throne.

This mediaeval legend, or cycle of legends, agrees almost in every detail with the first part of the story of Candrahāsa. All goes well so far up to the marriage, to which the father is finally reconciled in the history of Henry and in its numerous parallels in European chronicles. But the Indian story has a sequel. The father, far from resigning himself to the inexorable destiny of fate or to the dispensations of God, still harbours evil feelings and plots the final destruction of his son-in-law. In the end he falls a victim to the very plan which he had invented for the death of the innocent. In some modern fairy tales we find now the whole story, with a similar ending: the death of the scheming father-in-law who would defy destiny. In each of the parallels it is always a foundling. The child, whose future greatness had been overheard by the man on the night of its birth, is therefore exposed by him or by the murderers he had hired, and is found by some one else, who brings it up as his own child. He is therefore known as the Foundling. I start with "Naidis the Foundling" in the most recent collection of tales from Macedonia (G. F. Abbott, Macedonian Folklore, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 129–34). After the wedding the man, whose daughter he had married through the change of the wording in the letter by the miraculous intervention of an old man, instructs his wife to call Naidis the next morning early and to send him with another letter to the shepherds tending his flocks. In that letter he writes to the shepherds to cut the bearer in pieces and to fling him into the well. The mother-in-law seeing him sleep sweetly in her daughter's arms was sorry to wake him and went instead and woke her son, whom she thus sent to the doom prepared by his father for Naidis. Hearing of it the distracted father runs after the son, but is too late; he had been cut in pieces according to his instructions, and the body thrown into the well. Full of
despair he kills himself, and thus the prophecy comes true, the youth becomes his heir.

Almost identical with this Macedonian version is the Greek tale No. 20 in Hahn's collection. Here, however, it is the father-in-law himself who is killed in accordance with the instructions he had sent through the young man. For he writes to the guardian of the vineyard to shoot the man who would come into the place at such and such a time. The young man, eager to fulfil his master's wish, runs very fast and reaches the vineyard long before the fatal hour. Then he lingers a little on the way back. The father-in-law, impatient to know what had happened to the young man, whether he had at last succeeded in destroying him, goes to the vineyard to be killed by the guardian. The same occurs in the Albanian tale of the Foundling (Dozon, No. 13, "L'enfant vendu, ou la Destinée"). Here it is the pasha who overhears the prophecy. After the marriage he orders the smith to kill the young man with his hammer. In this tale it is again a son (that of the pasha) who is anxious to go first, and the young man then brings back what the pasha had wished, viz. the head of his own son. Finally, the pasha himself is killed, for he is impatient and goes first to the coachman to see whether his instructions have been carried out. Among the South Slavonian tales published by Jagić (Archiv f. Slav. Philologie, vol. i, etc.) Nos. 14 and 56 belong to our cycle. Reinhold Koehler, than whom there was no greater authority in the comparative study of fairy tales, has added there a large number of parallels from the world's literature. His remarks and references have been reprinted in his Kleinere Schriften zur Märchenforschung (ed. Bolte, Weimar, 1898), pp. 417, 466. In the latter cycle of tales the young man, instead of being sent straight to be killed by means of a letter or a peculiar message, is sent on perilous errands, from which he is not expected to return safely, but he succeeds in overcoming all difficulties
and slays his enemies. The Rumanian parallels have been studied by L. Sainénu, Basmele române (Bucureșci, 1895), pp. 142-3.

The second episode then branches off, and at an early period becomes an independent tale. The first, or Henry, cycle starts with a prophecy at birth, or at some early period in the life of the youth, and finishes, as a rule, with his marriage; the second cycle, which I will mention now as briefly as possible—though there is nothing in it of "predestination" and it lacks the changed letter—has, none the less, some traits in common with the Indian story, and must be an old variant. It is also found in one of the legends of the Gesta Romanorum among the "additional" tales published by Oesterley, but found already in the English version: the story of Fulgentius. The motive for sending the young man to what looks a positive death, is envy on the part of a steward, or some other courtier, who wishes to get rid of his rival in the favour of the king. He resorts to a stratagem which is the same in most of the parallels. He tells the emperor that the youth had told the people that his, the king's breath, was foul (either through leprosy or through some other fell disease), and that it was death to him to serve the cup. Then the emperor asks the steward first whether it is true, and on his denying that there was anything amiss with the breath of the emperor he is asked how he, the emperor, might bring this thing to good proof. The steward answers: "To-morrow next when he serveth the cup the young man will turn his face away from the emperor." He then goes to the young man, and tells him that the emperor feels very sore on account of his stinking breath, which makes his drink to do him no good. Fulgentius (this is the name of the youth) asks the steward to counsel him what to do, and he advises him to turn his face away from the emperor whenever serving him with the cup. He does so and is turned out of Court. The emperor then decides
to punish him, and again, upon the advice of the steward, orders him to go to the brickmakers at the emperor's limekiln, whither he should send the order to cast into the furnace whoever came and asked whether they had fulfilled the king's will. Fulgentius, on his way, passing a church, hears the bell tolling for service. So he goes in, attends service, and falls into a profound sleep. Meanwhile, the steward, impatient to know the fate of Fulgentius, proceeds to the limekiln, asks the fatal question, and is forthwith bound hand and foot and thrown into the furnace, just before Fulgentius arrives, who hears the news and is told of the command of the emperor. He returns, to the great surprise of the emperor, who, by questioning, finds out the truth, and recognizes in Fulgentius' salvation divine intervention and the triumph of truth. To this story (No. 283) Oesterley gives a full parallel literature (p. 749), without noticing the connexion with No. 20 (and pp. 715–16). From that list it will be seen how widespread this version of the legend had been in the Middle Ages, and also that it had entered into the literature of fairy tales and ballads, the best known being Schiller's Gang nach dem Eisenhammer. It is also found in the East in the Persian Mesnewi, in the Forty Viziers (German, by Bernauer), in the Somadeva, and partly also in some additions to the Pancha-Tantra (Benfey, i, 321). To these parallels I will add now only two more, hitherto unknown. They are found in Hebrew MSS. The first, in a MS. of the xiii–xiv cent. (Bodl. 1466, ed. Gaster, Exempla of the Rabbis, No. 308, pp. 207–8); and the other in my possession, Cod. 130, No. 38a f., 100a ff. In the former it is a young man to whom the father leaves on his death-bed the wish never to pass the synagogue when service is held without going in and taking part in it.

The young man went to Court and served as cup-bearer and page to the king and queen. Being favoured by
them he roused the envy of the steward, who, taking advantage of the fact that favour was shown to him by the queen, told the king that she was bestowing her love on the young man. The king would not believe it, until at last he allowed himself to be persuaded, and decided to destroy the page. So he commanded the brickmaker to throw into the limekiln the first man who would come to him and ask whether he had fulfilled the king's command. And he ordered the young man to go early next morning to the limekiln. On the way he passes a synagogue, and hearing the service going on, he dismounts from his horse, goes into the synagogue, and tarry there until the end. The king, after waiting for a while, sends the steward to the kiln to inquire what has happened. He is thrown into the burning furnace. Meanwhile the young man comes to the place, and seeing them throwing the steward into the burning furnace remonstrates with them, but they answer: "Such was the command of the king, and he (the steward) was the first who came." The young man returns to the king and asks him why he has ordered them to burn the steward. The king, being greatly surprised at the turn of events, tells him all that the steward had spoken against him, and adds that he is now fully convinced of his innocence. And the "Moralizatio", quite in the style of the Gesta, is: "This shows how necessary and beneficial it is not to pass divine service."

The point to be noted in this variant, and in the subsequent, is the importance attached to the synagogue or church, and the "Moralizatio" that the salvation of the young man is due to his tarrying at that place for devotional purposes. This point has become obscured in the first cycle of legends, the Henry cycle, though a remnant of it is found in Henry resting in the church where the inquisitive priest changes the writing of the letter. The significance of the stopping at the church for religious
purposes, which is obliterated in the other variants, appears prominently in this second cycle of legends. It occurs also in the story of Maimonides, who is the hero of a tale found in my MS. 130 (of the sixteenth to seventeenth century). He was a favourite at the Court of the King of Spain, and became the object of envy to the other courtiers. The oldest among them then decides to bring about his destruction by the scheme of insinuating an evil smell of the breath of the king, and of Maimonides, advising the latter to cover his mouth with his hand when addressing the king. Greatly incensed at this public insult, the king orders the baker to heat his furnace and to throw into it the first man who would ask for the king's message. Maimonides, of course, is sent. On his way to the furnace Maimonides is stopped three times to take part in a religious ceremony, once by being asked to be present at a circumcision, the second time at a wedding, and the third time at a funeral. The king’s counsellor, impatient to know of the result, reaches the furnace first and is thrown in, and Maimonides is thus saved by having been stopped on his way in the performance of religious duties. The king then learns the truth, and he recognizes that a just punishment has overtaken the wicked counsellor.

It would be easy to increase the number of parallels; they are mostly mentioned in the books of Liebrecht, Koehler, and Oesterley. To this large number now the history of Candrahāsa is a most welcome and important addition, for it furnishes the missing Indian link, and closes the chain.

M. GASTER.

THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

My paper on the Antiquity of Vedic Culture\(^1\) has elicited comments from various scholars\(^2\); may I be

\(^1\) JRAS, 1900, pp. 721 seqq.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 1095 seqq.
allowed to make a few remarks on the strictures of Professor Oldenberg and Mr. Berriedale Keith, which concern more directly the Sanskrit scholar?

According to Professor Oldenberg the Mitannian gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, are not the Vedic gods of those names, but Iranian gods partly occurring in the Avesta, partly inferred from facts contained in the Avesta. He contends that the divine pair, Ahura-Mithra or Mithra-Ahura, of the Avesta has been correctly identified with Mitra-Varuṇa of the Veda; for the Vedic Varuṇa is indeed the great Asura (= Iran. ahura). The Vedic Indra is concealed under Verethrajan, the god of Victory in the Avesta. And to the Vedic pair of the two Nāsatyas corresponds in the Avesta the evil spirit Nāonhaithya. Therefore Professor Oldenberg says in conclusion: "I never doubted that Zarathushtrianism was preceded by a more ancient Iranian religious system in which occurred a divine pair, Mitra-Varuṇa, a god Indra, a pair of two Aśvins or Nāsatyas."

This reasoning is open to serious objections. (1) A god Varuṇa is nowhere mentioned in Iranian records. We only know for certain that Mithra was associated with another great god of whose true name and functions we are totally ignorant. From the fact that both in the Veda and in the Avesta there occur a couple of gods, one of whom is Mitra, it does not follow that the second member in either couple should also be the same. For the Sun-god may be, and has been, associated with various gods, so as to form a pair with any one of them, e.g. the Moon, the Night, the Dawn,¹ etc. We do not know who was the companion of that Mitra who, as Professor Sayée tells us in his note, p. 1106, is "represented by ideographs which signify 'the dawn-completer'." (2) The Iranian god of Victory, Verethrajan, corresponds to the Indian Vṛtraḥan; but in Indian

¹ Cf. Garuḍa and Aruṇa.
mythology Vṛtrahan is an epithet of Indra, while in
the Avesta Verethrajan and Indra are two distinct
mythological persons, a god and a demon. It is just
as likely that the Indians should have fused two gods
into one as that the Iranians should have split one into
two. And besides the inscription names this god "Indra"
and not Vṛtrahan. (3) The Avesta knows but one
Nāonhaithya, a demon, not a divine pair of Nāsatyas,
thus ignoring the most characteristic trait of the Āśvins,
their forming a couple. Nāsatya is an epithet of the
Āśvins, the signification of which is unknown. It may,
for all we know, have been also the name of an Iranian
god wholly unconnected with the Indian Āśvins. The
inscription does not mention one Nāsatya, but two; for
the plural ilāni most probably stands for the dual
which is wanting in Babylonian. (4) The gods mentioned
in the inscription are identical in form with Vedic gods;
there is not a trace of anything peculiarly Iranian.¹
This fact goes far to prove that the religion of the
tribe who imported their gods into Mesopotamia was
essentially the same as Vedic religion as far at least
as concerns mythology. For the gods invoked in those
treaties were, of course, the principal gods of that tribe.

Now the facts discussed under Nos. 1–3 prove that
Iranian mythology, as revealed in the Avesta, bears
some resemblance to Vedic mythology (as far as concerns
the gods under consideration), but that, on the other
hand, the difference is also well marked. And this is

¹ Professor Oldenberg says, p. 1068, note 1: "By deriving these gods
from Iran rather than from India we may possibly account for the
absence of Agni. It seems probable that the prominence of Agni in
the Veda is of Indian, not of Indo-Iranian, growth." In my opinion
the prominence of Agni in the Veda is due to the fact that Agni
(like Soma) was a god of the priests (in later times he is identified
with the Brahmans), while Indra was the god of warriors or Kṣattriyas.
Therefore the absence of Agni from the Mitannian inscription is easily
accounted for by the fact that the Mitannian kings or their predecessors
were warriors and not priests.
just what might be expected in two distinct peoples derived from a common stock; we know of no instance where two such peoples, each of which, however, developed an individual language and nationality, have preserved the same gods and attributed to them the same relative importance as in the prehistoric times when the two peoples had not yet separated. For the causes which bring about linguistic and ethnical differentiation, still more powerfully affect the religious beliefs of the people and their selection of gods.¹

These considerations make it highly improbable that the gods invoked in the Mitannian inscriptions should be Iranian, or, more accurately, proto-Iranian² gods. Now the obvious reason for assuming them to be Iranian is the apparently Iranian form of the names of the Mitannian kings. But according to Professor Sayee³ it is very unlikely that the names of the Mitannian kings are either Indo-European or Iranian; and this eminent scholar shows that the seeming Iranian affinities of these names may just as well be explained from Mitannian and Hittite idioms. If he is right, there is no reason which could induce us to interpret as Iranian, gods who, on the face of it, are Vedic gods.

¹ Popular gods usually vary even from tribe to tribe within the same people unless a uniform mythology is brought about by some powerful factor; as the Greek Pantheon was fixed by the Homeric poems, so the Vedic Pantheon by the Vedic Rsis. If, therefore, contrary to my opinion, it could be proved that the pre-Zarathustrian religious system of the Iranians contained the principal gods of the Veda, then indeed we should have to assume that those Iranians had, at some time, been so wholly under the influence of Vedic culture as to adopt even the Vedic gods.

² Professor Oldenberg corrects me in ascribing to Professor Meyer the opinion that those gods were Arian instead of proto-Iranian. If I must plead guilty, I may say in my excuse that the title of his paper: "The first appearance in history of the Arians," and some passages, e.g. the one translated by Oldenberg on p. 1096, have misled not only me but also other readers.

³ JRAS, 1909, p. 1107.
Professor Oldenberg thinks that even if these gods should, after all, turn out to be Vedic gods, their occurrence on Mitannian inscriptions of about 1400 B.C. will make no alteration in the current opinions on the age of the Veda; and he objects to my declaration that the excavations at Boghazkioi "give an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization". But their importance in this regard will be evident to everyone who considers that till recently the oldest authentic date in Indian history was the epoch of Buddha's death, and that now the oldest certain date is pushed back for well-nigh a thousand years. The testimony which the Mitannian inscriptions bear to the existence of Vedic religion about 1400 B.C. will henceforth be the keystone of all speculations on the antiquity of Indian civilization.

I had contended that everybody would accept my interpretation of the dates brought forward by Mr. Tilak and myself in order to prove the high antiquity of Vedic civilization, if the latter could be proved by independent evidence. Mr. Berriedale Keith, however, is of opinion that the objections to my chronological arguments would remain in undiminished force, even if the Vedic culture should date from the early epoch I claim for it. And in order to make his assertion good he restates the reasons of my opponents in a condensed form. May I, therefore, be allowed to give also my version of the story?

(1) The Vedic year began with full moon in Uttara-Phalguni (B Leoisis); our opinions are at variance about the epoch denoted by this beginning of the year. I believe that at the time when the oldest Vedic calendar was fixed, the full moon in Uttara-Phalguni occurred at the winter solstice; but according to Oldenberg it marked the beginning of the hot season. He places the period of the oldest Brähmanas during which the calendar may have been fixed at about 800 B.C. At that time the full moon
in question occurred, as an easy calculation shows, within a fortnight on either side of the 3rd February. Now if we place the first construction of the Vedic calendar 800 years earlier, as the Boghazkiöi inscriptions entitle us to do, the limits of Phālguna full moon are shifted forward to the 10th January and the 7th February. Therefore, from the assumptions of Oldenberg, Thibaut, and others, it would follow that the Indians, when first framing their calendar, marked the beginning of the hot season by the full moon occurring between the 10th January and the 7th February. As such a proposition is quite unacceptable in my opinion, I think it preferable to interpret the said beginning of the year as marked by the winter solstice of a very early period. For the winter solstice was also the beginning of the lustrum and the first year of it in the adjusted calendar of the Jyotisam which at that time coincided with new moon in Māgha (about 1100 B.C.).

I proceed to discuss two more dates which, in my opinion, bear testimony to the existence of a polar star (dṛhua) and the position of the Pleiades near the vernal equinox in the early Vedic age. My opponents deny that the alleged evidence contains a positive base for chronological inference.

(2) The dṛhua (lit. the immovable one) was during the marriage ceremony pointed out by the husband to his bride as a symbol of immobility. Mr. Berriedale Keith ¹ emphasizes the fact that the dṛhua "among Vedic texts appears only in the marriage ritual of the Grhya Sūtras and in the late (I should say apocryphal) Upaniṣadic literature". But as the pointing out of the polar star as a part of the marriage ceremony is enjoined in all the principal Grhya Sūtras, it was obviously a usage prevailing all over India and, therefore not one of recent origin.²

¹ L.c., p. 1101.
² It is misleading when Keith says (ibid.) that the "dṛhua is admittedly an intruder in the Vedic marriage ritual". Professor Winternitz, speaking of another detail of the marriage ritual, which is of
Now I contend that the dhrvua was the polar star of the period in which the popular custom of showing it to the bride came into existence; for it is difficult to imagine that the Indians should have wantonly named a star immovable whose motion could not have escaped observation. It was, of course, natural for this star to retain the name once given it for an indefinite length of time, even after it had ceased to appear immovable.¹ The opponents of my theory seem to suppose that the ancient Indians invented, as it were, a polar star, and then fixed on a star in the vicinity of the Pole to call it dhrvua. However, the absence of anything like astronomical theories before the Puranic period makes this assumption unacceptable, in my opinion. I am convinced that it was not the priest who invented a polar star, but that the common people, villagers and the like, had discovered it. On this assumption I identified the dhrvua with α Draconis, which star was, in 2780 B.C., only six minutes distant from the Pole, and continued for about three or four hundred years before and after that time in such vicinity to the Pole that it may have been regarded as a true polar star. Only two more stars of sufficient magnitude approached the Pole: α Draconis and β Ursae Minoris, the minimum

1 The phrase dhrvusya pracatana in Maitri Upāniṣad, i, 4, has been regarded as evidence that the motion of the polar star had become known at last. But this is a mistake. The shaking of Dhrvua is mentioned among other portents which were apparently supposed to occur at the end of a Kalpa: saṇam mahāravānam, akhārinām prapatana, evaṃca sa vitarajjānām. We are here already in presence of Puranic cosmology; note the cords of winds by which the stars are fastened to the Dhrvua, see Viṣṇu Purāṇa, ii, 12, 24. For the Purāṇas Dhrvua (Antānapada) seems to be the Pole, as guardian of the celestial bodies; and the star near him is his mother Suniti or Śunṛta, see Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i, 12, 95.
polar distance of the former being 4° 44' in 1290 B.C., and of the latter 6° 28' in 1060 B.C. But neither could have been named "immovable", since the daily changes in the position of the one amounted to about 10 degrees, and of the other to about 13 degrees, and they increased as time drew on. These are quantities not to be overlooked by men familiar with the starred heaven, as those Indians must have been who told the day of the month and the time of the night by observing the asterisms. I have treated elsewhere¹ at some length the astronomical side of the question. My observations appeal to those who by a practical acquaintance with astronomy can form an adequate idea of their significance, and realize that 10 degrees make a very perceptible difference of position. Mr. Berriedale Keith, who says that my "observations on this point do not seem convincing", will give me leave to doubt his competence as judge in astronomical matters, since on p. 1102 of his paper he gives vent to the opinion that a star of 3-3 magnitude is brighter than one of "only" 2-0 magnitude.

(3) The last argument from the Krāttikās, or Pleiades, assumes that they opened the series of Nakṣatras as standing, at that time, near the vernal equinox. With this interpretation of that well-known fact I combined two testimonies from the Brāhmaṇas: (a) in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa I, 5, 2, 6 seqq. the Nakṣatras are divided into devanakṣatras, Krāttikās down to Viśakhe, and yamanakṣatras, Anurādhās down to Bharani, the former being apparently regarded as the Northern, and the latter as the Southern, Nakṣatras; (b) in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II, 1, 2, 3, it is said that the Krāttikās do not deviate (cyavante) from the East,² while the other Nakṣatras do; the meaning of this observation is that

¹ See Festgruss an Rud. von Roth, 1893, pp. 72 seqq.: ZDMG., vol. xliv, p. 228; vol. 1, p. 70.
² Śāyana’s commentary runs thus: dakṣipata uttarato vā vikṣepavasān na calanti, kiṃtu niyamena Buddhaprācyām evo dyanti.
the Kṛttikās rise due east, as was the case when they stood near the vernal equinox. To my observations on this point,1 which I do not think invalidated by the remarks of Oldenberg and Thibaut, I may add that the Hindus in later times did not doubt the proposed significance of the Kṛttikās' place at the head of the Naksatras. For when at last they had become aware of the precession of the equinoxes, some astronomers (Sūrya Siddhanta) assumed a libratory movement of the vernal equinox, the limits of which were 27 degrees in either direction from the beginning of Aśvini (near ζ Piscium), thus including in the libration the Kṛttikās. Mr. Keith considers the argument from the Kṛttikās also quite unconvincing, and he lays stress on "the fact that in no other regard does the vernal equinox appear as important in Vedic literature". But does the fact that Vedic liturgy took no cognizance of the vernal equinox preclude its being known? It is further said: "We do not know the origin of the Naksatras, and until we do, it is hardly likely that the origin of the place of Kṛttikās will be found." If the Kṛttikās rose due east in the Vedic period—viz. if their position then was near the vernal equinox—it matters little what was the origin of the Naksatras.

Whatever will be the value assigned to my chronological argument by the progress of research, at the present I do not think my opponents entitled to treat it as definitely refuted.

HERMANN JACOBI.

THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

The importance of the question of the interpretation of the chronological data of the Vedic literature renders desirable a brief reply to Professor Jacobi's last note on the subject.

1 See ZDMG., vol. xlix, pp. 220 seqq.; vol. i, p. 72.
1. Professor Jacobi states that the Boghazkioi inscriptions entitle us to place the first construction of the Vedic calendar 800 years earlier (than 800 B.C.), and deduces thence an argument in favour of his view that the full moon in Uttara-Phalguní occurred at the winter solstice when the oldest Vedic calendar was fixed. But the inscriptions in question say nothing about Uttara-Phalguní or the Vedic calendar, and cannot, therefore, entitle us to make any assertion as to the date of the first construction of a calendar which they neither mention nor presuppose.

2. Professor Jacobi is fully entitled to doubt my competence as a judge in astronomical matters, but not to base that doubt on a misstatement of my views. I did not assert—as reference to p. 1102 of the Journal for 1909 will show—that a star of 3.3 magnitude is brighter than one of "only" 2.0 magnitude. My argument, which was condensed, but I think readily intelligible to anyone familiar with the question, was that the star α Draconis might well be identified with the dhruva of the Gṛhya Sūtras, and have been regarded as the Pole Star both about and for long after 1290 B.C., when it was at its minimum distance (4° 44') from the North Pole, because its only probable rival, β Ursae Minoris, while it was only 2.0 in magnitude, and therefore not very greatly more conspicuous than α Draconis,1 was never at a less polar distance than 6° 28', and thus was much less likely than α Draconis ever to have been chosen as the Pole Star. But, as I said then, I see no reason at all for any definite identification of the star, but if we must have one, α Draconis appears to me infinitely more likely than α Draconis. A date of the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C. is much more likely to be found as a survival in a Gṛhya Sūtra than one of the third millennium.

3. Stress must be laid on the fact that even if we were to assume, in the face of all probability, that Kṛttikās

1 Cf. also Oldenberg, ZDMG., 1, 450, 451.
only marked the vernal equinox, none the less the date so indicated would be vague in the extreme. Whitney,¹ Weber,² and Thibaut ³ have shown with perfect clearness how utterly vague are the dates which can be ascribed to this event, or to the coincidence of new moon in Māgha with the winter solstice in the Jyotiṣa. The arguments of these scholars have not been refuted or apparently adequately considered by Professor Jacobi, though in one place ⁴ he appears to accept the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. as the date of the latter event, while in his last note the date is given at about 1100 B.C. But so long as their arguments stand, all speculation rests on an absolutely insecure basis.⁵

A. Berriedale Keith.

Apastamba Mantra Brahmana, ii, 8, 4

In this verse occurs—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{priyam mā deveśu kuru} \\
\text{priyam mā brahmaṇe kuru} | \\
\text{priyam viśyesu śādresu} \\
\text{priyam rājasu mā kuru} ||
\end{align*}
\]

¹ JRAS., i, 316 seqq. ; Colebrooke's Essays, i, 126 seqq. ; Oriental and Linguistic Studies, ii, 380 seqq.
² Indische Studien, x, 234 seqq.
³ IA., xxiv, 98 seqq.
⁴ IA., xxiii, 157, where he seems to admit a possible error of ten centuries in the fixing of the vernal equinox at Kṛtikās ! It should be noted that both Whitney (Studies, ii, 383) and Thibaut (IA., xxiv, 97) are prepared to accept the view that the presence of Kṛtikās at the equinox is merely another form of the datum of the Jyotiṣa; this would reduce indefinitely the importance of the Kṛtikās theory.
⁵ Shamasāstra's effort (Gavām Ayana, pp. 132 seqq.) to refute Whitney must be regarded as quite inadequate. The references to Baudhāyana establish nothing that was not known before. Whitney was acquainted with the Brāhmaṇa references to the holding of certain festivals on certain dates, but he laid stress on the fact that there is no evidence to show how the Jyotiṣa and the sacrificial ritual were connected. It may be remarked that the evidence of the Jyotiṣa so far as it goes is very unfavourable to Shamasāstra's theory of go as "intercalary day".
In Hiranyakāśiṇī Gṛhya Sūtra, i, 10, 6, inter alia the reading of Pāda b is: priyam mā brahmaṇi kuru. This is, of course, much easier, and not unnaturally Winternitz, in his edition,1 while accepting brahmane as the Āpastamba text from all his MSS. and Haradatta, regards it as either Prākritic or an error for brahmaṇi.

It seems to me at once simpler and more satisfactory to assume that we have here a change of construction simply, the dative being substituted for the locative 2 of the other Pādas. The use of the dative with priya is not common, but cf. RV., v, 51, 4: priya Indrāya Vāyave, where the dative seems most naturally to be connected with priya, though it might also be construed with the preceding pari sicyate, and especially Atharvaveda, xii, 2, 34: priyam pitṛbhya ātmante brahmanabhyaḥ kṛṇata priyam, which affords a precise, and in my opinion conclusive, argument for the dative brahmane. The sense, of course, is different, but that is merely because in the one case the object is masculine, in the other neuter.

Interchanges of case of this kind are not rare in Sanskrit: e.g., in Manu, iii, 84 seqq., we have: ābhyāḥ kuryāḥ devatābhyaḥ brahmano homam anvaham || Agnes Somasya caivādau tayoś caiva samastayoḥ | viśvēbhyaś caiva devebhyaḥ Dhanvantaraya eva ca || 85 ||. Or again, ibid., ii, 79, there is: mahato 'py enaso māsāt tvacevāhir vimucyate | with which cf. Rāmāyana, j, 16, 14. Or in Manu, iv, 128, the accusative and locative of time alternate in the same sense. Again in RV., x, 76, 5, we have: divaś cid ā vo 'mavattarebhyaḥ vibhavanā cid āsvapastarebhyaḥ | vāyōś cid ā somarabhastarebhyaḥ 'gnes cid arca pitukṛttarebhyaḥ ||. It is here clear that vibhavanā must have the same sense as the ablative, and Delbrück's 3 doubts as to the possibility of the use of the

1 The Mantrapātha, i, pp. xxiv and 44.
2 For the locative, cf. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., v, 120.
3 Synt. Forsch., v, 138.
instrumental for the ablative in such cases cannot be maintained against the evidence adduced by both Pischel and Geldner, so that we need not read vibhvanah as Roth suggested. For other examples of interchange, cf. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 23, and Oldenberg’s note on RV., i, 55, 3; a good instance in Prakrit is that in *Mrchakatikā*, i, 30, 9: šavāmi-śiśam-pādehim, which is certainly to be taken as two variant constructions with the same sense.

A. Berriedale Keith.

**Grammatical Notes**

**Personal Pronouns**

The accepted use of *me* and *te* as personal pronouns in Sanskrit is as dative and genitive, and it is as well to be slow in ascribing to these forms any other significance without very convincing evidence. I consider it therefore desirable to analyse the proofs of other usages alleged for the *Rāmāyāna* by Dr. Michelson in an article in the JAOS. \(^5\) He finds *me* as instrumental singular in iv, 14, 14, and in a number of other passages like *me śrutas*, iii, 7, 10; in all the latter, however, he himself admits the possibility of their being genitives, and I have no doubt whatever that this is the case. The former case, however, is more important, as it is *anṛtaṁ nokta pūrvam me cirāṁ krche ṁpi tisṭhatā*, when the instrumental of the participle is important. But it is as simple to assume a double construction; *uktapačvam* can quite correctly be construed either with instrumental or genitive, and we have both, the genitive being, no doubt, preferred *metri*

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4. JAOS., xxvii, 423.
5. xxv, 116 seqq.
causa. For parallels, due to the same state of affairs, cf. Mbh., iii, 54, 5: tato Vidarbhapataye Damayantyāḥ sakhiṇaḥ | nyavedayat tām asvasthām Damayantiṃ nareśvare || when nareśvare cannot refer to Nala as in Milman's translation. The reason here for the locative is metrical. Or again in R., i, 12, 22, we have 1 yataṁ tam teṣu vipreṣu, which is not half so easy as me-tisthatā. Or in v, 25, 9,² where rudantyāḥ-Sitayā is a combination of "Sītā's lock" (veṇī) and "agitated by Sītā" (kampitā), and is not merely metrical. The examples of te as instrumental are merely of the type buddhir anyā na te kāryā, and are all obvious genitives. It is, of course, impossible to accept te or me as instrumental when they only occur in senses when the genitive is perfectly appropriate; and it is significant that even in Pāli the use of me and te as instrumental is by no means certain; though in any case arguments from Pāli or Prākrit syntax to Sanskrit are apt to be quite unscientific and lead to unsound results,³ and the notorious irregularity of Avestan syntax is not cogent for Sanskrit syntax.

But Mr. Michelson finds also me as ablative and perhaps as locative. As ablative he renders it in vi, 19, 20: na me jīvan vimokṣyate, and in vii, 10, 17: varam anyam vṛniṣva me. In both cases the use is no doubt dative, as in the Homeric τοῖς ἀφελέτο "took away from them" (Od., i, 9), or Θεμιστὶ δέκτο δέπας, "received the cup from" (Il., xv, 87).⁴ As locative he thinks its use unlikely, as the only case is ii, 85, 10, where buddhir anyā na me kāryā has a variant te (much more likely),

1 Bohlingk, ZDMG., xli, 187.
² JAOS., xxv, 107. Cf. also AV., x, 7, 39, as explained by Hopkins, JAOS., xxviii, 367, n. 1, and RV., i, 31, 12, as explained by Pischel, Ved. Stud., iii, 193; and cf. the citation from the Bower MS. in Hoernle's paper, Ind. Ant., xxxi, 352.
and where in any case _me_ might be genitive and not instrumental.

For _te_ both Professor Hopkins and Mr. Michelson find a use as accusative in _apāpām vedmi_ _Sīte te_, which is the reading of the Bombay edition in vii, 49, 10. But Gorresio's edition has _tvām_, and the corruption is obvious; by an error, which is one of the commonest in Sanskrit MSS., _sīte te tvām_ was written, and the next step was to eject the offending extra syllable as a gloss on _te_ (the commentary actually glosses _te_ by _tvām_).

After this we will hardly be inclined to take very seriously the use in vii, 53, 21: _sa te mokṣayitā sāpāt_. The sense is clearly either dative "for thee", or genitive "of thee", not an accusative at all. In vii, 47, 9, the last example, _aham ājñāpayāmi te, te_ is a legitimate variant, and to us a more natural one, from the _tvām_, which is also possible. The dative is the natural construction of _ā-jñāpayāmi_, though the accusative is intelligible, and the _St. Petersburg Dictionary_ quotes without remark, vi, 103, 10: _na kimcid asyā vṛjinam aham ājñāpayāmi te_.

In _tubhyam_ Mr. Michelson finds an instrumental in a variant mentioned by the commentary of the _tvaya_ of the text, and calls it an _ārṣa_ usage. The text is (Bombay edition, not in Gorresio)—

_naiṣa vārayitum sākyas tvaya kṛūro niśācarah_

I quite agree that _tubhyam_ may well be the correct reading, instead of the obvious _tvaya_, which could hardly ever be corrupted, but _tubhyam_ is a mere ordinary dative _²_.

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¹ JAOS., xx, 222. Cf. JAOS., xxvii, 388, n. 1, where he suggests that _te_ in the Epic _āsya te_ is accusative, but the dative is perfectly plausible, cf. _Satapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa_, xii, 7, 3, 1.

² Contrast the same dative but in a contrary sense: _Mbh._, iii, 279, 4: _na hi me mokṣyase jīvan_, and 282, 16: _na me mokṣyasi kartiḥcit_, where on Mr. Michelson's principle we would equate the dative and the genitive.

³ It is worth noting that Franke (_Die Casuslehre des Pāṇini_, pp. 20, 21) suggests that in similar cases the dative is original and the genitive is due to the popular dialects. But this is hardly necessary as the genitive
“this harsh one is not for thee to restrain,” and to take it as instrumental is merely to make nonsense of grammar.

No more convincing is the evidence for the use of mahyam or tubhyam as genitive. At i, 13, 4, sukrupr mahyam is a clear case of dative, as in RV., ii, 2, 8: atithir cārur āyave, though the other editions read caiva. In v, 36, 39; 37, 20, occurs śrutoiva ca vaco mahyam kṣipram esyati Rāgūvah. The commentary takes mahyam as mattaḥ in the first place (where Gorresio, v, 34, 4, has mama śrutoiva tu vacah) and as mama matto vā in the second. I think Mr. Michelson misunderstands him in thinking that he meant to construe mahyam with esyati; he renders mahyam either as mama, adjective with vacas, or as mattaḥ with śruto. But the dative is clearly, if it goes with śruto vacas, ethical, and if with esyati, it means “starts towards”. In vii, 49, 9, the dative is also perfectly in place, and in the only case of tubhyam as genitive, i, 54, 15: aprameyaṁ balaṁ tubhyam, the dative is clearly right.

There remains of the misuse of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons in the Rāmāyana only that of yūyam as acc. pl. in v, 64, 17: ayuktam kṛatakarmāṇo yūyam dharsayitum balāt. Mr. Michelson also suggests that kṛatakarmāṇo, which is, of course, a nominative form, may be vocative. Yet the explanation seems very obvious: we have here a clear case of the neuter use of the predicate is naturally found adnominally with gerunds and participles. The use, however, of the dative in Sanskrit confirms Monró’s view (Homerie Grammar, p. 136) that its use in Greek was not instrumental in origin: cf. also Delbrück, Vergl. Synt., i, 300; Hopkins, JAOS., xxvii, 371-4.

1 Cf. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., v, 146, 147, and perhaps in RV., i, 34, 7, sūre dukhāta (contra Pischel, Ved. Stud., iii, 192, and cf. Oldenberg, Ryveda-Notes, i, 37); Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 96, does not illustrate this use, and Speyer, Vedisch und Sanskrit Syntax, p. 14, regards them as genitive in use.

2 How far he meant his interpretations to represent his views on Syntax one cannot say.

3 Hopkins, JAOS., xx, 28.

4 JAOS., xxv, 119.

5 Ibid., 112.
in ayuktam as often with sakyam, a usage duly recorded in the grammars and plentifully illustrated by Bollensen on the Vikramorvāstī. We thus rid ourselves of two grammatical monstrosities.

Another anomaly is asyā as a loc. sing. fem. in place of asyām. The verse is v, 16, 11; asyā nimitte Sugrīvah prāptavānḥ lokaviśrutah, where asyā refers to Sītā, who led Sugrīva to attain the aiśvaryaṃ vānaranāṃ. The commentator explains it as a genitive for a locative, but common sense demands that if it is a locative we must insert the anusvāra, and read asyām in apposition: no one who knows Sanskrit MSS. will hesitate for a moment to do this. The same remark applies to Śrāvastyā viharati in the Bower MS., where Dr. Hoernle sees an instrumental used for a locative.

It may be added that the argument available from the use of me and te as accusative found by Pischel in the Rgveda has not been overlooked. But I do not think that this argument is of any weight. Even assuming that its use is Rgvedic, nevertheless there is a great gulf between Rgveda and Epic, and again, the evidence for the Rgveda is not over-convincing. In i, 30, 9, yam te pūrvam pitā hume is an apparent case, but te may be a mere error (I cannot hold any Vedie text in great reverence) for tvā, or even (which is easier) for tam; or it may be, as Ludwig thinks, a dative; or even, as Oldenberg takes it, a genitive. In ii, 16, 6: pra te nāvam na samane vacasyuvam brahmaṇā yāmi, the dative is one commodi, and the accusative is a mere natural change of construction, both dative and accusative being natural with pra yāmi. No doubt the change was due to the nāvam, as the dative

with an inanimate object is less easy.\(^1\) In iv, 20, 10: navye deṣe śaste asmin te ukthe pra bravāma varyam Indra, the position of te shows the sense “in this hymn to thee”. It is not governed by pra bravāma as Pischel assumes, though it may be genitive depending on śaste as taken by Oldenberg. In iv, 30, 2: satrā te anu kṛṣṭayo viśvā caṅkreva vāvṛtuḥ, anu does not govern te, but te is a dative commodi. In viii, 12, 10: iyam te dhītir eti, the dative is obviously proper, nor less so is it in iii, 19, 2: pra te Agne havismatim iyarmi achā sudyumnaṁ rātinim ghrācīm. The same view of te covers i, 30, 20; iii, 14, 3; iv, 17, 18; a genitive occurs in iv, 10, 1, and the only apparent accusative is in v, 6, 4: ā te agna idhīmahi, but the Atharvaveda, xviii, 4, 88, has the obviously correct ā tvā, and we are left with another example of textual corruption to strengthen the view of i, 30, 7, taken above.\(^2\) Nor can sap with te in Taittirīyā Saṁhitā, i, 2, 5, 2; vi, 1, 8, 5, be considered illegitimate, though, as Oldenberg points out, the other Yajurveda texts have the more normal tvā, and the reading cannot be relied on.

For me as an accusative the evidence is totally lacking. In v, 12, 3: vedā me deva ṛtupā ṛtānām, the genitive is not only natural, but is made certain by its parallelism with ṛtānām. The sense\(^3\) is, “the god knows of me, even as he, the guardian of the seasons, knows of the seasons.”

It may here be added that asme as a genitive or instrumental is very doubtful. In vii, 67, 2; viii, 2, 10; i, 173, 13; 186, 11; iii, 39, 2, the locative sense is perfectly good, and so I would take kāmo asme in iii, 30, 19. The same sense is found in vii, 67, 4, and viii, 97, 8, while in x, 84, 3, asme is clearly dative, “for us.” In

\(^1\) Oldenberg takes te as the indirect object in this passage.
\(^2\) Oldenberg here takes ta as dependent on ajara.
\(^3\) See also Oldenberg, SBE., xlvi, 394.
i, 165, 7: bhūri cakartha yujyebhir asme, there is again a locative, not an instrumental, "among us," and so it is taken by the latest translator, von Schroeder, in his Mysterium und Mimus.¹

All the examples cited² can either be regarded as those of the traditional cases or as misreadings. The use of these forms in other senses in Pāli and Prākrit is of no value for Vedic or Sanskrit: the degradation of syntactical distinctions is symptomatic of every popular speech. If the uses of me or te as accusative were genuine it is very improbable that we would be left to find them in a small number of dubious passages. mā(m) and tvā(m) like me and te are of frequent occurrence, and so definitely distinct are their uses that a very great onus rests on the attempt to prove that they were confused by the Rṣis, however easily they were mixed by commentators like Śaṅkara or in the popular dialects.

A. Berriedale Keith.

THE REVISED BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA

In JRAS., April, 1909, p. 345, Mr. Fleet surmises that the revised reckoning of the Buddhist era was introduced into Burma somewhere about A.D. 1170–80. From this period the date of Buddha’s death was (he supposes) assumed to have occurred at a time corresponding with B.C. 544 of our reckoning.

I find it difficult to reconcile this view with the following facts:—

1. We have the Myazedi inscription, at Pagan, in three

¹ p. 104.
² The Rgvedic passages have all been dealt with by Oldenberg in his Rgveda-Noten, i, 25–9, who appears to accept the use of te as accusative in the Epic on the strength of Hopkins’ remark in JAOS., xx, 222; see Oldenberg, p. 25, n. 2. The explanations given of the passages in question in this article, written before the appearance of Oldenberg’s book, differ somewhat from and are perhaps inferior to those given by him, but they agree in rejecting the theory of te as accusative.
deciphered versions, recording a date 1628 "expired" of the Buddhist era as the time at which a certain king was reigning at Pagan. The Burmese and Talaing expressions (for which see JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 1019, 1023) refer in the usual way to the era intended being that of "the Religion". The Pali text, even more explicitly, says:—

Nibbāna Lokanāthassa aṭṭhavisādhike gate
sahasse pana vassānam cha-sate vā pare tathā.

On the ordinary computation, this apparently corresponds (the year being "expired") to A.D. 1085. For a reason which will presently appear, I am not prepared to guarantee that that is the precise A.D. year. But anyhow it must have been somewhere thereabouts, and nearly a century earlier than the period suggested by Mr. Fleet for the introduction of the revised Buddhist era into Burma.

2. A glance through the English translation of the Burmese inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (Rangoon, 1899) reveals the curious fact that for more than two centuries after the presumed date of the Myazeddi inscription the initial point assumed for the Buddhist era was not a date corresponding with our B.C. 544, but varied to the extent of some years before such date. At least that seems to me at present the only possible explanation of the following statements:—

(a) "In the year 1796 of the Religion . . . the minister . . . erected a large monastery . . . The following were the slaves dedicated by the minister and his wife . . . to their monastery, which was completed on Wednesday, the 5th waning of Nadaw, 599 Sakkarāj" (p. 52). Now Sakkarāj here means the Burmese era beginning A.D. 638, so that assuming only one monastery to be referred to, which was begun and finished within the year, the initial point of the Buddhist era in this case must have been some sixteen years before the usually
received date. I must leave it to Burmese scholars to decide whether this is a correct interpretation of the text of the inscription.

(b) "In the year 1837 of the Religion, or on Thursday, the 6th waning of Tazaungmôn, 654 Sakkarâj" (p. 63). Here, apparently, the initial point of the Buddhist era is some two years earlier than B.C. 544.

Subsequent entries (pp. 5, 63, 94, 137) from A.D. 1299 onwards show at most a discrepancy of a year, if indeed there is any at all. But it really seems as if prior to about A.D. 1300 the initial point of the Buddhist era in Burma had partaken somewhat of the nature of a movable feast. Under these circumstances one hesitates to put a date to the earliest of these inscriptions, that of the Myazedî pagoda at Pagan. The matter is further complicated by the statement contained in JRAS., October, 1909, p. 1084, that an inscription has been found dated in the year 398 of the Burmese era (= A.D. 1036) during the reign of Kyanzittha. Now this is the very king who, according to the Myazedî inscription, reigned for 28 years and died (as it seems) in 1628 "expired" of the Buddhist era. How, then, could he have been on the throne so early as A.D. 1036? And if he was, then from what B.C. date are we to suppose that the Myazedî inscription reckons its 1600-28 years of the Buddhist era, between which he is supposed to have reigned?

C. O. Blagden.

Remarks on the Above Note

I am glad to find that my article on the Buddhavarsha, the later reckoning from the death of Buddha which assumes an initial point in B.C. 544, has attracted Mr. Blagden's attention: discussion should certainly help to elucidate the matter.

I arrived at the conclusion that this reckoning was
devised in Ceylon shortly after A.D. 1165. And I suggested that it was carried from Ceylon to Burma and those parts in the decade A.D. 1170–80. But, if it can be shown that the opposite was the case, and that the reckoning had an earlier origin in Burma and was taken thence to Ceylon, I shall have no objection to accept this position instead.

Mr. Blagden suggests that evidence to that effect may be found in the Myazedil inscription, from Pagan, one text of which has been edited by him. The object of this record was to register the making of the cave-pagoda in which it was engraved, and the enshrining therein of a golden image of Buddha. And the fact that the record was framed and engraved in four languages, Pāli, Burmese, Talaing, and an unidentified tongue, seems to mark it as commemorating an event of some very special importance. It presents according to the Talaing text the date “after the religion of my lord the Buddha had been going on for 1628 years past”; according to the Burmese text, the date “in the year 1628 of the Religion.”\(^1\) If they stood alone, and without some extraneous guide, these expressions might be understood to mean 1628 years after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Burma, in B.C. 308 according to the Burmese belief and chronology. But the meaning is explained by the Pāli text, quoted by Mr. Blagden, which distinctly says that the year is the year 1628 after the *nirvāṇa*, the death, of Buddha: that is, with B.C. 544 as the date of the death, A.D. 1085–86. And this places the date nearly a century before the time arrived at by me for the invention of the reckoning.

\(^1\) *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, translations (1899), p. 97. The expression “the year (so-and-so) of the Religion” is also found on pp. 5, 9, 22, 52, 63 (No. 6), 94, 137, 167, 173, 175, 176, 183; and on p. 63 (No. 7) we have “the year 2032 of the Religion of Gautama Buddha”; we should like to know what the originals have for “the year of the Religion”. On p. 14 we have “the year 2312 Anno Buddhæ”, and on p. 16 “Anno Buddhæ 2307,”: is the term here Buddhavassa, or is it Jinachakka? The dating is expressly referred to the *nirvāṇa* in the case of the years 1986 (p. 37) and 2295 (p. 15).
It appears that this Myazeddi date is the only such instance that can be adduced, for the present at least. And, looking through the book mentioned by Mr. Blagden,¹ I find that the next instances of the use of this reckoning are the two which he has cited: one (p. 52) is a date in the year 1796, = A.D. 1253–54; the other (p. 63, No. 6) is a date in the year 1837, = A.D. 1294–95.

But of course one thoroughly reliable instance, given by an inscription undeniably engraved before (say) A.D. 1150, would be quite enough. The present question, therefore, seems to be: is the Myazeddi date such an instance?

This inscription mentions a king Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja, who is otherwise known as Kyanzit, Kyanziththa.² It opens by saying that he was reigning at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in the year 1628 expired. It proceeds to state that he reigned for 28 years. And it then records the acts (stated above) which were performed by his stepson when he (the king) was lying "sick well-nigh unto death". We should ordinarily take this as meaning that the acts were performed in the year 1628 + 28 = 1656, = A.D. 1113–14, and that Kyanziththa died then or soon afterwards. It appears, however,³ that we are to understand that Kyanziththa died in the year 1628 expired itself, = A.D. 1085–86. He began to reign, then, in or about A.D. 1058. But Mr. Blagden has drawn attention to a statement that there is another inscription, which mentions Kyanziththa as reigning in the year 398 of the ordinary Burmese reckoning, the Sakkarāj era commencing in A.D. 638; that is in A.D. 1036–37: and, as Mr. Blagden has remarked, that is incompatible with his commencing to reign in or about A.D. 1058. It is also

¹ The one referred to in the preceding note.
² See this Journal, 1909, 1050, note 1, and Mr. Blagden's remarks above.
³ See loc. cit., preceding note.
incompatible with a third inscription, framed in A.D. 1668, which places Anawrata (the predecessor of Kyanzittha) in Sakkarāj 421, = A.D. 1059–60. But we may add that this last statement, which is accompanied by one which places Kyanzittha himself in the year 432, = A.D. 1070–71, is reconcilable with the statement in the Myazedī inscription: for, provided no later date is forthcoming for Anawrata, we may assume that he died, and Kyanzittha succeeded, in A.D. 1059, so that the latter had practically reigned for 28 years by A.D. 1086. It appears, however, that there are still other inscriptions, which show Kyanzittha as reigning in A.D. 1107. Altogether, his date seems to be rather a mixed matter: he was reigning in A.D. 1036, but he only began to reign in A.D. 1058: he died in A.D. 1085, yet he was still reigning in A.D. 1107.

It appears to me an important point that the Myazedī inscription presents only a nirvāṇa-date for Kyanzittha. Nearly all the other similar dates, in the inscriptions translated in the volume which gives the translation of the Burmese text of the Myazedī record, were accompanied by the corresponding dates in the era of A.D. 638. Why did the Myazedī inscription omit to give this equivalent? It seems to me that the reason very probably is that the record is not a synchronous one; that is, that it was framed and engraved, not when the acts registered by it were performed, but a considerable time afterwards, when, having received the new reckoning, the Burmese were commencing to make out their chronology in its terms, and, in doing that, were very possibly putting up inscriptive records of some of the leading events of previous times. Mr. Blagden has said that in the next few records the equations between the nirvāṇa-reckoning

1 See p. 19 of the book mentioned in note 1 on p. 477 above.
3 The characters of the Talain text are described as agreeing with the date mentioned in it. But there can, I imagine, be no difficulty about accepting them equally well for a century or so later.
and the Sakkarāj era are not correct: does not that look as if the Burmese were then handling a new reckoning about which they were not quite sure? The discrepancy in the date of Kyanzittha, which exists on one side or the other, points in the same direction. And there appears to be something of the same kind in connexion with Anawrata: the Sāsanavanaśa says (p. 61) that he began to reign in the Jinachakka year (the nirvāṇa-year) 1561, = A.D. 1018–19: and it gives as the equivalent, in the same sentence, the (Sakkarāj) year 371, = A.D. 1009–10, nine years earlier.

Another instructive indication, in the direction which I suggest, seems to be the point that the Myazedi inscription states only the year; omitting to give the month, fortnight, lunar day, and weekday, which details are furnished in almost every other inscription translated in the book to which I have referred above. The bare mention of the year is just what we may always expect to find in records commemorating events of previous times. And, in the same fashion, the inscription of A.D. 1668 simply tells us, without details, that the Shwezigōn pagoda was built by Anawrata in Sakkarāj 421, and the tēc was offered by Kyanzittha in the year 432; though it gives, in the same sentence, all the usual details for the date when the tēc was removed by the gods in order to give the reigning king the opportunity of acquiring merit by supplying a new one.

It remains to be seen what discoveries may be made hereafter. Meanwhile, we must bear in mind that the Kalyāṇi inscription of A.D. 1476 tells us plainly (see this Journal, 1909. 345) that the religion from Ceylon was established at Pagan in A.D. 1181–82. If a form of the religion was then carried from Ceylon to Burma, would not a new and interesting reckoning, just established in Ceylon, have been naturally taken with it? It may of course be argued, to the contrary, that the new reckoning
was taken from Burma to Ceylon in A.D. 1170–71, when the Mahāthēra Uttarājīva went there. But the date put forward in the Myazedi inscription seems insufficient to upset what appears to be so clear from the Ceylon records; namely, that the reckoning with the initial point in B.C. 544 was devised there, and was put together in its complete form just after A.D. 1165.

J. F. Fleet.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE IN MARATHI

A serious study of Indian Vernaculars is very interesting and useful, not only for a Sanskrit scholar, but, I am glad to be able to show, for a comparative philologist too.

In Old Slavonic, as in Indian Vernaculars, the accusative termination of i- and u-stems and of masculine o-stems being dropped, the form for the accusative case was the same as for the nominative, and thus the sentence “sūn viditę ọtęcę = filius videt patrem” was ambiguous, and could mean also “filium videt pater”, the position of the subject being free. Therefore the language, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, used the genitive instead of accusative in the case of living beings: “sūn viditę otęca.”

The same process is to be seen in Indian Vernaculars, and is especially clear in Marāthi, grammatically the most important and most interesting dialect of all Indian Vernaculars. In so far as I have read Hindi, I find that the same construction exists there also, though rather complicated; this being so, it must be treated in a separate way, which I hope to do later on.

The Marāthi verb पाहि, “to see,” governs the accusative case, when the object is a thing, e.g.: हे पाहि ती हर्षीही सबकतिगिनाच्या मागून जाणे भागली = “having seen that (= acc.), the doe began to go after Sabaktagin”; but it
governs the genitive, when the object is a human or other living being, e.g.: रत्क्रांत खाचा मुलगा शिवा जेवण चेऊन आजा. लास पाहिं रामजी नस्ताखा = "meantime his son Sivā came with the food. Having seen him (= gen.) Rāmji said ".

The verb घेणं (= pr. gēnhaï, s. grhnati), "to take," governs in the last sentence the accusative: जेवण चेऊन = "the food having taken"; but by living beings it governs the genitive case: तेक्षा हरणी पोरास चेऊन चांद्रिणि उड्या मारीत रानांत निघून गेली = "Then the doe, having taken the fawn, ran away with joy into the forest ".

Now the questions are: (a) Why is this genitive construction used only in respect of human and other living beings? (b) why is the genitive only used and not, for instance, the dative, and what is the syntactic explanation of it ?

The first question is not difficult. So far as I am aware, all scholars are of one opinion in regard to Old Slavonic, but in regard to Marathi no one seems to have as yet given a satisfactory explanation.

We know that in most cases the subject of a sentence is a human or other living being. Therefore when two names of animate objects occur in a sentence, without any distinction in case termination, the sentence could be misunderstood ; that is to say, the sentence "सैनिक विदित ओत्स" = "filius videt patrem " could be misunderstood (= filium videt pater), but not "उत्स विदित ग्राहक " = "pater videt arcem", because it is not possible to say "arx videt patrem ".

More difficult is the second question. In the last volume of Indg. Forschungen (xxiv, 3–4, pp. 293–307) Professor A. Thomson treats this question as to the origin of the genitive construction in Slavonic languages. This article is, in fact, a refutation of Professor E. Bernecker's theory.

1 This has no bearing on Marāthi.
expressed in Kuhn’s *Zeitschrift*, 1904, xxxvii, p. 364,¹ that the negative sentences, in which the object must in Old Slavonic be in the genitive case, have had an influence on this construction. For example, the positive sentence runs "*syn ἰδίτι ὀτέκα*" (= acc.), but the negative "*syn ne ἰδίτι ὀτέκα*" (= gen.). According to Professor Berneker, the influence of the negative sentence with the genitive case brought about the use of the genitive instead of the accusative in positive sentences also.

But this theory cannot be applied to Marathi, because in this language no such change of cases takes place. Therefore the influence of the negative sentences cannot have produced the genitive construction now existing in Marathi, and in all probability the same holds good for Old Slavonic.

Professor Thomson also does not believe that the syntactic value of a genitive in negative sentences should have been the same as the accusative in positive sentences. He explains in the first part of his article ² that this construction was due to a desire of repressing the psychological subject in the sentence and making it evidently into the object.

To express myself more clearly in reference to Marathi, I venture to modify a little what Professor A. Thomson has so well expressed. I state that the Marathi language conclusively proves that the genitive construction in question is really the outcome of nothing else than a desire to avoid ambiguity.

We see this clearly from the construction, which we call the double accusative (direct and indirect object), in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit; for instance, in Latin "*puto te amicum*", in Greek "*φίλον Φίλαττου ἡγούντο*", in Sanskrit "*nā vài hatām vrtrām vidmā ná jīvām*".

In Marathi the direct object is *always* put into the

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¹ The date of the article is 1901.
² He promised two parts.
genitive, not only in the case of a living being (according to the rule mentioned above), but also in that of an inanimate object, and this is done, in my opinion, simply for the sake of distinguishing it from the indirect object.

Cf. in Marāṭhi हिंदू लोकांत जातिभेद मानितात = “everyone believes in difference of castes among Hindu people”; मानितात governs the accusative (जातिभेद). Here the accusative is used, because there is only one object.

But in the sentence वैदिक धर्माच्ये लोक वेदांस भाषा स्रुतिपुराणादि धर्मयान्यांस प्रमाण मानितात = “the people of the Vedic religion believe in the Vedas, Smṛti-purāṇas, etc., in these religious books, as an authority”, where the same verb (मानितात) with the same meaning occurs, the direct object (धर्मयान्यांस, “they believe in . . .”), which in the former sentence is rendered by the accusative (जातिभेद), is here put in the genitive, obviously to avoid ambiguity.

All instances are taken from Marāṭhi reading-books, these two last, for example, from मराठी पांचें पुस्तक, 1908, p. 20. Such instances are very many, and, as I said before, they go to confirm Professor A. Thomson’s views on the subject with regard to Old Slavonic.

V. Lesný.


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THE SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON

When the Sufi martyr, Mansūr Ḥallāj, was being led to execution, he cried out—

“My Friend is doing me no unkindness,
He gives me the cup that he as the host drank,
He invites me to taste stake and headsman’s mat,
Like one who in summer drinks wine with the dragon.”

1 See JRAS., 1908, p. 552.
And in the Mantiq-u-l Ta'ir we read—

"Whoso has fellowship in sleep and food
With the seven-headed dragon in Tāmūz (July),
In this pastime incurs dire misfortunes,
Whereof death on the gibbet is the least."

The dragon legend here referred to seems to be a folk-lore amalgam or "conflation" of (a) the primeval dragon myth, (b) the "Arrow" demon myth, and (c) the customs of partaking of sacrifices and sleeping in temples or "pernoctation".

(a) The primeval dragon myth. In his Antichrist Legends (translated by Keane) Bousset has traced the progress of this famous myth, rolling on through successive generations, gathering continual accretions, such as the legend of Nero rēdivivus (Antichrist), and becoming so transfigured that now its original form can only be deciphered as from a palimpsest. But most of the details of the full-blown dragon story, given in Revelation xii and xx, viz., his seven heads, his attacks on the woman, and his being bound and loosed, seem to belong not to the Babylonian dragon Tiamat, but rather to the old Persian dragon Āz or Azhidahāk. (See Mills, Avesta Eschatology compared with the Books of Daniel and Revelation, and West's note on p. 110, vol. xviii, of Sacred Books of the East.) The picture of the constellation Draco (Al Tannin) in the old star maps exactly represents the conception of the dragon in the mind of the writer of Revelation xii, 4, viz., a great serpent stretching across the heavens and "drawing a third part of the stars with its tail". The traditions collected in Mishkātu-l Masābīh (translation by Matthews, vol. ii, pp. 551 seqq.) give the Muhammadan additions to the portrait of Dajjāl or Antichrist.

(b) The clue to the "Arrow" demon was kindly given me by Professor Houtsma. This demon is thus described
in Rapaport's *Tales from the Midrash*: "There is one great demon whose name is 'Arrow' (*Kative*). The Psalmist alludes to this when he says (Ps. xci, 5), 'The arrow that flieth by day.' His physiognomy is described as follows: Head similar to that of a calf, one horn rising out of his forehead in the shape of a cruse or pitcher. (Compare the descriptions of Dajjāl.) No one, man or beast, beholding him can live, but drops down dead at once. There is a certain period during which this demon has special sway, and that is the three weeks between the 17th Tamūz and the 9th Ab. The Rabbis prohibited schoolmasters chastising their pupils during this period" (p. 23). Mr. Rapaport tells me that he has not found this demon described as a dragon either in the Midrash or the Talmud, but the special mention of the month Tamūz in the passage under discussion shows beyond doubt, I think, that this demon had been identified with the dragon in the folk-lore of the time of Hallaj.

(c) The third element in Hallaj's story is probably derived from the ancient customs of eating the food offered to idols and of sleeping in the temples. The first is illustrated by the story in "Bel and the Dragon" of the priests who were "partakers of the altar" of Bel and "drank the cup of devils" (1 Cor. x, 18, etc.); and the second by the story of the Deadly Mosque given in my translation of the *Masnavi* of Jalālu-d Din Rūmī, p. 166.

Dr. Nicholson, to whom I am indebted for much assistance, suggests that the story may possibly contain an allusion to the ritual of Tamūz worship. But all we know of that ritual is that women wailed for Tamūz, as they do now for Hasan and Husain.

E. H. WHINFIELD.
The Keladi Rājas of Ikkēki and Bednūr

I have not as a rule cared to reply to criticisms levelled against mistakes or omissions in my *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, which was published twenty-five years ago, because it always seemed needless to offer an apology or to attempt to explain the reasons for errors due to the imperfect information then at our command. And if I now venture to make a few remarks on Dr. Barnett's paper in the *Journal* for January last (pp. 149–50) it is only because, while in the main I agree with him, I consider it necessary to ask readers to suspend judgment on at least one point.

The pedigree published by one of the Keladi Rājas was based on the account of that dynasty put forward by Buchanan in his *Mysore*, etc.¹ This in its turn was based on information given in A.D. 1801 to the author by Rāmappa Varmika, an hereditary accountant in the district of Barkūr. Buchanan writes that this man had "a book in Sanskrit called *Vidiyarayana Siccā*; and from thence, and his family papers, he has made out a Rayapaditti, or succession of the Rajas who have governed Tuluva". My genealogical tree is correct according to Rāmappa's chronicle as described by Buchanan. There was little else to guide me when I compiled my *Sketch* in 1883.

Dr. Barnett seems to accept without question the assertion of a certain court poet, called Shaḍakshari (whose patron Basavappa Nāyakka was, about the year A.D. 1750, ruling over the Bednūr country), that this Basavappa's grandfather of the same name, who governed that tract from A.D. 1697 to 1714, had been the legitimate son of the body of Sōmaśēkhara I and his wife Channa-māmbā. Rāmappa's compilation, however, asserted that this Basavappa I, or Praudha Śrī Basavappa, had been

¹ Madras ed. of 1870, ii, 278.
only an adopted son. He relates the story of Sōma-
śekhara I's atrocities, his assassination at the hands of
a Brahman named Saumya, and the assumption of the
government by the widow, Channamā. Rāmappa then
states that this Rāni, "having no children, adopted
Baswuppa, the son of Marcupa Chitty, a Banijiga
merchant of Biderāru (Bednore), where the seat of
government then was. The male descendants of this
adopted son also ended in Budi Baswuppa."¹ This
account is very explicit. The murder of Sōmaśekhara is
confirmed by Fryer (Travels, ed. of 1698, p. 162), who was
in the neighbourhood of Bednūr during the rule of
Channamā. Fryer calls Basava I "son" of Sōmaśekhara
and Channamā, but his evidence as to the exact relation-
ship counts for very little. Mr. Rice, our best authority
on minor Mysore principalities, states (Epig. Caru. VII,
Shimoga, Introd., p. 43) that Basavappa I was an adopted
son, and he repeats this assertion in his latest volume
(Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 130).
I presume that he has sound reasons for the statement,
though apparently we can get no information from the
published inscriptions. Perhaps he will state his
authority.

In the face of the clear account of the dynasty furnished
by Rāmappa, in part supported by Fryer's testimony,
I think that the weight of evidence is in favour of
Basavappa I being an adopted, not a natural, son. Shaḍak-
shari would, of course, conceal the fact in order to glorify
his patron; though, indeed, there is no necessity for us to
vilify that writer, for a son properly adopted is always
considered as a son in India.

As to the proper spelling of the name of Sōmaśekhara's
Rāni, my own was obtained from Buchanan. Dodda is
only an adjective, meaning "the elder". The lady was

¹ Shaḍakshari's patron (Buchanan's Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, Madras ed. of 1870, ii, 290).
probably as often called "Channamāmbā" as "Channamāji". In the Shimōga and Shikārpūr Inscription volume of the Epig. Carn. I find the name twice spelt "Chennamā" (Sh. 17, Sk. 213) and twice "Channamā" (Sk. 79, 82).

Śivappa Nāyaka, son of the younger Sānkalṇa, certainly had a younger brother Veṅkaṭa. Mr. Rice includes him in his list as having reigned one year (Epig. Carn. VII, Shimoga, Introd., pp. 42, 43), and Dr. Hultzsch mentions him in his Second Report on Sanskrit MSS., 1896, p. xii, in connexion with a copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1660–1 from Honāwar. Rāmappa omitted to notice him.

R. Sewell.

NOTE ON ABOVE

Mr. Sewell is doubtless right in maintaining that Basavappā was really an adopted son; it was not my intention to dispute the statement, but I wished to call attention to the language used by Shaḍakshari, who is in any case our earliest authority.

L. D. Barnett.

NOTE ON PO-LO-HIHK-MO-PU-ŁO AND SU-FA-LA-NA-CHU-TA-ŁO

The name Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo (Hiuen Tsiang) has been correctly transcribed as Brahmapura. But the town of Brahmmapura has been erroneously looked for in Garhwal. I am convinced that the ancient Brahmmapura, the capital of the Chamba State, is meant. This town is now called Brahmaur. (Compare Dr. Vogel's Chamba Inscriptions.) Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo is given as one of the frontiers of Su-fa-la-na-chu-ta-lo, which has been correctly identified with Suvarṇagotra (golden family), evidently the ancient name of Guge, Ruthog, and Eastern Ladakh. The name "Golden Family" was given to these countries on account
of their richness in gold. The frontiers of Suvarnagotra are described so plainly by Huien Tsiang that there can be no doubt with regard to its situation. It is situated north of Brahma PURA (the ancient Chamba State); south of Kustana (Khotan); east of Sampaha (Sanpohor or Ladakh); west of Tibet.

Huien Tsiang identifies Suvarnagotra with the "Empire of the Eastern Women"; but this is not agreed to by Bushell, who places this empire east of Tibet. Still, I am convinced that Huien Tsiang is right in his identification. But it is quite possible that there was another "Empire of the Eastern Women" farther east. The Je River of this empire, flowing to the south, would be the Jhelum, which turns to the south within its limits. "The Turks invaded the country." They could easily do so, for they were the next neighbours. "The people used the Indian characters for writing." Traces of Indian inscriptions earlier than 1000 A.D. are found everywhere in Eastern Ladakh. Grave finds in Ladakh show that the ancient inhabitants of the country had the same extraordinary kind of burial which is described in the Sui shu as having been practised in the Empire of the Eastern Women.

A. H. Francke.

The Elephant Statues at Delhi

In the July number of the Society's Journal there appeared an interesting article on "The Elephant Statues of Agra and Delhi" from the pen of Mr. H. Beveridge, in which he appears to favour the theories which derive the Delhi statues either from Gwalior or from Agra. He also introduces a new suggestion as to the origin of the elephant riders, the torsos of which were excavated at Delhi, and which are now to be seen, together with the broken fragments of the elephants, in the Museum of Archaeology there.
Mr. Beveridge draws attention to a reference by the Emperor Jahangir in his Memoirs to certain statues of the Rana of Chitor and his son, which were set up by him in the garden below the Darshan Jharoka of Agra Fort. This statement is of much interest in itself, for it affords contemporary confirmation of the legends relative to the esteem in which these noted warriors were held by their Mughal conquerors.

The royal historian, however, makes no mention of the statues being those of mounted men, nor does he indicate that there were more than two of them. But if we are to give credence to Mr. Beveridge’s suggestion that these are the very statues seen by Bernier at the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort we must presuppose that they were already mounted on elephants when they were at Agra. This being so, it seems strange that the presence of a pair of elephant statues, with their riders, on the east side of the fort, in addition to the well-known statues at the western gate of the palace, should not have called for comment, if not from Jahangir himself, then from some later writer.

There are further difficulties in the way of the proposed solution: at Delhi we have two Mahauts, of whom there is no mention in the Agra group; while Jahangir’s statues are stated to have been of marble, those at Delhi are of red sandstone.

That there was a life-size statue of an elephant at the gate of Gwaliar Fortress is amply testified both by Baber and Finch, but neither of these writers tells us if this statue was carved in the round, as are the Delhi elephants, or in high relief, like those at Fatehpur-Sikri and elsewhere. The descriptions, however, leave no doubt that there was but one statue, while, not only does every record of the Delhi elephants refer to two of them, but the fragments excavated in 1863 proved to be portions of two figures. Mr. Beveridge inquires: “If the Queen’s Garden elephant was not the Gwalior elephant, what has become
of the latter?" If we were to assume that the writer has propounded this problem seriously, we might well ask in return: "Where are the elephants from Agra, from Mandu, and from the many other Mughal citadels, once adorned with this favourite subject?" I would still inquire of him: "Supposing that the Queen's Garden elephant be partly composed of the Gwaliar elephant, from where do the parts of the second elephant come?" The fact that the elephant set up in the Queen's Gardens was composed of the fragments of two elephants is lost sight of by Mr. Beveridge, and also in the fallacious inscription which was attached to the reconstructed elephant.

With regard to this inscription, it may be well to point out that it dates from 1866, and that the assertion therein, that the elephant in the Queen's Gardens came from Gwaliar, was due to Cunningham's first article on the subject, in which he expressed that view. He afterwards abandoned the theory, however, as is clear from his article in the Archæological Survey of India Report, vol. i, which was not published till 1871.

It is true that there is a superficial resemblance between the measurements of the pedestals at Agra and those of the newly erected statues at Delhi; but there are one or two points which render it most improbable that the Delhi elephants can be identified with those which once stood at Agra. The original fragments of the former show that the trunks were attached by chains to heavy blocks of stone. At Agra all the original stones of the pedestal remain in situ, but there is no trace of these blocks on them. Their absence is all the more noticeable because the existing fragments clearly show the elephant trunks to have been built up in courses, and this would, of course, be impossible without support from the ground. The traces in the Agra pedestals indicate that the feet of the elephants were but 5 inches to 9½ inches in diameter, or, what is much more probable, that they had tenons of that
size which fitted into the existing sockets. The feet of the original Delhi elephants, however, average 21 inches across and have holes $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches square pierced right through them for dowels.

In conclusion, Mr. Beveridge quotes a paragraph from an article on the statues which I contributed to the Delhi Museum Catalogue, and then observes that the paragraph "does not seem to be quite accurately expressed".

I think that Mr. Beveridge's objection to my use of the plural in this passage (which is misquoted by him) will be withdrawn when he considers the following facts:—Every description of the statues, either by court historians or European travellers, speaks of two statues; fragments of two elephants and of four riders were discovered; and, when the new statues were being put up, the original foundations of the two pedestals were disclosed. Perhaps I may also be allowed to point out that in the article referred to I did not mention the inscription, on which Mr. Beveridge appears to base much of his argument, as my endeavour was to give authentic references only; and the theories to which I referred were those of the various writers—whose ranks your correspondent has joined—who desire to prove a foreign origin and a previous existence for the elephant statues which, with their riders, were set up by Shah Jahan at the gate of his new palace.

It may not be without interest to add that there has lately been found additional evidence to confound those who have questioned the accuracy of the Archaeological Department in re-erecting the elephant statues at the Delhi Gate of Delhi Palace instead of at the Lahore Gate. In addition to the evidence forthcoming at the time, and detailed in an article which appeared in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1905–6, the following passage (from Amal-i-Saleh, MS. by Muhammad Saleh of Lahore, a court historian of the reign of Shah Jahan) is now published for, I believe, the first
time:—"... and before each of the doors of the Fort which are adjacent to the above bazaar, on the Gate towards Akbarabad, two shade-giving statues of elephants of very great size, have been built, so correct in form and so noble in appearance that the like of these four rare pictures cannot be conceived in the mind, then how much more wonderful is it that they actually exist!" The passage is difficult to translate, but it admits no doubt of the essential fact, that elephant statues were built by Shah Jahan at the Delhi Gate of his new fort.

The following quotation (from Waqai Nimat Khan-i-Ali) is also of interest:—"Why has this man, like in appearance to the Mahavat (Mahaut) of the Elephants at the Hatya Pol, stopped our pay?"

R. Froude Tucker.

AUSTIN OF BORDEAUX

In a recent article on the travels of Heinrich von Poser (Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, January, 1910) Mr. Beveridge has shown that Austin of Bordeaux, whose name is so often mentioned in connexion with the decoration of the palace at Agra and the Taj Mahal, was in India at least as early as 1621, for Von Poser states that he met at Agra, in December of that year, "Herr Augustinus Hiriart, von Bourdeaux aus Gasconien, Ingenieur des Grossen Mougouls."

May I suggest that we can probably carry the story back another seven or eight years, and identify him with the Frenchman who travelled with John Midnall (or Mildenhall, as he is sometimes called) from Persia to India, and in whose house at Ajmer Midnall died in June, 1614? We are told that this Frenchman was in the Mogul's service (Letters received by the East India Company, vol. ii, p. 105); and there is a letter among the India Office archives (Factory Records, Surat, vol. lxxxiv, part i, p. 131) which gives his name as "Augustine". It
seems very improbable that there were two Frenchmen of that name in the employment of the Mogul within a comparatively short period; and I venture to think that we have here an indication of the date when Austin of Bordeaux arrived in India, as well as an incident which brings him very close to a well-known countryman of our own.

W. Foster.

The Tomb of John Mildenhall

In March, 1909, I found a tomb in the old Roman Catholic Cemetery at Agra with the following inscription: "Joan de Mendenal Ingles morreo aos [illegible] 1614." The portion now illegible was doubtless the date and the month. I thought at the time that this must be the tomb of John Mildenhall; but I was only able to verify my guess, with the kind assistance of Mr. W. Foster of the India Office, when I came home later in the year.

John Mildenhall, or Midnall, self-styled "ambassador" of Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, left England on his first journey to the East in 1599, and returned in 1608 or 1609. He spent some time in an unsuccessful attempt to sell to the East India Company the concessions which, as he alleged, he had obtained from Akbar. He then disappears for four years, to emerge from obscurity once more in 1614. In that year the letters from English factors in India to the Company are full of references to him, and for sufficient reasons. He had been entrusted by London merchants with goods to sell in the Levant; but on arriving there he fled into Persia with this merchandise, pursued by Richard Newman and Richard Steel. They overtook him, forced him to return to Ispahan, and there made him disgorge the value of the stolen property. Mildenhall then went on to India together with Steel; but he fell ill at Lahore (according to Purchas he accidentally drank poison he had prepared for others,
but there is no evidence of this accusation); and though he managed to get as far as Agra, and on to Ajmer, he died at the latter place in June, 1614.

The English factors at Surat had already determined to claim his goods, and sent Thomas Kerridge to Ajmer for that purpose. Had they known at the time they sent Kerridge that Mildenhall was dead, one might have supposed that they were claiming the property (nominally, at all events) on behalf of his next of kin in England; as indeed they always did in the case of their fellow-countrymen who died in India. But Kerridge arrived in Ajmer on this mission on the very day of Mildenhall's death; so that it seems more probable that they were still in ignorance of the action taken by Newman and Steel in Isphahan, and were claiming, not on behalf of the next of kin, but of the defrauded merchants in London. In spite of opposition from the Jesuit Fathers at Agra (for, as Purchas tells us, Mildenhall was a Papist), Kerridge managed to recover £500, which sum was duly remitted to England. And from a letter written later by Kerridge and Rastell we learn that the former had expended 250 rupees in legacies to Mildenhall's servants and in carrying his body to Agra and interring it there.

The old Roman Catholic Cemetery was certainly in use in 1614. It contains, indeed, a tomb (of an Armenian in the Padre Santos Chapel) which is dated 1611. We learn from the Calendar and Directory of the Agra Archdiocese, 1907, that it goes back to the reign of Akbar, when a Father Joseph obtained a plot of land for a cemetery in the village of Lashkarpur, and a lady named Mariam Pyari granted two groves in the same village for the same purpose—doubtless as an extension of the area acquired by Father Joseph. There were probably other Roman Catholic cemeteries in Agra. Father Hosten, S.J., in an article lent me by Mr. W. Irvine, mentions two more—one in a village a mile north of Lashkarpur
granted to the mission by Jahangir, and one in Padritola, by which he appears to mean the graveyard of the old Roman Catholic Cathedral. But of these two, nothing seems to be known now of the former, and the latter was not used till at least a century later; and it is difficult to see what possible need existed for more than one cemetery so early as 1614, or even at the end of Jahangir's reign, seeing that the cemetery in question is not by any means full even at this day. It follows that the only burial-ground which we know positively to have existed in 1614 is the one in which this tomb stands.

Mildenhall, as a Papist, was naturally buried by the Jesuits in their cemetery. That "de Mendenal" is Mildenhall there can be no doubt. There were certainly other Englishmen (factors) in Agra in 1614, but only one of them (Mitford) had a name which so much as began with M. None of them died in 1614, and all of them were doubtless of the English Church, and the Jesuits objected strongly to burying "heretics" in their cemetery, as they showed in 1613, when one Canning died in Agra and was buried there without their leave. Name, date, and religion alike point to the fact that "João de Mendenal Ingles" can be no other than John Mildenhall.

It was not at all unusual to transport bodies some distance for burial, especially if it ensured a resting-place in consecrated ground. We find Jesuits so brought from Lahore, Delhi, Narwar, Lucknow, and elsewhere to be interred in Agra. John Drake, a factor, who died at Dholpur in 1637, was similarly brought to Agra to be buried in the garden of the Dutch factory.

John Mildenhall was not an estimable character. In plain words, he was a dishonest scoundrel. He cheated, or tried to cheat, Akbar with an assumption of ambassadorial dignity; he tried to cheat the Company with concessions that, in all probability, he had never received; he ended by cheating his own employers, the merchants
in London. Even after his death he keeps up his evil courses; in the pages of many historians, not to mention occasional periodicals, he still masquerades as "Sir" John, ambassador of Elizabeth. But he was of some note—of a kind—even in his own day; he was a pioneer of Anglo-Indian enterprise, not less enterprising than his many enterprising successors. He was one of four Englishmen who spoke with Akbar face to face, and much the greatest of the four. In gratitude for the deeds he did, his memory, like his bones, may be allowed to rest in peace; and the discovery of his last resting-place, which is certainly the oldest English tomb at present known in Upper India, if not in all India, may be recorded with pleasure.

E. A. H. BLUNT, I.C.S.

LA FONDATION DE GOEJE


2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 19,500 florins hollandais (39,000 francs); en outre, le 1 novembre, 1909, les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 1500 florins (3000 francs).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ANCIENT CEYLON. By H. PARKER.

Mr. Parker has in this valuable and monumental book brought together the results of his investigations during his service in the Irrigation Department of Ceylon from 1873 to 1904. He deals mainly with the history and life past and present of the more primitive inhabitants of the Island, that is to say, with the Veddas (or Vaeddas, as he prefers to write the word), and with their kith and kin among the speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil. In the first part he deals first with their ancient history, identifying them with the "Yakkās" of early legend with whom the Northern invaders had to contend, and he gives good reason for believing that they are the modern representatives of an organized and comparatively civilized pre-Dravidian race once in possession of the greater part of the Island. Their present condition, social divisions, and customs are fully described; and in part iii their weapons and tools are exhaustively dealt with, and a full account is given of their games, which are compared with those of India, Arabia, and parts of Africa, and even occasionally with those of England, as in the case of the "Gal-keliga" or stone game, which has a strong resemblance to the "Checks" or "Five Jacks" of the Midlands of England.

Part ii is mainly archaeological (i.e. chaps. vi to xii). In these chapters he discusses several very important points, more or less detached one from the other. The first relates to the measurements of bricks and the important deductions to be drawn therefrom as to the age and history of the ancient buildings. He has accumulated a large body of facts, and his deductions
will probably be generally accepted by archaeologists. Then follows a study on rock cup-marks. The chapters on "The Lost Cities of Ceylon" and "The Earliest Dagabas" are extremely full and interesting, and deserve independent discussion by archaeological experts. It is impossible here to do more than allude to them. The same remark applies to the chapter on "The Earliest Irrigation Works", which derives an added interest from Mr. Parker's experience as a modern irrigation officer and from his personal excavations and investigations on the site of the ancient works. In estimating the age of the different works, many of which seem to go back to the third or second century before the Christian era, Mr. Parker has been able to utilize the conclusions he has come to as to the age of bricks which he arrived at in chapter vi.

In chapter xi Mr. Parker carries on the work begun by Rhys Davids, and continued by Müller, Bell, and Goldschmidt on the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, and here again his work requires the attention of experts. In chapter xii Mr. Parker deals with the earliest coins of Ceylon, most of which have come to light since Rhys Davids dealt with the subject in the Numismata Orientalia. These are mainly silver "purānas", or punch-marked coins of the type familiar in Northern India, and oblong coins of copper which appear to have originated in Ceylon, as most of them bear the peculiar Ceylon type of Swāstika. The purānas, on the other hand, may possibly have been brought from India. The principal finds have been at Mulleittivu and Anarādhapura, and also at Tissa, where Mr. Parker himself made a discovery during the excavation of a canal. The intaglio of a seated figure found at the Vaṭṭhāla Dagaba at Tissa is also of the greatest interest. This chapter is illustrated by some admirable plates.

Mr. Parker's discussion of the symbols on the coins requires careful attention, and the same may be said of
the full inquiry into the origin of the Cross and Swästika with which the volume concludes.

Mr. Parker has produced a most complete and instructive work, and one which no student of the subjects dealt with, whether historical, archæological, or anthropological, can afford to neglect.

M. Longworth Dames.


In the year 1902 Professor Gollancz published the philosophical compilation of Berechjah the Puntuator. This work introduced into the West the leading principles of the system evolved by the first Jewish philosopher, the Gaon Seadyah who flourished in the tenth century. Berechjah's compilation contained the ethical portions of that system dealing with the practical duties of man in his relation to God. Berechjah left out almost the whole speculative matter. Professor Gollancz appealed then to a narrower circle of readers interested in mediaeval philosophical speculations. He turns now to the wider public more interested in the poetry of those ages, and he endeavours in this small collection of translations to make a wider circle of readers better acquainted with some of the poetical and humorous productions of known and unknown authors found in the Hebrew literature of post-Biblical times.

Professor Gollancz has selected such specimens as lent themselves to popular treatment and would appeal to a large number of readers. For this very reason he has avoided any literary apparatus or any critical examination of the texts selected for translation. Not that he had not examined the originals carefully, but he gives us only the results without the apparatus. The book
contains, in the first place, a translation of the Aramaic paraphrase of the Song of Songs. It is a pity that Professor Gollancz has dealt so briefly in his Introduction with the date and origin of the texts chosen by him. For this very Targum, or Aramaic translation and embellishment of the Song of Songs, deserves a fuller and more detailed exposition. It represents, without doubt, one of the oldest examples of allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, and carries us back to comparatively high antiquity. It is needless to point out how great the influence of such interpretation has been upon the oldest commentators of the Bible. The translation is faithful and accurate, and follows the text as closely as one could go without affecting the spirit of the English language. The same can be said of all the other pieces, for Professor Gollancz follows the original in his translation without being too literal.

The second piece is the "Book of the Apple", one of the numerous pseudo-Aristotelian compositions so prominent in the Arabic literature of the time, when, through the intermediary of the Syrians, Greek literature was made known to the Arabs. It is a short dialogue between Aristotle, on his death-bed, and his disciples, and treats, in the form of maxims and terse sentences, of eschatological problems of death and immortality. From the Arabic it had been translated and assimilated to the Jewish point of view by Abraham aben Hisdai of the thirteenth century (1230-5).

In his translation of this by no means easy treatise, Dr. Gollancz did not rely only on the printed texts, which are not free from blemishes, but made good use of manuscript material, and he has thus been enabled to clear up some obscure points found in the printed editions.

A faithful rendering, as well as a rhymed paraphrase, the latter from the pen of Professor Israel Gollancz, of
the oldest Jewish Martyrology, the death and martyrdom of the Ten Sages, is the subject of the next piece; and the book concludes with the translation of Leo da Modena's satire on "The Games of Chance". The author, who flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century, handled the Hebrew language in a masterly manner, and, following the example of the older Spanish writers and that of Immanuel of Rome, adopts the style of the "Makame", making free use of Biblical phrases, and creating thus a mosaic not easily to be imitated by any translation. Dr. Gollancz, however, has endeavoured to reproduce, as he says, "the doggerel character of the original" in the rendering of little poems inserted in the text.

A succinct Introduction, giving the main points of literary interest, make this new book of Dr. Gollancz an interesting and valuable contribution to mediaeval Jewish literature in the English language.

M. G.


In this volume Miss Sainsbury gives us in summarized form the Court Minutes of the East India Company and cognate documents, mostly from the Public Record Office, the period covered being the four years 1640 to 1643. At the end of the previous volume (see this Journal for 1908, pp. 915 et seq.) we left the committees in joyous mood, with everything apparently promising well; and in the early part of the present volume the same hopeful tone is apparent. But soon clouds begin to gather, and the Company enters on troublous times. One great matter of anxiety to the Court is, that, in spite of renewed appeals, it cannot obtain the additional capital it needs. And no
wonder; for, as Mr. Foster points out in his Introduction, the period covered "ends (in the middle of the Civil War) with the death of Pym and the southward march of the Scottish troops to aid the forces of the English Parliament". Of the stirring events of those times we have but faint echoes in these Minutes, which are naturally very guarded in their references to political matters. Thus when after the battle of Edgehill the Royal troops marched on London the Company's ordnance at Deptford was ordered to be brought to the city, and their gun-carriages were also requisitioned. Four months later a Parliamentary committee requested the loan of the Company's ordnance to place on the earthworks which had been hastily thrown up round London. There were many Royalists, however, among the committees, and the request was twice refused, whereupon the guns were taken by force. A curious incident that bulks largely in these Minutes is the purchase, by the king, in order to supply sinews of war for his campaign in the north, of the whole of the pepper in the Company's hands. For the first time Mr. Foster gives the correct version of the transaction, and shows that Charles acted in good faith, and really intended to pay for the pepper. The story does not end in this volume, and the Company had not obtained their money when we last hear of the matter. We find the Company still trying to get satisfaction from the Dutch for the Amboyna, Pulorun, and other affairs; and we are glad to note that the reprinting of the "Amboyna Massacre" pamphlet, which the Court had taken in hand, was peremptorily stopped by Parliament and the sheets impounded. Though the Court and Parliament were not generally on the best of terms, the former occasionally received some favour from the latter, and it is significant to read of sums of £100 being twice voted for distribution amongst friendly "Parlyment men". In 1640 Portugal regained her political independence after sixty years' subjugation to Spain; and one
of her first acts was to send an ambassador to England to conclude a treaty of peace with this country. In this volume we have a number of references to this matter.

One of the most extraordinary incidents referred to in these records is the kidnapping of the French captain Gilles Rézimont from his ship by one of the Company's captains and conveyance to England, where he was thrown into prison on an accusation of piracy, a charge for which there appears to have been little foundation. Mr. Foster, who gives details of the affair in a foot-note, says: "The kidnapping of a French captain on mere suspicion of piracy was an outrage for which one would have expected the Company to make immediate atonement and apologies, but instead of this they entered an action against Rézimont in the Admiralty Court for £50,000. After much delay, however, they consented to withdraw the charge, and the unfortunate captain was released in June, 1641." We find the King of Bantam in this volume getting his present of 300 muskets, 150 barrels of gunpowder, and 1000 iron shot. As in the last volume, so in this, Thomas Smithwick continues to worry the Court by proposing frivolous or annoying motions, and once again his conduct at a court becomes so outrageous that he has to be ejected by the beadle, against whom he promptly enters two actions for damages. An "Answer of Mr. Smithwick to certain charges", printed here from the original in the Public Record Office, is a most comical document. However, at the end of 1641 or beginning of 1642 Smithwick died, and I am afraid the committees received the news with deep sighs of relief rather than of sorrow. At the end of the last volume we read how Methwold had presented to the Court the young German traveller, Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, who had been his fellow-passenger from England, and how the Court decided that he must pay for his passage. In this volume, however, we find the Court rescinding its former proposal, on the suggestion of
Methwold, "he being a man of quality and one of whom the king had taken special notice and had private conference with." We have here the first mention of "Madraspatam", and Francis Day, the founder of Fort St. George, appears on the scene, but nothing is said of that event, which was to prove so important in the history of the Company.

An amusing incident is that in which John Woodall, the Company's Surgeon-General, is accused of reboiling the salves returned from the East and supplying them to the Company again at full prices. This he denied, "upon his reputation," but admitted that he used them at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, "for the curing of poor people." The retirement of the old man is here recorded, and also his subsequent attempt to extract money from the Company on false pretences. His death occurred soon after. Finally, I would mention two instances where the Company tried to be charitable on the cheap. In one case we read: "The trees behind the almshouses at Blackwall ordered to be lopped and the 'lopps' distributed among the almshenes, instead of the coal which is given to them each Christmas." The other case is worse: "The beef returned in the 'Mary' to be divided among the poor of Blackwall, if it is unserviceable for use in the harbour."

The extracts will suffice to show somewhat of the nature of this valuable volume of records.

Donald Ferguson.


The first part of vol. ii of this work was noticed in the Journal of this Society during last year (pp. 795-6), and
the innovation of the twofold transcription—syllabic and in words—was pointed out. This transcription goes as far as p. 100, after which comes the Glossary (pp. 109–79). This latter will be exceedingly useful, as it gives every occurrence of the words in the Code of Hammurabi, thus making it a Babylonian concordance to the whole text. The transcription in words shows clearly the roots to which they are assignable (which is not always clear from the original text) as well as the vocalization in a fuller form.

One of the first things which strike the reader on beginning to read through the Glossary is the word ablum, translating the well-known 𒈨𒊏, generally rendered "son". Here, however, it appears as "heir" (Erbe), a meaning which fits excellently in all the passages quoted. In a foot-note it is stated that the root is uncertain, p being possible instead of b, which, in fact, Hebrew and Greek transcriptions favour (cf. Tiglath-pileser, the Assyrian Tukulti-apil-esarra, and Nabopolassar, the Babylonian Nabā-abla-usur). If, however, the Sumero-Akkadian ibila, which translates ablum, be borrowed from it, the Sumerians would seem to have heard b. This agrees with the indications of the British Museum fragment K. 5422a, which, after 𒀀𒃭 𒀀 (šim), "to grow, of grain," has the above group and 𒈨𒊏, both rendered 𒄠𒉤, ablum. This etymology would indicate that the "son" was regarded as the "bairn", the one brought forth, and that the meaning of "heir" was secondary. But is the root initial ᵐ or initial ᵴ?

Our old friend, the ėdimmu or "ghost", appears under the form of etemmum, and the author asks why it is written with the character GEKIM (it is glossed in the syllabaries as gidim) twice repeated in the Laws (col. xxvii, l. 39)? This is naturally a difficult question to answer, but it is worthy of note in this connexion,
that the word for "life" or "soul" is generally written in the plural, ₂₄₃₄. Did more than one spirit go to form the essence of the spiritual man on the other side of the grave, just as the living man is conceived as consisting of "body, soul, and spirit"?

Another important point in the vocabulary shows that the characters ₆₃₄₁ < ₄₄₄₁ are not to be read bēlūtu, "lordship," but ₃₄₃₄, with the same meaning. This is taken from the Sumero-Akkadian enlil (ellil, illil)—a reading indicated by the Aramaic dockets found by the American explorers at Niffer, and referred to by Professor Clay, who has published excellent renderings of the texts in which the word is found.

Among other things, it may be noted that Professor Ungnad suggests that the reading of the enigmatical ₇₇₇₄, meaning "priestess", should be isippatun, which would be the regular feminine of ₄₄₄₄, "priest." ₃₃₇₇, dua in Sumerian, is quoted from Meissner as meaning probably "baker" ("cook" in general would also be probable). The pay of a cook or a baker would then have been a thirty-sixth part of a shekel daily. Under wabālu is ranged the form ibbabil, "it was brought," for ₃₃₃₄, and, from the same root, also biblum, bibbulum (?). This seems correct, and may explain other forms.

Interesting, also, is Professor Ungnad's explanation of bisātum (read by Scheil kazzatum) as being for pisātum, and meaning "whitebloodedness" (leucæmia). This is naturally interesting from a medical point of view, especially when we consider that the disease was one which affected sheep. Veterinary doctors should be able to say whether the shepherd could justly be held responsible for it.

Whether kanāku, "to seal," were originally written qanāqu or not, it occurs most frequently with k, and the author is right in keeping this transcription, which
is in any case that which the Babylonians preferred. Referring to *kisallum*, he suggests that the real meaning is "bulwark", not "court", which seems probable, though the word may have meant "surrounding wall" in general. Referring to "sesame-wine" (*kurunnnum*) Mr. Rassam once asked the present writer, "What kind of drink is that?" This was an embarrassing question, as he had never heard of it except in connexion with Babylonian inscriptions. Did the Babylonians really make "wine" from sesame, or is "sesame-wine" a mere name, like "the Virgin's milk" (Liebfraumilch), the well-known Rhenish wine?

The third volume of Kohler and Ungnad's *Hammurabi's Gesetz* contains translations of documents, with explanatory text. Their number is very large, there being no fewer than 775 of them. These are classified under numerous headings, and deal with marriage, divorce, adoption, dismissal, wet-nursing; management and division of property, boundary-walls; loans, purchase and exchange, gift, hire; inheritance; lawsuits; taxes, military service, fiefs, etc. In all probability no such complete series of examples has ever before been brought together, and it is needless to say, that an enormous amount of information concerning Babylonian life, manners, and customs, is contained therein.

As to give even one example of each class would take up a great deal of space, I confine myself to two tablets only, upon which I am able to make supplementary remarks. The first is Professor Ungnad's No. 441 (redemption of patrimony):

"7/8 of a gan, a field in the lowland (?), beside the field of Aya-kuzub-mâtîm, daughter of Nûr-îli-šu, and beside the field of Amat-Anîm, daughter of Sin-puṭram, which Beltani, daughter of Nûrum had bought from Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Sin-šemê. With Erib-Sin, son of Sin-ikišam, Anum-ḥâbil and Sin-magîr, sons of..."
Tamšaliḫum, Naram-ilu-šu and Šamaš-bani, sons of Nani-
manšum, and Aya-rimti-ilati (?), daughter of Sin-našir,—
Sakkum, son of Nūrum, has weighed out to them 2/3 of
a mana of silver, and freed thereby the field of his
father’s house. At no future time shall they make
claim against each other. They have sworn by Šamaš,
Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king.”

Here follow the names of six witnesses and the date.
A fragment numbered Bu. 88–5–12, 706, is apparently
part of the envelope of this document. After “field” in
the first line, it has אֱאִים נְדִיתִים, “of neglect”—
“neglected field.” Šapalu (or šutpalu ?) is followed by
לֵא א, the plural-sign with suffix for “place”, indicating
that it was regarded as a place-name and was plural.
Aya-kuzub-mātim was a priestess of the sun ( InvalidOperationException). Amat-Anim is given as Amat-Aya, and Sin-putram as
Šamaš-putram. (There seems to have been a tendency to
write the inner tablet, which was hidden, more carelessly
than the outer one.)

Professor Ungnad’s No. 73 (sharing of property) has
some interesting words:

“2/3 of a šar, a built house, beside the house of Sakkut-
muballit, and beside the house of Šamaš-tappi-wēdi ;
1 female slave Zarrikum ; 2 (?) oxen (instead Ili-āwelim-
rabi has taken a female-slave). (This is) the sharing of
Šamaš-sūzibanni and Uttatum, sons of Zuzanum, which
they have shared with Ili-āwelim-rabi. They have shared,
they have completed (the matter). Their heart is con-
tent. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and
Samsu-iluna, the king.”

1 The envelope differs somewhat, and a rendering of this may be not
without its value. It reads as follows:—“2/3 of a šar, a built house,
beside the house of Sakkut-muballit, and beside the house of Šamaš-
tappi-wēdi ; 1 female-slave Zarrikum ; 2 (?) oxen (instead (kīnu) Ili-
āwelim-rabi has taken a female-slave). (This is) the sharing of Šamaš-
sūzibanni and Uttatum, which they have shared with Ili-āwelim-rabi,
their brother. They have shared. It is finished (gamram). Their heart
Such a work as this, which is practically a Corpus of the Business—and Legal—documents of the period, is a thing which has long been needed, and is exceedingly well done. The cuneiform text of the laws, which will be given in vol. i, will form a fitting completion of the work. Author and publisher may both be congratulated thereon.

T. G. Pinches.


By the publication of this Tārikh-i-Gujarat, Dr. E. Denison Ross furnishes one more contribution to the good work in Muhammadan history, bibliography, and lexicography which is to be placed to his credit since he went to India a few years ago. Between 1903 and 1907 he collected 1106 Arabic and Persian manuscripts on behalf of the Government of India, as entered in the hand-list issued in July, 1908; and he may well be styled "the only begetter" of Maulavi 'Abd-ul Muqtadir's Catalogue of Persian Poets (in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore), vol. i, also published in the same year. It is to Dr. Ross's initiative, and the training he gave, that we owe this first specimen of a catalogue raisonné on

is content. At no future time shall one bring action against another. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."

In the published text the words corresponding with kima, "like," "instead of," are ana maki-ma. This must be the ammaki or ammaku (ana maki, ana maka) of the Flood-tablet, lines 187 ff., where, instead of a deluge, reduction of mankind by the lion or the hyaena (?), or the destruction of the country by famine or pestilence, is recommended as being preferable. From the texts quoted, the presence or absence of the enclitic particle -ma would seem to have made no difference. The word-order on the tablet is šina (?) alpē ana maki-ma Ilī-āvelim-rābi amtam īki, and on the envelope šina (?) alpē kima amti Ilī-āvelim-rābi īku (for īqu).
European lines prepared by an Indian scholar. We are also indebted to him for a polyglot List of Birds in Turki, Manchū, and Chinese (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. ii, No. 9, 1909). The present work on Gujarāt by Abū Turāb is a welcome addition to that most valuable of all historical material, personal narratives by contemporaries of, and participants in, the events recorded.

The history of the Muhammadan period in Gujarāt has received a large share of attention from European scholars; it has been dealt with by Dr. J. Bird (1835), Sir E. C. Bayley (1886), and Colonel J. W. Watson in the Bombay Gazetteer (1896), to which we may add Mr. A. Rogers' unpublished translation of the Mirāt-i-Aḥmādī. Abū Turāb's narrative covers the period from 940 H. (1532), when Humāyūn quarrelled with Sultān Bahādur (1526–37), down to the year 992 H. (1584), when Akbar's authority had been established in Gujarāt for some years. As Abū Turāb died in 1003 H. (1594) he was probably a contemporary throughout the period treated of; at any rate, from 980 H. (1572–3) he had an intimate personal knowledge of all that was going on.

Our author, Abū Turāb, belonged to a family of saintly and learned men, which emigrated from Shīrāz in the year 898 H. (1492), and settled at Champāner, in the Panch Maḥāls, then the capital of Gujarāt. Nothing has been learnt so far of his early life, but he was probably from the first a man of some influence, and in 980 H. (1572) we find him in the service of I'timāl Khān, a man prominent in the disturbed politics of that period, in whose counsels he seems to have had a predominant voice.

ʿAbd-ul-Karīm, I'timād Khān, a converted Hindu slave and probably a palace eunuch, had gained the confidence of Sultān Maḥmūd (1537–54), and rose about 1545 to be one of his chief advisers. Nine years afterwards
(1554) occurred the plot of the slave Burhān to seize the throne after the assassination of the king and nobles. Iʿtimād Khān escaped the fate of the rest, and the incident is graphically described by Abū Turāb (pp. 44 to 49). Iʿtimād Khān became guardian of the minor successor, Aḥmad Shāh II (1554–1561), and the country was divided into five satrapies, Iʿtimād Khān and his friends obtaining ten parganahs. In 1561 Aḥmad Shāh was assassinated by Iʿtimād Khān, and a youth of doubtful parentage was raised to the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shāh (III). Then began a very perturbed period, due to the dissensions of the nobles, an invasion from Khandesh, and an attempt by one of the nobles to seize the throne. Iʿtimād Khān was faced by so many foes at once that he did not know which way to turn.

In the end (1572), acting on the advice of Abū Turāb, Iʿtimād Khān invited an invasion by Akbar, who had come to the borders of Gujarāt in pursuit of a fugitive kinsman. Akbar responded to the invitation, soon overbore all opposition, and occupied Aḥmadābād, Cambay, and Sūrat. At first Iʿtimād Khān was well received by Akbar, but one of the chief nobles having fled, Akbar grew suspicious and withdrew his favour. Abū Turāb stood up manfully for his master, who was soon received back into Akbar's good graces. But Mirzā ʿAzīz, Kokaltash, was left as governor of Gujarāt.

The arrangements made by Akbar for the government of the newly-acquired province failed to restore order, and in 1573, on the urgent entreaties of the viceroy, the king made his famous nine days' ride from Fathpur Sikrī to Aḥmadābād, dispersed the malcontents, and incorporated Gujarāt into the empire. Abū Turāb was appointed chief leader of the Mecca pilgrimage in 985 h. (1577–8), and Iʿtimād Khān went with him. They brought back a stone bearing on it the qadam-i-rasūl, or impression of the Prophet's foot, which was presented
to Akbar; and finally deposited at a shrine in Gujarät. From 987 H. (1579–80) to 992 H. (1584–5) the country was disturbed by various risings, until in the latter year Aḥmadābād was occupied by Mużaffar Shāh (III), who had escaped from the Mogul court. Shortly before this event Iṭtimād Khān had been appointed viceroy. The narrative breaks off just after the new viceroy had been defeated by Mużaffar Shāh outside the walls of Aḥmadābād.

Abū Turāb’s style is on the whole easy, though occasionally he is a little archaic and uses peculiar words and constructions. Of course, especial prominence is given to Iṭtimād Khān’s proceedings, in which the beau rôle is always played by Abū Turāb; if his advice had been followed, this, that, and the other misfortune would have been averted. Making slight allowances for this bias, the record appears a truthful one, and yields us a living picture of the constant intrigues and perplexing instability of Oriental state affairs. Dr. Ross has done his part well, and we are indebted to him for a valuable addition to an interesting period of Indian history. There are still some misprints left unnoticed in his Notes and Corrections, but they are of little importance.

There are, however, one or two words as to which I may offer some suggestions. On p. 14, l. 14, for جَبَرُ, interpreted as chapri, “bran,” I would propose the Hindi جَبْر, chhappar, “a thatch” (Platts, 458), making the passage read, “grass three years old from thatches”; and on p. 29, ll. 3 and 11, Sārat and Sorath possibly do not refer to the same place, one being meant for the well-known port on the ocean, and the other for the province in the peninsula of Kaṭhiāwār (see Constable’s Hand Atlas, pl. 31, Ba, Aa).

William Irvine.

In 1673 the East India Company's fleet carried out, as "chirurgeon for Bombay", a young man of the name of Fryer, who had just taken a medical degree at Cambridge. He was seen off from Gravesend by a friend, to whom he made the usual promise of a full and faithful account of all that should befall him in the strange lands to which he was going. In fulfilment of this undertaking, during the nine and a half years that elapsed before Fryer again set foot in England he dispatched to his correspondent seven long letters; and he followed these up with an eighth, written from Dover on his return, bringing the narrative to a conclusion. Sixteen years later (1698) the worthy doctor, now become a Fellow of the Royal Society, published the whole series—probably, as Mr. Crooke conjectures, revised and augmented—under the title of A New Account of East-India and Persia.

It is unnecessary to say much in praise of a work so well known to everyone interested in seventeenth century travel. Parts are written in a turgid, affected style, copied, it may be, from Sir Thomas Herbert; but, as his editor remarks, "his pages display many instances of graphic description, terse and vivid narrative; and he can tell a good story with quaint, dry humour." The work is a mine of information about Western India and Persia; and Sir George Birdwood has gone so far as to pronounce it "the most delightful book ever published on those countries".

Fryer's New Account was many years ago placed on the Hakluyt Society's list of works to be included in its series. About 1896 the task of editing it was actually undertaken by Mr. A. T. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to the Madras Government; but his untimely death a few years later left the book again without an editor.
Recently Mr. William Crooke stepped into the breach; and the first of the three volumes of which the edition will consist has now been issued to members of the Hakluyt Society.

To those who know Mr. Crooke's work in other fields, it will be superfluous to say that he has discharged his duties in a most painstaking and efficient manner. Besides utilizing his own wide reading and personal acquaintance with India, he has enlisted the aid of several experts (such as Colonel Prain and Sir George Watt for botanical matters), and has diligently sought information from every available source. Further, in an excellent introduction, he has given us a good deal of fresh information about Fryer himself.

The narrative is not an easy one to annotate, and naturally there are some openings for criticism. On p. xxvi of the introduction it is stated that the holding of stock was a necessary preliminary for admission to the "freedom" of the East India Company; in point of fact the exact opposite was the case, and Fryer must have claimed his freedom (by patrimony) in order to hold the stock which was thereupon transferred to him. The note (p. 105) on the acquisition of Madras requires revision; and in one on p. 225 the establishment of a French factory at Surat is much antedated. Fryer's error (p. 161) as to the year of Vasco da Gama's voyage is not corrected, and his reference to "Dr. N. G." (p. 296) is left unexplained. These initials stand for Nehemiah Grew, Secretary to the Royal Society, 1677–9. The Oxenden Medal (p. 223) might well have been accorded the honour of a note, materials for which are to be found in J. H. Mayo's Medals and Decorations (vol. i, p. 55). The Anglo-Portuguese conflict at Swally mentioned on p. 224 was in 1630, not 1615. And finally, we may express a doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Crooke's identification of the "Naran Sinaij" of p. 199 with the "Narun Gi
Pundit" of the following page, who seems to have been quite a different person (cf. p. 204).

These, however, are but slight blemishes. Most of the notes are excellent; and we shall look forward with some impatience to the issue of the remaining two volumes.

W. F.

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The Kathaka Samhita, Books I and II. Edited by Professor von Schroeder. Leipzig, 1900 and 1909.

The fate of the Kathaka Samhita has been somewhat peculiar. A MS. of the work is included in the Chambers Collection at Berlin, and it was used by Weber in preparing his Indian Literature, and formed the theme of an essay in the third volume of the Indische Studien, while much of its lexicographical material was rendered available by Weber's energy to the authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary. But publication of this important and interesting text has been long delayed by the absence of adequate manuscript material. It is due to the energy of Dr. Stein that further material has been made available, and even his efforts have not succeeded in obtaining a complete copy of the text, the MS. of Dayārām Jyotsi of Srinagar, which alone can be compared for importance with the Chambers MS., being deficient for a portion of book i and for the whole of book ii.

Despite the lack of manuscript material, the edition of both books is an admirable piece of work, as was only to be expected from the editor of the Maitrāyaṇī Samhita. It is inevitable that the text should here and there remain doubtful, and unquestionably in several places the sense of the original is impossible to discover, but it may fairly be said that the editor has done practically everything that can be done with the materials available. Fortunately the Kapiśṭhala Samhita in the fragments preserved shows
such considerable similarity with the text of the Kāthaka that it has served to suggest many corrections of that text and to confirm others.

One general criticism only would we offer on the text, and that is regret that the editor should have declined to adopt a system of punctuation. It is true that he has authority on his side, and in particular Dr. Caland, whose assistance in constituting the text of book ii is acknowledged by Professor von Schroeder, has declared himself against punctuation. But the arguments on the other side are, in our opinion, overwhelming. The editor of such a text as this must while preparing the text make himself master of the sense, and the probability that he will commit a few mistakes in his division of sentences is of no importance compared to the saving of time and trouble to users of the book by the simplification of its study through the adoption of a rational system of punctuation. It is true that punctuation can be overdone, as is the case with Böhtlingk’s text of the Brhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads, where the punctuation increases the difficulty of the text, but there is no valid excuse for a chapter of two large pages with continuous Sandhi, including the assimilation of sibilants, and without a single punctuation mark or distinction of quotations. Moreover, comparison with Weber’s text of the Taittiriya Samhitā shows how incomparable is the advantage of using transliteration in dealing with Vedic texts, at any rate if the purpose of editing such texts is the legitimate desire to render readily available their contents.

As Weber had access to the Chambers MS, the publication of the text adds little to our knowledge of the subjects with which it deals, though an examination of it adds—if possible—to our admiration of the ability with

1 Cf. Lanman in Hertel’s Panchatantra, pp. xxvi seq.
2 That Devanāgari was used in my Aitareya Āranyaka was due to the exigencies of the Anecdota series of which it formed a volume.
which he handled the *Kāthaka*. But it is of some interest to note that the parallel passage to those in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, on which Bürk has founded his theory that the Pythagorean problem was known in India in the eighth century B.C., like the passages themselves, is silent on the most important point, the dimensions of the hypotenuse. It contents itself with saying: *vedīṃ vimīmīte tīṃśatā paścāt prakramaśair mimīte saṭṭīṃśatā prācīṃ caturmīṃśatāḥ purastatā*. No doubt this means that the *prācī*, a line bisecting at right angles the western and eastern sides of the Vedi, is 36 units, and no doubt the hypotenuse of the triangle formed by the *prācī* (36), with half the western side of the altar (15), would have a hypotenuse of 39 units. But there is nothing in the *Saṃhitās* or *Brāhmaṇa* to show that the hypotenuse was ever measured, much less that it was of any importance at all, and even if the measurement of the hypotenuse were given, we would still be as far as ever from a knowledge of the Pythagorean theorem. To put it plainly, if anyone construct a figure with a right angle—one of the simplest figures possible—and then measure the sides, they will, of course, present the result (assuming any correct measurement) that the squares of the numbers representing the sides will equal the square of the number representing the hypotenuse; but to ascribe the knowledge of this fact—much less the knowledge of the theory underlying it—to a man who merely knew the measures of the sides is quite fantastic, and the absurdity of the whole construction is more obvious still when the man, as far as the records go, never even mentions, or knew the length of, the hypotenuse.

Nor does the *Kāthaka* support in any way the other

1 The Mantra material is embodied in advance of publication of the text of xix, etc., in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*.
2 xxv, 4.
3 vi, 2, 4, 5.
4 x, 2, 3, 4.
5 ZDMG., iv, 553-6.
argument on which Bürk bases the view that the Pythagorean problem was early known in India. It is perfectly true that like the Taittirīya Samhitā—to which Bürk might have added the Maitrāyani Samhitā—the Kathaka gives a series of optional forms of the sacrificial fire for the case when a man has some special desire. Bürk lays down that in all these forms the space occupied by the fire must be the same as in the normal form, and he deduces thence—as one of the optional forms is that of a chariot wheel (ratha-cakra)—that the Indians knew at the time of the Samhitās how to construct a circle with an area equal to that of a square, and that they could transform one rectilinear figure into another. Unfortunately he does not quote his authority for the statement that the sizes of the figures must be the same, and unless it occurs in the Samhitās or Brāhmaṇas the argument is worthless. But even if there were to be found there a ritual direction that the size must be the same it would be absurd to assume, unless more details were given, that the priests really could make them identical and knew enough geometry to further this result. Empirical measurements would serve to obtain an approximately adequate result. Nor can we make anything out of the fact that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contemplates the building of successive altars each larger than the other: the exact sense is obscure, and apparently the passage means no more than that each successive altar is to be larger than the former one by one unit (the length of a man) on each of its four sides. We are therefore faced with the fact that no geometrical knowledge like that of the Pythagorean problem can be asserted before

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1 ZDMG., lv, 546 seq.  
2 v, 4, 11, 1 seq.  
3 iii, 4, 7.  
4 xxi, 4.  
5 Loc. cit., p. 548.  
6 x, 2, 3, 18. The reference in Bürk (p. 549, n. 1) to Weber’s Indische Studien is incorrect.  
7 Cf. Eggeling, SBE., xliii, 310 seq.
the time of the Śulba Sūtras, the date of which remains
doubtful.\textsuperscript{1}

The \textit{Kāthaka} was clearly composed in the land of the
Kuru-Paنصālas, like most of the Brāhmaṇa literature.
This is shown by the references to that people and to
Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravirya,\textsuperscript{2} and the special interest shown
in the Paنصālas and Kuntis.\textsuperscript{3} Unhappily the references
are too slight to show us exactly the relations of the
peoples, but they lend no support to the view recently
adopted by Mr. Pargiter \textsuperscript{4} that the Kuru-Paنصāla alliance
dates from after the great war. It is quite possible, as
Mr. Pargiter argues, that the tradition of the priests as to
secular matters was not good, but the utter confusion of
the Epic and Purana traditions renders it very doubtful
whether it is wise to say\textsuperscript{5} that the account of the tradition
of knowledge as to Soma-drinking in the \textit{Aitareya
Brāhmaṇa}\textsuperscript{6} is chronologically erroneous. When we can
control facts we see something different: we see, as in
the Devāpi and Śantantu legend, the misunderstanding of
a Vedic tradition.\textsuperscript{7}

The style and grammar of the \textit{Kāthaka} offer few
surprises: indeed, the work conforms in this regard to
the most approved Brāhmaṇa traditions. This is shown
strikingly by the statistics of the use of the narrative
tenses, figures for which as far as book i is concerned
have been given in an earlier number of the Journal.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{1} See my remarks, JRAS., 1909, 590 seq., to which I have nothing to
add. Professor Garbe very kindly called my attention to the fact that
I had not in my note dealt with Būrk's evidence, and this omission
I now repair.

\textsuperscript{2} x, 6. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{3} Cf. xxvi, 9; and for the Paنصālas, xxx, 2.

\textsuperscript{4} JRAS., 1910, p. 51, n. 5. The great war is unknown to the
Brāhmaṇas, and it is legitimate to suppose that it was of later date,
if it occurred at all.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 53, n. 4. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{6} vii, 34.

\textsuperscript{7} Cf. Sieg, \textit{Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda}, pp. 129 seq.; Muir, \textit{Sanskrit
Texts}, i, 272; Macdonell, \textit{Brhaddevata}, i, p. xxix.

\textsuperscript{8} JRAS., 1909, pp. 149 seq.
In book ii (xix–xxx) there are approximately 1 891 cases of the narrative imperfect: section xix has 49; xx, 49; xxi, 40; xxii, 44; xxiii, 118; xxiv, 88; xxv, 113; xxvi, 63; xxvii, 109; xxviii, 62; xxix, 79; xxx, 77. Against these the narrative perfects are extremely few: vidāma cakāra occurs in xxi, 4, 9, and xxvii, 5, with vidāma cakṛma in xxii, 6. In xx, 1, uvāca alternates with vividuḥ and veda; in xx, 8, upadadhau and jagāma follow; uvāca occurs alone in xx, 9, and xxii, 7; abhyanuvāca in xxviii, 4; uvāca and ninyuḥ in xxvi, 7; uvāca (bis), ucuḥ, and jagṛhuh in xxx, 2; ānardinha in xxi, 4. The other perfects which occur are like āha, āhuḥ, veda, viduḥ (xxiii, 2), present in sense, and include ānāse, xx, 5, 11; xxx, 4, and ājagāma, “it is here,” xxvi, 6. Most common is dādhāra, xix, 11, 12; xx, 7, 10, 11 (bis); xxi, 3; xxvi, 1; xxviii, 10 (eight times repeated). In this use the form is so predominantly dādhāra that we would not hesitate to emend dādhāra in xx, 5 (p. 23, l. 10). In xxii, 3, von Schroeder himself has made a similar emendation, because dādhāra is followed by dādhāra, and in xx, 5, there is no reason to cling to the text of the Chambers MS. In striking contrast are the verse and prose Mantra portions of the work, where, e.g. in xxii, 10, a single verse equates udāyan and ānāṣuḥ.

The aorist is used practically only in the sense rendered by “have” in English, in which it occurs some twenty-three times; 2 curiously enough, the sense of a present, which is so marked a feature of the Maitrāyaṇī Śaṁhitā,

1 Absolute accuracy is not aimed at, but the figures are such as to render it needless. The imperfect is in fact the only narrative tense; the perfect is sporadic and rather peculiar (uvāca, etc., predominate).

2 Acceyuvat, xx, 1; abhūt, xx, 7; abhūcan, xxiii, 7; xxix, 1; acaśī, acaśam, xxii, 6; aceṣṭa, xxii, 7, 8; upāgāt, xxii, 8; ugaṇ (bis), xxv, 5; upāgāt, xxvi, 2; akrami, avocatḥ, xxv, 2; asprṣyāḥ, āprāḥ, adṛṣṭāḥ, xxvi, 5; agām, xxix, 7; agūt, xxviii, 4; aṣṇihat, adṛṣṭi, xxviii, 4; agrahīṣṭa, xxx, 2; adabhat, xxx, 7.
is quite rare; it is found in xx, 9—yajñasyaīvāntau
samagrahīt.

Of the use of the moods there is little to be said: in
the Brāhmaṇa proper the optative as conditional, as
injunctive, and as optative occurs frequently, but without
irregularities of usage. In particular there is not a single
irregular conditional sentence in xix–xxx. The subjunctive
is found in its usual senses, once in both clauses of a
conditional sentence, but it is not common. The in-
junctive, both affirmative and negative, occurs, but also
infrequently.

More characteristic is the distinct advance in the use
of the infinitive in tum. The use is found more often
with arhati, but also with other verbs, viz., anveṣṭum
adhriyanta, xxiv, 7, and xxx, 4; anvavaitum adhṛṣṇvyan,
xxiv, 10; dabdhum nāsaknuvan, xxx, 9, and udatiṣṭhad
hotum, xxviii, 9. The only other form at all usual is the
genitive with īvara, as in xxvi, 1 (abhṛṣṇasah); xxx, 5
(prametoḥ), 9 (parābhavitoḥ). On a par with this is the
frequent use of the verbal in tavya, and the repeated na
neṣṭrā na potrā bhavītavyam, xxvi, 1, etc.

In the use of the participles there is little of note,
except that as to the other Brāhmaṇas, the perfect middle
is of frequent occurrence. A good example of the apparent
use of the present participle as a finite verb is to be seen
in xxi, 2: devā vai svargam lokam yantas teṣāṁ yāni
chandāmsy aniruktāni svaryāny āsams tais saha
svargam lokam āyam. Here the writer has recovered the
construction after the break, but if he had forgotten it
an apparent finite use of yantas would have been shown.
On the other hand, in xxi, 8, there does occur an interesting

1 Ādat in xx, 9, is a clearly correct conjecture of von Schroeder.
2 Āptum arhati, xxi, 12; xxix, 3, 6 (bis); guṇam arhati, xxx, 9;
3 samaṭum arhati, xxix, 1; bodhayitum arhati, xxi, 2.
4 So aisaknuvan prāṁtum, xxvii, 3, but udhyām nāsaknuvan, xxviii, 7.
example of the development of a real dependent construction\(^1\) in place of the use of the direct speech with it. The sentence is: *ekaikayā jhūvyād yadi kāmayetacīram pāpmano mucyeteti cīram eva pāpmano mucyate | sakṛt sarvān anādṛtyottamayā jhūvyād yadi kāmayetājīram, pāpmano mucyetety ajīram eva pāpmano mucyate.* Von Schroeder does not even query the text, yet the ordinary use would be *mucyeyeti*, an easy conjecture, and one parallel to his\(^2\) correction of *syāt* to *syām* in the *Maitrāyaṇī Sāṃhitā*, ii, i, 11. But the text may well stand as a grammatical irregularity of the legitimate kind, admitting of easy if illogical explanation.

A few small points may be more briefly noticed. It is hardly consistent to let *invai* stand in the text in xix, 1, when *in uvai* is printed at p. 81, l. 3; 99, l. 8. The omission of double letters is a characteristic of every Sanskrit MS., and has no value. In xxii, 8, the name Śarkarākhya seems doubtful as a proper name, and it is obvious and easy to read Śarkarākṣa instead, or even Śarkarākṣya. The former name is found in the Gaṇa Gargāḍī, and the latter in Śāṅkara’s commentary on the *Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad*,\(^3\) while Śarkarākṣya occurs in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad*, and *Ṭaittirīya Aranyaka*.\(^4\) In xxix, 4, the Chambers MS. has the form *aṣṭakapāla*; von Schroeder remarks “in Böhtlingk’s Wörterbuch mit Sternchen versehen, also überliefert, aber nicht belegt.” But in point of fact it is so quoted in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini\(^5\) in the form *aṣṭakapālam brāhmaṇaśya*, which is conclusive evidence of its legitimacy. It is more doubtful if the authority of the Chambers MS. is adequate to allow the form in the *Kāṭhaka*, which has repeatedly *aṣṭākapāla*. Similarly I think von Schroeder attributes too much weight to his MSS. when he reads the incorrect

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\(^1\) Cf. my *Śāṅkhāyana Aranyak*, p. xv.  
\(^2\) *Maitrāyaṇī Sāṃhitā*, ii, 13, n. 5.  
\(^3\) Cf. my *Aitareya Aranyak*, p. 204.  
\(^4\) v, 11, 2.  
\(^5\) vi, 3, 46.
ta ārtim ārchaṇī in xxi, 6, for the correct sa-ārchaṇī of the Maṭrāyaṇī Samhitā, xii, 3, 4. Again, in xxix, 8, the text adopted by von Schroeder seems open to objection. It runs: tasmād uṭaiko bhaviṃ jāyā vindate naikā bahūn patin upaśayāḥ. The form upaśayāḥ presents difficulties, and the obvious correction upaśaye (namely e for o) restores the necessary parallelism with vindate.

Of the uses of the cases it may be worth while mentioning the ablative of comparison in xxix, 8: striyāḥ pruṃsā 'tiriktāḥ, and the apparent accusatives in xxi, 10: sa rāṣṭram abhavat yāṃ kāmayeta rāṣṭram syāt. The first rāṣṭram and the second must presumably be construed alike, and the accusative with syāt is even more difficult than that with bhū, of which we have written elsewhere.1 Probably in both cases the nominative must be taken to be meant, and the abstract stand for the concrete, royalty for king.2 In xix, 1, jīvitamah must replace jīvitatamah, which is most improbable. The Kapiṣṭhala Samhitā has jīvītāmahaḥ, which is also possible, but nothing is easier than a duplication of ta.

A. Berriedale Keith.

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA. By MABEL HAYNES BODE. Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

After a short introduction Mrs. Bode begins her review of the Pali literature in Burma with the arrival of the Pali Tipiṭaka in that country. As to the Suttapiṭaka, she states that among the great Nikāyas claiming to be the word of the Buddha the Dīghanikāya is the best known and the most frequently to be found. The reason for this preference is, according to Mrs. Bode, that it is

1 JRAS., 1910, pp. 151 seq.
2 See e.g. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, xxi, 12, 2: sa rāṣṭram abhavat arāṣṭram itare.

JRAS. 1910.
the shortest among these collections and contains all the essential doctrines of Buddhism.

The Vinaya offers the author an occasion to speak about the beginnings of Buddhist culture in Further India. Here Mrs. Bode might have mentioned the two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, who were travelling from Utkalā to Madhyadeza with 500 carts, when a deity stopped them and exhorted them to offer cakes of barley and honey to the Lord (Mahāvagga, i, 4). These merchants became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. The story of the Mahāvagga is confirmed by the celebrated inscription of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon (mentioned by Mrs. Bode at p. 78, n. 6), which dates from 1485 during the reign of King Dhammadeti. There is only one difference between the two records. The Mahāvagga states that the two merchants made their way from Utkalā to the Rājāyatana tree on the road (addhāna-maggapatipannā hontī), while the Shwe Dagon inscription says that they came by ship. From this we may conclude that the author of the Mahāvagga believed Utkalā to mean Orissa in anterior India, from where they could easily go by road to the Rājāyatana tree. Dhammadeti, on the contrary, the author of the Shwe Dagon inscription, believed Utkalā to be the country from the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill down to the Irawaddy, where there must have been a settlement of colonists from anterior India in very early times. This is the reason why in his opinion the two merchants make their voyage by ship.

If we consider the later Buddhistical literature, we shall find the story of Tapussa and Bhallika in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa to the Vinaya and to the Anguttara-nikāya, which belong to the fifth century A.D. There also the place from where they came, and where they erected a dagoba after their return, is called Asitaṇjananagara, as in the inscription of Shwe Dagon. It therefore seems to be out of question that Buddhaghosa, the most
celebrated of the commentators, believed the country to be Burma and not Orissa, and that the dagoba was erected in the same place where the merchants had buried the relics which the Buddha had given them.\footnote{The name Dagon corresponds to the Pali Tikumbha (three bowls), and hence the legend originated that Gotama and his two favourite disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, had buried their bowls in this place.} Buddhaghosa’s opinion is of the utmost importance for us, because he has written most of his commentaries in Burma after having spent a certain time in Ceylon. Formerly Burmese historians believed him to have been born in Burma, but this opinion cannot hold good against the testimony of the Mahāvamsa, according to which he was born in the neighbourhood of the holy Bo-tree; cf. Mrs. Bode, p. 8, n. 1.

From her remarks on p. 10 it seems that Mrs. Bode is not inclined to attach much faith to the story of the Buddhist mission to Burma in the time of Asoka. I should like to say a few words about this matter. The place where the two missionaries, Soma and Uttara, landed in Burma is called Golanagara or Golamittikānagara (Sāsanavamsa, p. 38). About this place different opinions have been uttered. Forchhammer believed that it is the same place which is mentioned by the Arabian geographers under the name of Kalah. In the eighth and ninth centuries it was the centre of the trade in aloe, camphor, sandal-wood, ivory, and lead. The ships coming from the east (China) and from the west (Persia) used to meet in Kalah and to exchange their merchandise there. In the neighbourhood of this Kalah there was a group of small islands which may help us in identifying the place. If we take the islands to be the Maldives, or the islands forming the Adam’s Bridge, then Kalah must be in Ceylon; in the former case it could be identical with the modern Point de Galle in the south of Ceylon,\footnote{This is Sir Emerson Tennent’s opinion.} in the
latter it could be the north-east coast of this island. In both cases it cannot be the Golanagara in Burma, where the Buddhist missionaries landed. If, on the contrary, we take the group of islands to be the Nicobar Islands, we might identify Kalah with the modern Quedda in the neighbourhood of Penang in Further India. This is the opinion of the author of the anonymous book, Ceylon, a general description of the island, historical, physical, and statistical (London, 1876). He believes that the ships coming from Persia took their way to China directly from Cape Comorin through the Gulf of Bengal to the Nicobar Islands, and touched Kalah afterwards. This opinion seems preferable to that of Forchhammer and Sir Emerson Tennent, because the ships had to pass somewhere in the neighbourhood of Quedda, while they would have been obliged to take a roundabout way to the north if they had wanted to touch Golanagara.

After these remarks I have only little to add. As on former occasions, Mrs. Bode has given here also an excellent specimen of her scholarship. Following her sources, among which the Sāsanavaṃsa and the Gandhavaṃsa are the principal, she gives us a vivid picture of the development of Pali literature in Burma from the eleventh century down to the present day. Chapter ii deals with the rise of Pali scholarship in Upper Burma and the relations between this country and Ceylon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Chapter iii is divided into two sections, of which the first gives us the Pali literature in Pegu and the Kalyāni inscriptions of King Dhammaceti, while the second contains the literature in Upper Burma from the foundation of Ava to the end of the sixteenth century.

Chapters iv–vi are dedicated to the literature of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries respectively, and in the appendix on p. 101 ff. Mrs. Bode gives us a list of 295 Sanskrit and Pali books from an
inscription dated a.d. 1442. We notice here a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but most of them (not all) still recognizable. I shall add a few suggestions to the explanations which Mrs. Bode gives in the foot-notes: No. 193, Vṛndaṭikā, is mentioned among other medical treatises by Aufrecht, Cat. Cod. Oxon., 311b; No. 197, Dravyaṇa, ib., p. 86a (cf. No. 254). I do not believe that No. 208 refers to Daṇḍin, because this name occurs again in its right form, Nos. 256–8, but rather to Taṇḍin. No. 219, Tarkabhāṣā, is a book mentioned by Aufrecht, l.l., 244a, and by Westergaard, Codices Orientalles Bibliothecae Havniensis, p. 8a; Cabaton, Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanskrits et pālīs de la bibliothèque nationale, fasc. i, Nos. 296, 884, 885. For No. 253, Roganidāna, see Westergaard, l.l., p. 104a; No. 265, Vidagdhamukhamanḍana, see Cabaton, l.l., Nos. 529, 686.

I have now reached the end of this review, which is a good deal longer than most of the reviews I have written for this Journal. But I can assure Mrs. Bode that the only reason of my verbosity is that I have found so many interesting points in her valuable book which I could not dismiss without fully discussing them.

E. MÜLLER.

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA, ESPECIALLY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. Five lectures delivered at Harvard University by ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, etc. London: Luzac and Co., 1908.

In this little book of 235 pages we have a history of the recovery of the lost religion of Assyria and Babylonia, an account of its gods, its cosmologies, its sacred books, and its myths and epics. It is needless to say that the
picturesque faiths of these two ancient peoples can always be made interesting, and Dr. Rogers has well succeeded in his task. The pictures, though mainly reproductions of tablets and inscriptions, are well chosen to rouse the reader's interest and make him desirous of more light upon the faith of the two nations with whom it originated—a faith which must have had considerable influence upon their near kinsmen, the Israelites.

Naturally the first deity to be treated of is the head of the pantheon, and the author begins (p. 59) with a comparison between the Assyrian Assur and the Babylonian Merodach. Assur, he points out, was a local deity, as was Merodach at Babylon; but though Merodach always remained at Babylon, Assur accompanied his people when the capital was changed to Calah, and then to Nineveh, and thence to Dur-Sarrukin (Khorsabad), and back again to Nineveh. But when the Assyrians had conquered Babylon they made no attempt to introduce the worship of Assur into the southern capital, much less to supplant Merodach. And the reason of this is not far to seek—they were themselves the willing worshippers of Merodach, and it might be added, they regarded Assur and Merodach as one and the same. And here I should like again to speak of the mysterious deity Nisroch, which Dr. Rogers (p. 65, foot-note) suggests may be a malformation of the name of Merodach. I had thought (see Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.) that Nisroch was a malformation of Assur, or a combination of Assur with the name of the moon-god Aku (otherwise Sin and Nannar), for the first element of Sennacherib's name being Sin, he would naturally regard that deity as his special protector, and might try to identify him with the national god of Assyria, especially if, as the tablets show, there was a desire to regard them all as manifestations of one and the same deity (in Babylonia Merodach, and in Assyria Assur).
Professor Rogers's treatment of the subject is historical, and therefore different from what we are accustomed to. This naturally makes a refreshing change, and gives him an opportunity of writing about the gods of the Assyrians from the point of view of the nation itself. When speaking of the conquests of Esar-haddon, therefore, he points out that he ascribed his success in war to Aššur, the great Assyrian deity. The gods of Babylonia could not help him; there was needed the strong bow of Aššur—the great god of war. And even Aššur had never wrought a greater wrong than the sad desolation of Egypt. But on the fall of Nineveh in 608 B.C., the god Aššur went down with his people. "He was but a god of blood and fire, and could not survive the powers of blood and fire which alone had made him great." And here we may make a comparison. The god Aššur, as the author says, was not any better than his people, but how about the Babylonians, the worshippers of "the merciful Merodach"? When Nebuchadrezzar came to the throne of Babylonia, which had taken Assyria's place as a world-power, he, too, conquered the nations, including Egypt. And this reminds us that even Christians have been known to invoke "the god of battles".

Professor Rogers's examination of the religion of Babylonia is closer than that of Assyria, and in the main he seems to follow Jastrow and Sayce. A very interesting section is that in which Yau is treated of (pp. 90 ff.). As is well known, the name Yaum-ilu (the Heb. Joel) occurs on a tablet copied by the present writer for the Trustees of the British Museum some time before 1898, in which year Professor Sayce spoke of it, and Professor Delitzsch referred to it again in his well-known lecture Babel und Bibel in 1902. This is naturally not the name Yahwah, but Yah (Jah) simply. Whether Delitzsch is right in reading Ja-a-pi-ilu as Ya-a-ve-ilu or not is a matter of opinion—the reading is possible, but still better
would be the reading *Ya-a-wa-ilu*, which is also a likely one. As I showed, as long ago as 1892, the late Babylonian form of Yahwah was *Yāwa* or *Ya'awa*, and it is hardly likely that any other form existed 2000 B.C.

Professor Rogers's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* gives an interesting insight into the beliefs of those ancient peoples, and will be appreciated by many. His treatment of the Creation and Flood legends is attractive, and quotations from these "sacred books" are given, as well as a selection from the other legends, and numerous hymns, incantations, and chants.

T. G. PINCHES.


The main object of this interesting work seems to be to try to show what was the most probable Babylonian (and general Semitic) idea of the universe, comparing it with other systems known, at the same time showing that they present certain points of agreement. The first two chapters aim at disproving the generally accepted theories of the Hebrew ideas of the universe as being a flat but more or less rugged disc, arched over by an impermeable vault, with the heavenly bodies and the stars on either the inner or the outer side of the same, and various devices for allowing the waters of the springs and rivers and the rains to enter and fertilize this hermetically sealed abode of living things. In some places the author is genially sarcastic, and probably rightly so,

but the writers whom he quotes probably did their best with the material and knowledge at their command, and we must take into consideration that there were many things which they found difficult to reconcile.

Professor Warren contends that the ancients had a much more correct idea of the world and the universe than they are generally credited with, such as the earth's globular form, though the motions of the sun, moon, and stars naturally confused them. With regard to the Babylonians, however, he contends — to all appearance with Professor Sayce — that they thought of the world as a double seven-staged temple-tower within seven concentric spheres, these spheres being the seven heavens, the upper half the region of light, and the lower that of darkness. This double temple-tower was so arranged that its counterpart, reversed, appeared below it; and being, with the spheres of the underworld by which it was surrounded, in darkness, the whole looks like a seven-staged Babylonian ziqqurat with its seven over-arching hemispheres reflected in the waters of a great sea. The idea is strange and somewhat weird, but an examination of the texts and also the characters of the Babylonian syllabary shows it to be not altogether so improbable as it seems.

As is well known, the staged tower or step-pyramid was a common form of temple (and at the same time, it is supposed, observatory) in Babylonia and Assyria. Probably comparatively few of them had seven stages, the commonest number being no more than three or four. The most noteworthy of them, however, had the full number, seven — that at Babylon, which is described by Herodotus, being the one best known to us. This tower of Babel, which was probably attached to the neighbouring
temple of Bel-Merodach, was called E-temen-ana-kia, "the house of the foundation of heaven and earth." Another, that at Borsippa (the traditional, though probably not the real, tower of Babel) was similar as to its form, and also, probably, in the number of its steps or stages. This had a similar name, E-ur-imina-ana-kia, "the house of the seven regions of heaven and earth" (formerly rendered the temple of the "seven spheres"). Similarly emblematical, seemingly, was either the temple or the city of Erech, which is called, in the geographical lists, Ar-imina, Da-imina, and Gipar-imina, the seven regions, sometimes with the prefix for "city", leading to the probability that the temple-tower there may either have been in seven stages, emblematical of the seven regions of earth and heaven, or, if in fewer than seven stages, nevertheless typified that number. That Erech was especially a city associated with the seven regions or enclosures is also indicated by the fact that in the Legend of Gilgames it is always called Uruk supuri, "Erech of the enclosures," as though that were the city's distinctive characteristic.

Naturally an objection might be made that the elevation of the great temple-tower of Babylon, according to the tablet (all traces of which have now disappeared), which was for a time in the hands of the late George Smith, was not exactly like that of the diagram published by Professor Warren, the lowest and the second stages being about half the height of the whole erection, and the topmost a hall of considerable height. In all probability, however, this does not invalidate the idea, as the proportions, in the main, are preserved, the width, length, and height being the same. What seems really not to agree is the map of the world brought back by Mr. H. Rassam from Abu-Habbah, the site of Sippar, which he discovered. In that the world appears as a circle, with the salt sea around it, and eight gore-like districts on the other side of that sea, giving the world the appearance of a great
star whose points have intervals between. This map, however, would seem to be late, and perhaps drawn at a time when the ideas of the Babylonians had changed upon the subject. It is doubtful whether anything can be argued in favour of Professor Warren’s theory from the ideogram for “earth”, ♠ in its ancient form. Though it appears as a kind of lozenge with cross-lines (about five in number) in the middle archaic style, the oldest forms show it with the right-hand side flat, or nearly so, which, as the line-forms of the Babylonian characters have to be turned round to get the true position of the original hieroglyphic, points to something like the following: △. This would naturally agree with the author’s upper part—the earth proper—but the vertical lines which would then replace the horizontal would in that case require another explanation. More satisfactory, perhaps, would be the ideograph ♣, late form ♣, the meaning of which, like ♣ and trasound, is kiššatu, “the universe,” “world-all.” In connexion with the name of Enlila’s temple at Nippur, Š-kur, the common ideograph for “country”, ♣, regarded as a picture of three mountains, would naturally come into consideration.

But it is probable that more than one idea of the world existed in Babylonia, and in connexion with this the author’s remark that the ancient Semites knew that the earth was a globe is noteworthy. The character △ may just as easily have originated in a hemisphere as in a pyramid, and ♠ may have been in reality not a lozenge or double pyramid, but a circle. And in this connexion the words of that important and remarkably perfect tablet found at Nineveh by G. Smith may be quoted. It is a hymn to Ištar, and the first three lines read as follows:

“The light of heaven, which like fire dawnceth in the land, art thou.
O Goddess in the earth, in thy fixed abode,
She who, like the earth, stately advanceth, art thou.”
Here we have a comparison between Ištar (Venus) and the earth, in which, as a planet, she is said to advance (šutiqat, "she is caused to cross," suphul of etēqu) like the earth. As the Babylonians knew the phases of Venus, they must have recognized that she was disc-shaped or circular, and to say that the earth was like her is as much as saying that the earth was a globe too.

The Cosmology of the Babylonians is not, however, the only thing of which Professor Warren treats—he speaks also of the Egyptian, the Homeric, the Indo-Iranian, the Buddhistic universes, Homer’s Abode of the Dead and of the Living, and many other things, the discussion of which would take up much space and need the pen of a specialist in each branch of study. In more ways than one, therefore, Professor Warren’s Earliest Cosmologies is a book to attract the student and the thinker.

T. G. Pinches.


This is the second European translation of the collection of stanzas commonly known under the name of Therigāthā, "psalms of the sisters." The first attempt was made by Dr. K. E. Neumann, who translated this collection, together with the songs of the brethren, into German verse in 1899, just ten years ago. The principal difference between Neumann’s work and that of Mrs. Rhys Davids is that the former is totally independent of any commentary on the brethren’s verses and treats the commentary on the sisters with utter scepticism, while the latter professes her indebtedness to Dhāmmapāla’s work in a great many instances. Mrs. Rhys Davids even tells us in her introduction that the principal reason why she translates the psalms of the sisters before those of the brethren is that the commentary on the Therigāthā is ready at hand in
my edition of 1893 published by the Pali Text Society, while she could only procure a single manuscript of the commentary on the Theragāthā through the exertions of Professor Charles Duroiselle of Rangoon College.

If the first European editor of the Therigāthā, Professor Pischel, acknowledged the help he derived from Dhammapāla, it seems to me that the translator should be even more thankful for this help, and in this respect I entirely agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids when in many ambiguous terms she has been determined by the ruling of the commentator without accepting it in blind faith.

Another question treated in the introduction is that about the identity of the sisters. One of the most interesting persons is the therī Uppalavannā, whom we find not only in our Therigāthā but also in different passages of the Vinaya, and who, according to Mrs. Rhys Davids, is “as difficult to identify as our own St. George”. I have tried to give some information about this therī in the introduction to my edition of the Paramatthadipani (xiv f.), and I will add a few more notes here:—

Uppalavannā seems to be identical with Padmāvatī in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata (Rājendralālamitra’s Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal, p. 65). The story of Ummādini is also related in the Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney’s translation, i, 104; ii, 322); and the story of the therā who married his own mother and sister (Paramatthadipani, p. 195 f.) occurs again in Ralston’s Tibetan Tales, translated from the Kah-gyur (London, 1893) as No. X. With regard to Paṭācārā, Mrs. Rhys Davids states (p. xxi) that “of the two poems attributed to her one has been lost or merged with that of Kisāgotami”. Indeed, there seems to have been a confusion between the stories of Paṭācārā and Kisāgotāmi, as the tale which is related of Paṭācārā in the Paramatthadipani occurs again in Ralston’s Tibetan Tales as No. XI with the title Kisāgotāmi. Moreover, the same story is related in the
twenty-fifth chapter of the Dsanglun with the title Uppalavānā (see T. T. Schmidt, Der Weise und der Thor, pp. 206 ff.).

The translation reads very well. Mrs. Rhys Davids has not attempted to adhere more literally to the Pali text than her predecessor, Dr. Neumann, and, besides, the peculiarities of the English language have compelled her in some instances to adopt even a more independent rendering. In the following lines I shall give my opinion on some details that have struck me in the translation and in the notes:—

Page 29, note 1, we read mittā = amīca, which is certainly right, but the derivation of the names Mittā and Mettikā from the Vedic Sun-god seems to me far-fetched and totally unnecessary. p. 61, instead of Manoratanapūrāṇi read Manorathapūrāṇi. p. 122, stanza 258, upakūlīta is correctly translated by “seared”. The same word occurs Jāt. i, 405, where Chalmers has “nigh roasted”. In Sanskrit we find kūlīta, Suśruta, 2. 435. 20, kudāyati, Rigveda, 8. 26. 10, kunḍate, Dhāt. 8. 17, all with the meaning “to burn”.

The translation in stanza 265, “They with the waste of the years droop shrunken as skins without water,” is based on Kern’s suggestion (Bijdrage tot de verklaring van eenige voorden in Pali geschriften voorkomende, p. 15 f.) to read rītī instead of rindi, and to identify this with Sanskrit dṛti, “a leather bag.” This suggestion is confirmed by the commentary. Neumann reads rītī, and translates accordingly. As far as the meaning of the whole stanza is concerned, both renderings are equally good. In stanza 267 I cannot understand why Mrs. Davids follows Neumann and not the commentary. The comparison of a woman’s thighs to the trunks of an elephant is very frequent in Indian erotic literature. See, for instance, Weber, Saptakatakam des Hāla, stanza 925.

In the translation of stanza 419 I agree in principle
with Mrs. Davids, who follows the ideas of Kern (l.l., p. 21). Perhaps it would have been better to say, "Alas! we have lost the pretty luck," instead of "We are beaten, pretty luck." At any rate, this translation is preferable to Neumann's, who treats the text with the utmost violence. Stanza 443 is a very difficult passage, and neither of the two renderings seems to me quite satisfactory. If I give the preference to that of Mrs. Davids it is on account of Mahāvagga, i, 46, where we find nearly the same words as in the commentary to this stanza.

In stanza 458 Mrs. Davids translates the words kāya-kalinā asārena by "in this poor body, froth without a soul", with special reference to Jāt. v, 134. If we look at the Cambridge Jātaka translation we find that the word kali in this passage is rendered by "sin", and thus I should prefer to say here also, "in this sinful body without a soul."

In stanza 504 kūthitā is translated by "boiling", while Neumann puts "Stank" instead. I think the best would be "distressed", just as it is rendered by Rhys Davids in a similar passage, Milindapañha, p. 250.

In stanza 509 both translators agree in reading kāhinti, instead of khāhinti proposed by Pischel and translated accordingly. I confess that both readings seem to me equally good, and that I cannot give the preference to either of them.

I conclude this review with best thanks to Mrs. Rhys Davids for the capital work she has given us in her translation of the psalms of the sisters, and hope that the psalms of the brethren will follow soon. The reader has seen that in going through this book of 200 pages I had only a few remarks to make, and that even of those remarks most were in favour of Mrs. Davids' readings of the text and of her translation.

E. MÜLLER.

BERNE, March, 1910.
AUF NEUEN WEGEN DURCH SUMATRA. Forschungsreisen in Ost- und Zentral-Sumatra (1907). Von MAX MOSZKOWSKI. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1909.

This is a well-illustrated and interesting account of travel by land and water through some little-known parts of Siak and the Rokan (or Rëkan) States. The author is a keen observer, and writes sympathetically and graphically of the things and people he has seen. In fact, the book is very suggestive, and raises a number of interesting points which it would be impossible to discuss fully in the space here available. I must confine myself to noticing a few of those that have struck me while reading it.

A considerable part of the book deals with the primitive jungle-tribes visited by the author, and as he has given an account of these in a paper published in the Journal for July, 1909, I need not recapitulate the facts he has recorded. Referring rather to his mode of presenting those facts and to the inferences which he has drawn from them, I am inclined at times to differ from his judgment. For instance, his view appears to be that the Sakai tribes have practically no material culture of their own, the little that they possess having been borrowed during the last few years from their Malay neighbours. Against this, however, there are several weighty arguments. In the first place, their Sakai relatives in the Peninsula (assuming the Sumatran tribes to be really of the same race) undoubtedly have some elements of material culture which they have not derived from the Malays, but appear to have possessed for many centuries; for they are things that the Malays either do not possess at all or only in some other form, and the Sakai names for them are quite unconnected with the Malay ones, and point back to a long distant past when the Sakais were connected with Indo-Chinese races. Secondly, the Siak Sakais now
speak only Malay. But if they are really related to the Peninsular Sakais, they must have had a language of their own formerly, and it takes some time for a language to disappear completely; the Peninsular Sakais have still in a great measure preserved theirs, though Malays have been hemming them in with ever-increasing persistency for the last five centuries or more. Moreover, the Malay spoken by the Siak Sakais is not the dialect of their Malay neighbours, but the remoter Menangkabau Malay of the West Sumatran uplands. It is evident, therefore, that they must have come under the direct influence of a Menangkabau-speaking community a long while back, before they settled in their present locations; at what period they left the uplands and came down into the lowlands of East Sumatra is unknown, but the event cannot possibly be a very recent one, or there would be some better recollection of it than the "old legend" with which the author (no doubt rightly) connects it.

So far as I can judge, it seems to be true that the Sakais of Siak have to a great extent borrowed their existing material culture from Malays, but probably this borrowing occurred in a much more distant past than he appears to suppose. It is likely enough that a good deal of racial admixture also took place, and that this accounts for the change in culture and language. But that in no way proves that the Sakais never had any culture of their own, though I admit that it must have been of a very primitive kind. One might just as reasonably argue from the same facts that they never had any language of their own, which surely would be a reductio ad absurdum.

Similarly in the matter of religion. Dr. Moszkowski spent some time amongst these people and made many inquiries, yet failed to find among them any original religious ideas. From this fact he is inclined to infer, first, that they have no such ideas now, and secondly, that
they never had any. Neither inference is absolutely safe. The religious ideas of a shy and primitive people are about the very last things which they are likely to communicate to a foreigner sojourning for a few weeks in their midst, however sympathetic he may be and however much trouble he may take to investigate such matters. On the other hand, all _a priori_ theories on these subjects (of which we meet with so many nowadays, particularly in German works) are just as likely to mislead as to help us. Dr. Moszkowski has, if I understand him aright, the view that primitive races fail to form religious conceptions because, amongst other reasons, they are deficient in a sense of causality; they do not ask themselves "who created the world?" and so forth, for the reason that the perception of a causal nexus in events has not occurred to them. This is an opinion hard to reconcile, as it seems to me, not only with the exuberance of the mythopoeic imagination amongst many savage peoples, but also with the common fact that even very young children (whose individual development in so many respects seems to reflect the past evolution of the race) are continually and quite spontaneously asking "why?" and in default of a satisfactory explanation from their elders as to the cause of what they see, very frequently make up some sort of childish explanation for themselves.

How extremely unsafe it is to rely on inferences drawn even by careful and scientifically trained observers from comparatively simple facts may be aptly illustrated by an instance out of the work now under review. One of the leading cases of what has been called "protective mimicry" is the Kallima butterfly in its various allied species. Wallace in his standard work on the Malay Archipelago draws special attention to it as an instance of the way in which variation and natural selection may give rise to forms which serve to give a special degree of protection to the individuals that embody them, by reason
of their close resemblance with their usual environment. Dr. Moszkowski, on the other hand, uses this very butterfly as an argument against any such directly protective adaptation, holding that such protection as may in fact be afforded is merely a secondary by-product not traceable to natural selection at all, and having no real connexion with the efficient causes which have given rise to these particular forms of variation. It is certainly not the business of a mere layman in these matters to express an opinion on a technical point of this kind; but it seems to me to afford an illuminating commentary on the touching faith in the "results of modern science" displayed by a number of estimable people who have not been trained to distinguish between facts and theories. Dr. Moszkowski's remarks on these subjects, whether we agree with them or not, at any rate conduce to clearer thinking.

Another trifling point may be mentioned in illustration of the same principle, and it happens to be a case in which one can come to a definite issue with our author. Finding that a small species of bee, called by the natives damar-damar, is concerned with the outflow of resin from certain trees, which it facilitates by its boring operations in their trunks, he infers that the native word for resin, damar, is derived from the name of this kind of bee. In fact, of course, it is the other way about, the little bees taking their name from the product with which they are associated. In numerous languages of the Archipelago the word damar (or its phonetic equivalents) bears such meanings as "light, torch, resin", and one of these must be its primary meaning: I am not concerned at present to inquire which one it is. The transference of the name to the bees is clearly secondary, as the form itself, being doubled, serves to show. I cannot find this last in the Malay dictionaries on my shelves, so I presume that it is a local word. The ordinary name for the tiny bee (or at least one species of it) is kēlulut.
Unfortunately it is not always possible to test our author's theories so easily. His view of the relation of the white race to the coloured races is that the latter are inferior beings whose evolution has come to a standstill, like that of the anthropoid apes, while the white man still has long vistas of progress before him. Well, every conception of superiority seems to me to involve a reference to some end; in other words, it implies some particular form (or forms) of efficiency. And my own experience, such as it is, has convinced me that if the white man is more efficient in some departments (as he undoubtedly is), the coloured man surpasses him in others. Besides, who can tell for certain that the coloured man's evolution has already come to an end? We none of us have the gift of infallibility in matters of that kind. But I can well imagine that if some cultured Egyptian or Babylonian of (say) three thousand years ago had come into contact with our Teutonic ancestors in their native forests, he might very probably have uttered much the same sort of opinion about them as Dr. Moszkowski has expressed about the coloured races, namely, that the idea of ever educating them to our level is just as utopian as the idea of turning an ape into a man by some process of training. It would have been a singularly unfortunate obiter dictum: but what guarantee have we that Dr. Moszkowski's view may not in some distant future be negatived with equal conclusiveness by the course of events?

It must not be supposed that the book is full of theories like these: if I have singled out some for criticism, it is because I find the author's views stimulating and suggestive, even when I cannot bring myself to agree with him. But there is much more in his book that I should like to mention if there were room to do so. His descriptions of his journeys through tropical forests, of the native inhabitants, their social and political organization, customs, superstitions, and religion, their
material culture, and so forth, all make very interesting and instructive reading. I can cordially recommend the book.

C. O. Blagden.


The publication of this volume so soon after the preceding one has done much towards bringing the issue of the series up to date.

The first part of the volume, pp. 1–33, with 11 plates, deals as usual with conservation, in which line some specially important work was done at Jaunpūr, Agra, Lahore, and Shāhdara, in addition to good progress having been made at other places in India and in Burma.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to exploration and research: pp. 34–205, with plates 12–74. Operations were continued at Kasiā by Dr. Vogel (pp. 44–67), and at Särnāth by Mr. Marshall and Dr. Konow (pp. 68–101). Some valuable discoveries were made at Sahribahlol by Dr. Spooner (pp. 102–18), including, notably, a fine group of Kubēra and Hāritī with attendant figures (plate 32, c), and a beautifully executed seated Buddha (plate 34, a). The latter article is followed by a second note by the late Dr. Bloch on his excavations at the funeral mounds at Lauriya (pp. 119–26). And Mr. Taw Sein Ko has given us, from the excavations at the Pet-leik-paya pagoda near Pagan in Burma, another series of the curious terra-cotta plaques illustrating the Jātaka stories (pp. 127–36).

We have next the first instalment of an article by Dr. Vogel on the Mathurā school of sculpture (pp. 137–60). What he may have to say on this topic will naturally be best understood and weighed when we have the
complete article before us. Meanwhile it appears from Mr. Marshall's résumé on p. 43 that the results so far are, that the Mathurā school was largely dependent on that of Gandhāra, though it did not owe its origin to that school; that its existence is carried back to at least the second century B.C.; that it had come under the influence of the fully developed Gandhāra art in the time of the early Kushan kings; and that, consequently, "the art of Gandhāra itself must be pushed back to a considerably earlier period; sufficiently far, that is, to account for the relatively great decadence of the Mathurā as compared with the Gandhāra work."

A contribution on Muhammadan architecture in Kashmir by Mr. W. H. Nicholls comes next (pp. 161–70). Then follows one by Mr. Cousens on the temple of Brahma at Khēd-Brahma (pp. 171–8). And then a contribution by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the Lakulīśa form of Śiva (pp. 179–92), in which he has very usefully given us a brief abstract of the Kārvān Māhātmya, and the text, with translation, of an extract from a Jain work entitled Tarkarahasyadipikā, which presents a summary of the Śaiva doctrine of the Naiyāyikas: regarding Lakulīśa, something has already been said in this Journal, 1907, 419–26.

The remainder of this part of the volume (pp. 193–205) is occupied with some notes by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni on the results of a short tour of inspection made by him in the Gōrakhpūr and Sāran Districts under instructions given by Mr. Marshall on a request made by the writer of this notice. The request was largely based on "information received" which does not seem to have been of a very reliable nature, since various reported indications of stūpas and other remains were not found to exist. The results, however, are not wholly unremunerative, though they have not at all come up to what was expected. And they do not upset the writer's belief that Kusināra, where
Buddha died, is to be looked for somewhere near Pachrukhi, a railway station about 32 miles north-west-by-north from Chhaprā.

The epigraphic portion of the volume contains a general progress report for the year written by the Epigraphist, Dr. Konow (pp. 206–16), and a comprehensive monograph on the Pallavas by the present Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya (pp. 217–43), which is a very useful addition to previous treatments of the history of that great ruling family of Southern India.

On p. 210 Dr. Konow has brought to notice, apparently from the Hazārā District, an interesting date recorded in the Laukika or Lōkakāla reckoning which is well known in connexion with Kashmir, the Kāṅgra District, and some of the neighbouring Hill States. The characteristic feature of this reckoning is the omission of the hundreds (both centuries and millenniums); so that, e.g., "the year 38" may mean also any such year as 138, 238, 338, and so on, up to 4938 (we have not yet come to the year 5038). In this new inscription, the year is stated in figures as simply Saṁvat 38, in the usual fashion, but also fully in words as Laukya- or Lōkya-saṁvat 538. The other given details are Kārttika śukla 13, Saturday. And they place the record on Saturday, October 17, A.D. 1461.

The interest attaching to this date lies in its stating the century, and in the point that according to the usual reckoning the date should fall one year later, in A.D. 1462. We find the explanation of the matter in Albērnī's account of the Lōkakāla: see his India, translation by Sachau, 2. 8. He has told us that his gauge-year Śaka-saṁvat 953 expired, = A.D. 1031–2, was the year 6 (expired) according to the Kashmir custom, but was counted by the people of Bardarī and Mārigala (Taxila) as the year 110 of an era of their own, and by the
people of Nirahara, "behind Mārigala", and of Lanbaga (Lamghān) as the year 108. From that we see that the reckoning had been introduced into countries outside Kashmir at some time between A.D. 925 and 1025; and the people of the territories named by Albërūnī, not recognizing its purely centennial nature, had continued the numbers of that century into a new century instead of beginning again with a fresh year 1. The people of Nirahara and Lanbaga had dislocated the reckoning to the extent of four months, by using it with a year which began with the Mārgaśīrṣha śukla 1 preceding the Chaitra śukla 1 with which the year of the same number began in Kashmir. Subsequently, their reckoning must have been further dislocated, by eight months more, by an adoption of the Chaitra śukla 1 preceding Mārgaśīrṣha śukla 1 as the initial day of the year. And so it came about that Kārttika of the year 538, in which numbering we recognize a continuation of the era set up by the people of Nirahara and Lanbaga, fell in A.D. 1461 instead of 1462.

J. F. Fleet.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(January, February, March, 1910.)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGELÄNDISCHEN GESSELLSCHAFT.
   Bd. LXIII, Heft iv.
   Bloch (T.). Duldul als Centaur.
   Simon (R.). Bemerkungen zum Ārṣeyakalpa und Puspa-sūtra.
   Horten (M.). Die Lehre vom Kumūm bei Nazzām.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. XXXII, Nos. iii, iv.
   Hertel (J.). Der Suparnādhyāya, ein vedisches Mysterium.
   Haupt (P.). Die Posaunen von Jericho.

III. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XIV, No. ii.
   Cordier (H.). Catalogue des albums chinois et des ouvrages relatifs à la Chine, conservés au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque nationale.
   Conti Rossini (Ch.). Les listes des rois d'Aksoum.
   Le Coq (A. von). Exploration archéologique à Tourfan.
   Thureau-Dangin (Fr.). Rim-Sin et la fin de la dynastie de Larsa.
Aston (W. G.). Are the norito magical formulæ?
Cordier (H.). La politique coloniale de la France au début du second empire.

Vol. XXX, Pt. i.
— Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu.
Gottheil (R. J. H.). A Door from the Madrasah of Barkūk.
Grieve-Lucia (C. G.). The Dasara Festival at Satara.
Michelson (Truman). The Inter-relation of the Dialects of the Fourteen Edicts of Asoka.

VI. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.
Vol. XXXVI, Pt. iii.
De Wisser (M. W.). The Fox and Badger in Japanese Folklore.

VII. Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society,
Troup (J.). Some Illustrations of Buddhism from Japanese Pictures.
Honda (M.). The “Red-haired” Occidentals; described by a Japanese scholar of 1787.
Dobrée (A.). Chinese Characters: their structure and methods of indexing them.
Calthrop (Capt. C. F.). The Tōkyō Pilgrims.

Blochet (E.). Études sur le Gnosticisme musulman.
Faitlovitch (J.). Nouveaux proverbes abyssins.
Nocentini (L.). Specchio prezioso del cuor pure massime, tradotto dal cinese.

King (L. W.). Inscription on the Eastern Lion at Tell-Ahmar.


Plunket (E.). The Accadian Calendar.
Thompson (R. Campbell). The Third Tablet of the Series Ludlul bêl mimeki.
Sayce (A. H.). The Figure of an Amazon at the East Gate of the Hittite Capital at Boghaz Keui.
Winstedt (C. O.). Epiphanius, or the Encyclopædia Coptica.
Aylward (M. Blackman). The Nubian God Arsenuphis as Osiris.
Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.

Vol. XXXII, Pt. ii.

Pinches (T. G.). Discoveries by the German Expedition on the site of Aššur.
Ball (Rev. C. J.). The Ass in Semitic Mythology.
OBITUARY NOTICES

WILHELM AHLWARDT

With the death of Professor Wilhelm Ahlwardt on November 2, 1909, at the age of 81 years, Arabic studies have lost another of the chief representatives linking us to an earlier generation.

Born in Greifswald on July 4, 1828, the son of Christian Wilhelm Ahlwardt, who was Professor at the University, he lost his father when only 5 years of age. After a course at the gymnasium there, he studied during 1846–8 at the University of his native town, among others under Kosegarten; from 1848 to the autumn of 1849 he studied at Göttingen under Ewald, and again from 1849 to the autumn of 1850 at Greifswald, where on February 6, 1851, he received the degree of Ph.D.

After this he spent several years studying and copying, in a beautiful hand, MSS. in the libraries at Gotha and Paris. The copies made by him during this period, filling close upon a hundred volumes, will, it is to be hoped, find their way intact into the University Library of his native town.

At Easter, 1856, Ahlwardt received the post of assistant librarian in the University Library of Greifswald; and in this year appeared his first, as far as I know, printed work, ÜBer Poësie und Poetik der Araber, dedicated to the University upon its jubilee.

On May 5, 1857, he took up the position of Privatdozent at Greifswald, and on February 11, 1861, he was

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1 His full name was Friedrich Wilhelm, and it is so entered in his own hand in the Album of Professors at Greifswald; but in his published works he used only the second name, and appears with it alone in the catalogue of professors and scholars published in Germany.
appointed Professor of Oriental Languages, which post he held till the time of his death. From February, 1861, to 1865 he was also second librarian at the University Library. During the summer of 1867 and winter of 1867–8 Ahlwardt was on furlough for scientific researches in Paris and Oxford.

On February 22, 1892, he was appointed Privy Councillor (Geheimer Regierungsrat). On his 80th birthday he was decorated with the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, 2nd Class with oak-leaves, and upon his jubilee as Ph.D. with the same Order, 3rd Class, with the number 50; he had also received the Prussian Order of the Royal Crown, 2nd Class, and the Order of Henry the Lion of the Duchy of Brunswick.

Ahlwardt married in Berlin on July 4, 1861. After losing his wife he had the sorrow of losing his only son, who had entered on a juristic career, at the age of 30 years. The ill-success of his German translation of the Diwān of Rūba, moreover, had made him resolve not to publish any further works; he showed me the manuscript translation of the Aṣmaʾiyyāt, and he had also done a great deal towards the translation of al-ʿAğgāj; both works will probably be found among his papers.

I have indicated above that his first book was published in 1856 under the title Über Poesie und Poetik der Araber; it showed that the branch of Arabic studies which chiefly interested him was that of poetry. This work was followed in 1859 by Chalef el-Ahmars Qasside, which put the literary activity of Joseph von Hammer under a glaring searchlight. In 1860 he edited El-Fachri, Geschichte der islamischen Reiche. In 1861 he published Abū Nowas, Weinlieder, promising a complete edition of the whole Diwān and also a work on the social conditions under the Chalifate; unfortunately these promises were not fulfilled.

In 1870 appeared The Diwāns of the Six Ancient Arabic
Poets, containing the poems of an-Nābiqa, ‘Antara, Tarafa, Zuhair, and ‘Alqama in the recension of al-‘A’lam, and the poems of Imru’ul-Qais after the recension of as-Sukkari. This is the most frequently cited work of Ahlwardt’s. It is a pity that he pursued in it a plan to which he adhered to the end; i.e. rearranging the poems according to the rhymes and omitting the commentaries. The former practice separates poems which belong to the same classes; for though no plan may be apparent in the way the Diwāns of the ancient Arabic poets are arranged, it is certain that there is a reason underlying the arrangement, which it is to be hoped will lead us some day to trace the sources from which the ancient texts were derived. The commentaries, however meagre and poor, are often a very valuable help for understanding the difficult texts of early Arabic poetry. Ahlwardt remedied these defects to some extent by the publication in 1872 of his Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte, in which he critically considers the texts published as to their genuineness and completeness.

After this Ahlwardt was for many years prevented from following his favourite studies, having been entrusted with the cataloguing of the Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library, Berlin. The work of these years is embodied in ten stupendous volumes, published between 1887 and 1899. Here he brought together rather more than is desirable, and the work is awkward to use on account of its enormous size. Moreover, in giving the dates of the authors, Ahlwardt not infrequently differs from other authorities, and as he does not quote his own sources, the correctness of his statements cannot be ascertained. As the compiling of this huge catalogue took a long time, he published intermediately several hand-lists:— (1871) Verzeichniss Arabischer Handschriften (on poetry, belles-lettres, literary history, and biographies); (1885)
Verzeichniss Landbergscher Handschriften; (1887) Verzeichniss Glaserscher Handschriften. During this period he published also in autography (1883) the ninth volume of the Chronicle of al-Balāḍuri after an old MS. preserved in the Berlin Library.

Late in life he was again able to turn to his favourite study of poetry, and in 1902–3 appeared his Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter, containing (vol. i) the Asma‘īyyat after the Vienna MS. and five poems abounding in difficult words, and later (vols. ii and iii) the Diwāns of the very difficult Ra‘gāz poems of al-‘Agāgā and Rūba, again without the commentaries, which are absolutely necessary for the understanding of these authors. He intended to make these poems more accessible by the publication of German translations; that of Rūba appeared in 1904, but the interest in it which Ahlwardt had expected was not shown.

Moreover, in the latter part of his life his eyesight began to fail, and he frequently expressed his fear of becoming blind; that, however, his enthusiasm survived till the last is demonstrated by the fact that he had actually announced a course of lectures for the winter term 1909–10. A gathering on the tongue, from which he suffered about a week, took him gently away.

Working from an early age with enthusiasm and conscientiousness, he always aimed at a very high standard of correctness, a model for succeeding generations. Though I am probably the latest friend Ahlwardt made, I am proud to write these few lines in his honour. After making inquiries in several quarters in vain, I received, through the kindness of Professor Hausleiter of Greifswald, some particulars supplementing my own knowledge, for which I thank him here publicly.

Fritz Krenkow.
THE study of Eastern philosophy and languages is not always calculated and deliberate; sometimes it is spontaneous and irresistible. This was the case with William Henry Robinson, who died recently at Edmonton at the age of 81. He began and ended life a poor man, but in him there burned the flame of devotion to Oriental lore, even though at the last that flame had to be kept alive by means of an Old Age Pension. It was not in University or College that Mr. Robinson was inspired to study; it was when he had reached middle life that the fascination of India's literature fell upon him. Henceforward the British Museum was his workshop, and his enthusiasm the driving force by which he taught himself Sanskrit and delved into the treasures of the East.

His education, begun in the early thirties of last century at a dame's school in Westminster, had been continued and extended by his own exertions. For some years he followed teaching as a profession; then the claims of a growing family compelled him to seek more lucrative employment in various offices of trust, as well as in journalistic and philanthropic work. But once he had fallen under the spell of the East he could not devote himself seriously to other interests. He seems to have grown poorer financially as he grew richer in Oriental learning; and life was one long struggle to make ends meet. The death of his wife in 1889 after more than forty years of companionship was a great sorrow to him. Some years later a serious street accident impaired his physical powers; and for the last five or six years of his life he lay on his back in bed. Surrounded by his books, he would work day after day with interest born of undying enthusiasm at his Golden Legend of India. It was his solace through days and nights of weariness and pain, and though he did not live to see its publication,
the proofs submitted to him were a foretaste of an unrealized joy.

A musician, a practical social reformer, an authority on architecture, a keen debater in the Shakespeare-Bacon theory, an enthusiast for poetry, a devoted student of religions, a man with a keen intellect and innate humility, full of generous impulse and love for his fellows—such was William Henry Robinson, called, it seems, to hold aloft the torch of Oriental learning in lowly places, finding in the old Indian philosophies a foreshadowing of Christian truth.

*The Golden Legend of India* is a versified paraphrase of the story of Śunahśēpa, as told in the *Aītareya Brāhmaṇa*, giving the full ritual setting of the story and a literal translation of the hundred Rk verses which were employed in conjunction with it. Mr. Robinson seems to have been justified in his claim that his work supplies the first complete reproduction of the whole drama in a European version; and his astronomical interpretation has the merit of originality and may prove to be a genial intuition. The work has been shown to a few scholars, and it is hoped that there may be little difficulty in raising the modest subscription needed to guarantee its publication.

A. A. S.

Presented by the Government of India.


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Bhagavad-Gītā (Śrī) with Śrī Rāmānuja-chārya’s Viśiṣṭādvaita Commentary. Translated into English by A. Govindāchārya. 8vo. Madras, 1898.

Purchased.


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Presented by the Author.


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From the Publishers.


Presented by the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial.


Presented by the Editor.


I have been asked by Álkondavilli Gōvindācārya Swāmī to offer the following pages to the Royal Asiatic Society. The *Artha-pañcaka*, written in Tamil in the thirteenth century A.D. by the celebrated Pīlai Lōkācārya, is quite the most important summary of the modern Bhāgavata doctrine of Southern India that we possess. A Sanskrit translation of this work by Nārāyaṇa Yati was noticed, and its contents partly described, by Dr. Bhandarkar at the Vienna Oriental Congress of 1886 (Aryan Section, Proceedings, p. 101), and the information is repeated by him in his Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883–4, published in 1887 (pp. 68, 69). It is upon this work, and upon another (the *Vatindra-mata-dīpikā* of Śrī-nivāsa) described at the same time, that Dr. Bhandarkar founded his well-known account of the origin of the Bhāgavata religion, which has formed the basis of all

1 Gōvindācārya Swāmī informs me that a translation of this important work is under preparation.

JRSA, 1910.
researches into the subject conducted since then in Europe.

To those who have studied Gōvindācārya Swāmi’s translation of the Bhagavad-Gītā with Rāmānuja’s commentary, the author of the present paper needs no introduction. He has written several other valuable works dealing with the Bhāgavata beliefs of Southern India, which are perhaps not so well known in Europe. I may draw attention to his “Divine Wisdom of the Drāvida Saints”, his “Lives of the Āzhvārs” (the Bhāgavata predecessors of Rāmānuja), his “Life of Rāmānuja”, and his “Vade-mecum of Vēdānta”. These are frequently quoted in the following pages. He has given me authority to edit his paper, and I have utilized the discretion thus afforded me to make one or two verbal alterations, and to omit a few passages that infringe the rule prohibiting the discussion of controversial religious topics in the pages of this Journal. I have also left out a few quotations from European writers on the Bhāgavata doctrines, whose views are familiar in this country and, however valuable, do not possess the authority of an Indian professor of the religion. In other respects I have left the article just as I received it.

It is well known that modern Bhāgavatas are divided into two kalās, or schools of thought, commonly known as that of the North (Vāḍa-galai) and that of the South (Teṅ-galai) respectively. The main difference between these affects the doctrine of Grace, the former teaching that God’s Grace is “co-operative”, and the latter that it is “irresistible”. They also differ in the view held regarding the Goddess Śrī. The Vāḍa-galais look upon her as a form or phase of the Supreme, assumed mainly for the purpose of spreading the truth, and, equally with Him, infinite and uncreate. The Teṅ-galais, on the

1 The so-called “Monkey.” (Mārgaṇa-nyāya) and “Cat.” (Mārjāra-nyāya) schools. See JRAS., 1908, p. 338, and A. G.’s Vade-mecum, p. 45.
other hand, give her an independent personality. She is looked upon as the mediator between God and man, and, while from one point of view she is created by the Supreme, from another point of view she is one with Him.

The Bhāgavata doctrines brought to Northern India by Rāmānanda, as expressed in the Bhaktā-māla and other works of the class, belong to the Vāda-galai school, and therefore differ in some points from those enunciated in the following pages. The Vāda-galais of Southern India, from whom these doctrines came, wrote mainly in Sanskrit, and their chief light was Vēdānta Dēśika (A.D. 1268), who belonged to the generation succeeding Pillai Lōkācārya (A.D. 1213). The latter was the first great teacher of the Teṅ-galai school, the textbooks of which are mainly written in Tamil.

The doctrine of irresistible grace taught by Lōkācārya demands a corresponding attitude on the part of the believer. This is known as prapatti, or self-surrender. It is a stage beyond bhakti, which (like an infant monkey clinging to its mother) connotes active love and devotion, while prapatti (like the self-surrender of a kitten carried by its mother) is entirely passive. Prapatti, carried to its logical conclusions, entails the further doctrine that devotion and reverence are due to the mediator (acārya), who puts the postulant on the right way, and presents him to God as a soul to be saved. It will therefore be noticed that the Artha-paṅcaka lays great stress on prapatti and acāryābhīmāna, while the textbooks of the Vāda-galais, including all those of Northern India, stop at bhakti, and insist on the active participation of the soul in working out its salvation, with the loving co-operation of a merciful and gracious God.

1 This is the Teṅ-galai use of the word. Radically it means “approaching”. Cf. prapadyatē in Bhq. G., vii, 19, and prapanna, ii, 7. Northern commentators translate this word by “bhajati”, and hence virtually equate prapatti with bhakti. Rāmānuja’s commentary is to much the same effect. Cf. also Śaṅdilya, i, 9.
To me personally this translation is of particular value, as it corrects a mistake made by me on former occasions when writing about bhakti,—a mistake, I must confess, in which I have not been alone. Trusting to the best sense I could make out of one very incorrect MS. of the Sanskrit version of the Artha-pancaka, I have more than once described those souls who are classed as "kēvala" as souls that are "only" devoted to the Adorable. I have now obtained an excellent MS. of this work, and it, as well as Gōvindācārya Swāmi's paper, shows that the real explanation of the term as given by Pillai Lōkācārya is that kēvala here means "isolate", and connotes those souls who seek self-salvation, i.e. those who are content with realizing their own nature, by means of knowledge (jñāna), instead of proceeding to the more advanced stage of bhakti.¹

As a further contribution to Gōvindācārya Swāmi's translation, I give, after his article, the text of Nārāyaṇa Yati's Sanskrit version of the Artha-pancaka. This will serve two purposes: it will be useful for its own sake, and it will also help to show where the English translation of the Tamil original is literal, and where it has been expanded.²

G. A. G.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORKS

Śrī Pillai Lōkācārya, or Bāla-Lōkācārya, is called "Pillai" or "younger" because Nambilḷai or Kalivairi-Dāsa, hierarchically anterior to him by two stages in the apostolic succession, also bore that distinguished title, "Lōkācārya," which means the same as "Jagad-Guru".

Bāla-Lōkācārya, or Pillai Lōkācārya, or Ulagārian, was born in 1213 A.D. (see Table in our Lives of the Āzhvārs

¹ The necessary correction should be made in n. 1 on p. 109 ante.
² Gōvindācārya Swāmi informs me that Nārāyaṇa Yati's work is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation of the Tamil, and that in one or two passages he has either departed from or misunderstood the original.
or Drāvida Saints), as the son of Vadakkut-Tiru-Vidhi-ppillai, or Krṣṇa-Samāhvā. He lived in times made troublous by Musalmān raids, which overran even Śrīraṅgam, not excepting the holy shrine of Śrī-Raṅganātha there enthroned. It is believed that the invaders sacked the place, and ruthlessly slaughtered the inhabitants, only a few escaping from the general massacre. But this vandalism and sacrilege elicited heroism and martyrdom. Lōkācārya was compelled to leave Śrīraṅgam to follow his Lord, Śrī-Raṅganātha, and to protect him from Muhammadan outrage. When he came to Jyōtish-Kudi he fell ill, and leaving his Holy Charge to the keeping of his followers, passed away from this world.

Lōkācārya is a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Divines, and his writings on philosophy and religion are considered to be precious gems of the first water. The sacred literature that flowed from his pen is the outcome of a long anterior religious and philosophic history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, stretching down ageless from Nārāyaṇa through Śrī, and thence through the archaic Āzhvārs and the mediaeval Ācāryas.

The style adopted for this literature is what is known as Mani-pravāta, or literature produced in the Drāvida tongue (Tamil) happily blended with Sanskrit, so as to place philosophy and religion within the reach of the masses. Lōkācārya composed eighteen Rahasyas or Secret Treatises, called “Secret” because their contents are to be hidden only from those who do not deserve to be initiated into the Science of the Spirit. So goes the verse—

“Yō gōpayaty ayōgyāṅāṁ yōgyāṅāṁ samprayacchatī.”

It is also said in the Muktō'-panīsad—

“Vidyā ha vai brāhmaṇam ājagāma gōpāya māṁ śevadhiṣṭhē ’ham asmi.”

So also did Krṣṇa warn Arjuna in Gitā, xviii, 67.
The eighteen *Rahasyas* are—

1. Mumukṣu-paḍī.  
2. Tattva-traya.  
3. Artha-panca.  
4. Śrī-vacana-bhūṣanam.  
5. Arcir-ādi.  
6. Prameya-Śekhara.  
7. Prapanna-paritrāṇa.  
8. Sāra-saṃgraha.  
12. Yādrechika-paḍī.  
13. Paranda-paḍī.  
14. Śriyāh-pati-paḍī.  
15. Tattva-śekhara.  
17. Tani-caramam.  
18. Tani-praṇavam.

Of these, (1) is partly translated by me in the *Viśiṣṭādvaitin*, (2) and (4) by Śrī S. Pārthasarathi Yōgi, and (3), the *Artha-panca*, is the one which is freely translated and presented herewith, expanded and illustrated wherever necessary—the technique of the Śrī-Śaiva creed being explained where requisite by notes and appendixes. No. 4, the *Śrī-vacana-bhūṣana*, is a difficult and abstruse work, composed in the *Sātra* style. Śrī S. Pārthasarathi Yōgi made a scholarly rendering of it, to represent Śrī-Śaivism in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in August, 1893. Our tradition chronicles that it is inspired, Lōkācārya being himself considered as an *aṃśa* of the Lord Varada of Kāñciipuram. This abstruse work can never be understood in all its intricacies unless read with the very lucid commentary by Varavaramuni Yōgi (= Maṇavāla-Mahāmuni, 1370 A.D.).

To translate it would be a formidable task, which yet might be undertaken if sufficient encouragement were forthcoming.

Finally, this is what we wrote on p. 103 of our *Vade-mecum of Vēdānta*: “This *Vade-mecum* of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy is but the antechamber to the Holy Halls of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Religion.” By sending this *Artha-panca*, or the “Five Truths”, out into the world, we

1 See Table in our *Lives of Āzhvārs*. 
A. Sva-svarūpa, Nature of Own-Self (= Soul).

I. Para-svarūpa, Nature of Higher-Self (= God).


E. Upāya-svarūpa, Nature of the Means.

A. Nitya, (Nature of) the Free.

A. Mukta, (Nature of) the Freed.

A. Buddha, (Nature of) the Bound.

A. Kevala, (Nature of) the Aloof or Isolate.

A. Mumukṣu, (Nature of) the Would-be Free.

I. Para, (Nature of) the Supreme or Beyond.

I. Vyūha, (Nature of) the Grouped.

I. Vibhava, (Nature of) the Multiplied.

I. Antaryāmi, (Nature of) the Indwelling (lit. Inruling).

I. Arcā, (Nature of) the Imagined.

U. Dharma, (Nature of) Duty, or Good Works.


U. Ātmānubhava, (Nature of) Soul-Bliss.


E. Jñāna, (Nature of) Knowledge.

E. Bhakti, (Nature of) (Love-) Faith.

E. Prayatti, (Nature of) (Surrender-) Faith.

E. Acārayābhimāna, (Nature of) a Mediator.

O. Svarūpa-Virōdhi, (Nature of) Anti-A.

O. Parāsārtha-Virōdhi, (Nature of) Anti-I.

O. Puruṣārtha-Virōdhi, (Nature of) Anti-U.

O. Upāya-Virōdhi, (Nature of) Anti-E.

O. Prāpti-Virodhi, (Nature of) Anti-Fruit.
just open the door of that antechamber, and, standing on the threshold, await to welcome those who arrive and ask for entrance into the inner sanctuaries.

INTRODUCTION

The soul,—which is whirled in the vortex of evolution; in other words, entangled in the wheel of births and deaths, or subjected to the vicissitudes of bodily existence, or trammelled in the meshes of matter,—if it would escape from this vortex, i.e. gain deliverance from these vicissitudes, should obtain a knowledge of the Five Truths, or Principles, and, shaping his conduct ensuant on such knowledge, secure salvation.

The Five Truths or Principles are those of—

A. Sva-svarūpa,—Own-Self, or Soul.
I. Para-svarūpa,—Higher-Self, or God.
U. Puruṣārtha-svarūpa,—Goal, or End.
E. Upāya-svarūpa,—Means.
O. Virōḍhi-svarūpa,—the “Anti” or opposite to these, which may be called “agnosis”, “nescience”, “sin”, and so forth, according to the context.

I

Hail, all Hail to Thee, All-bodied God!

A. Sva-svarūpa, Own-Self, or Soul-Principle.

Svarūpa means “Nature”, “Principle”, “Property”, or “Essence”. The knowledge of a thing consists in knowing its Nature, or knowing that Principle, by means of its properties. It is this truth, or knowledge, which is epitomized in this treatise.

The Own-Self is the Soul, so called as being owned as the Self or what is connoted by the expression “I”,
the sum, and the meum contingent thereon. This Truth, or Principle, of Own-Self, or the Soul, is subsumable under five categories—

**A 1. The Nitya,—the Free (Ever-Free).**
**A 2. The Mukta,—the Freed.**
**A 3. The Baddha,—the Bound.**
**A 4. The Kévala,—the Isolate, or the Aloof.**
**A 5. The Mumukṣu,—the Would-be Free.**

**A 1. The Nityas, or the Ever-Free, are those angelic spiritual beings, or blessed souls, who have never known conditioned existence; in other words, who are never involved in the wheel of worldly careers (saṁsāra);—beings who are ever in a state of bliss;—beings whose wills are ever in conformity with the will of Bhagavān¹ (the Blessed, or God);—beings who are endowed with the privilege, or possess the estate, by virtue of which they are able to perform the function of supreme advisers in all His schemes of the Kosmos;—beings with the powers, by delegation, to make and unmake worldly systems;—beings who remain at the side of God, His constant comrades and surrogates in all His doings, accompanying Him in His various incarnations, or avatāras;—beings who are entitled to perform the high offices of anointing and installing God Himself upon His throne;—[beings who, in the phraseology of other theologies, are known as “Thrones”, “Powers”, “Estates”, “Principalities”, “Hierarchies”, “Archangels”, and so forth]:—the constant servants of God, as free from systems of saṁsāra,² but as interested in it as God Himself, and bearing such significant epithets as Viśvak-sēna (the High Lord of Hosts), Ananta, Garuḍa, etc.³**

¹ See Appendix I.
² I.e. varieties of material existence.
³ See Bhagavad-Gītā, x, 29, “Anantaś ca-Śmi nāgānām,” and 30, “Vainatēyaś ca paksiṇām.”
A 2. The Muktas, or the Freed, are those who, by the grace of Bhagavān (God), have been liberated from all the pains and taints contingent on their conjunctive existence with matter (prakṛti); who taste in the fullest measure the blissfulness of Bhagavān in all His several aspects of Essence (sva-rūpa), Person (rūpa), Excellence (guna), and Glory, or the Pageant\(^1\) (vibhava); who, by reason of such divine joy overflowing the bounds of their being, burst into peans of praise, and so dwell for ever and ever, drowned in rapturous delights, in the eternal regions of heaven, called Vaikuṇṭha,\(^2\) never more to return into the migrations of material existence.

A 3. The Baddhhas, or the Bound, are those souls who are turned away from Bhagavān (God): (1) by reason of their illusorily identifying their Selves (Souls) with the bodies which they wear; constituted as these bodies are of the five material elements—impermanent cause of joy and grief—corrupt, so that in the absence of the indwelling spirit (soul), they are unfit for sight or touch—and which breed the mental aberrations, such as ignorance (ajñāna), misapprehension (anyathā-jñāna), and reversed apprehension (vipaṇīta-jñāna); and (2) by reason of their notion that pandering to the pleasures of the body (catered to by the fivefold thrills of objects, sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell) is the be-all and end-all of their existence. To secure such pleasures of sense, they infringe all the salutary dictates comprised in the system known as varṇa and āśrama,\(^3\) become slaves to worldlings, inflict cruelty on creatures, seize others' wives and wealth, and thus swell the ranks of the mundane.

\(^1\) Or Kosmic tapestry, of God, as it were.
\(^2\) Literally, "the unfettered," i.e. "spiritual universe". "'Kuṭhīgati-pratīghāte' iti dhātuh. Jñāna-pratīghāti-karmadī-rahitās sūrayō vikunṭḥāḥ; tatsambandhit-dēśo Vaikuṇṭhākhyāḥ" (Śrutaprakāśikācārya on Śrāṇaṅgati-gadya of Rāmānuja).
\(^3\) See Appendix II.
A4. The Kēvalas, or the Isolate or Aloof, are those souls who feel like creatures stranded in solitude and who, stung by hunger and grown listless, devour their own flesh for food. They aspire to escape from the fires of saṁsāra (consortship with matter) that consume them, and seek retirement into their own Solitary Selves. These take sedulously to studies of the science of the soul, because they have come to discern that the soul is an entity distinct from the body, and that the latter (the body) is the Seat of Sorrow and the Compound of Corruption, while the former (the soul) is the 25th category, distinct from and above the sum of the 24 material categories¹ that comprise the body,—self-luminous, blissful, eternal, and the Spiritual Substance. By reason of the intensity of suffering endured by these souls in the saṁsārika state, as soon as they find a haven of refuge in the trivial enjoyment of their own soul-isolation, they rest so satisfied, and become on that account oblivious to the infinitely more joyful nature of Bhagavān (God), failing to know Him as such a Higher Entity. These are the men who embark particularly upon the path of jñāna-yoga,² which is chiefly the means to secure this coveted "zoistic" state—a disembodied or bodiless existence, hanging, as it were, in mid-heaven in æonic suspension,—a state past redemption.

A5. The Mumukṣus, or the Would-be Free, are those souls in whom a longing desire for salvation (i.e. reaching Bhagavān) has arisen. These are of two classes, viz. the Upāsakas, or the Strivers, and the Prapannas, or the Resigned. The former seek salvation by self-effort, and the latter leave the same to Bhagavān's (God's) care. The former thinks of salvation as his concern, whereas the latter thinks of it as His concern.

¹ See Cosmological Table in our Bhagavad-Gītā, pp. 257-8.
² See E2 (infra).
II

I. Para-svarūpa, or God-Principle.

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

I 1. The Para,—the Supreme, or the Beyond.
I 2. The Vyūha,—the Grouped.
I 3. The Vibhava,—the Multiplied.
I 4. The Antaryāmī,—the Indwelling.
I 5. The Arcā,—the Imagcd.

I 1. The Para-Form of Bhagavān is the eternal transcendent Essence—the spiritual Substance—which is the Noumenal, the Beyond, the Supreme, or the Ne Plus Supra, round which rotates, as it were, every kind of Kosmic phenomenon or manifestation.

I 2. The Vyūha-Form is His becoming grouped, after derivation from Para, into such groups as possess the fitness to perform severally the functions, in the material or manifested Kosmos, of the making, the keeping, and the breaking of the fabric of worlds, countless. These derived Godships take the names Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Saṅkarṣaṇa, and so forth.¹

I 3. The Vibhava-Form consists of the Avatāras, or Incarnations, such as Śri-Rāma, Śri-Kṛṣṇa,² etc.

I 4. The Antaryāmī-Form falls into two classes. The one is the All-pervadingness of Spirit (or God), the Inner Soul of all Souls, forming the very basis of their be-ness (svarūpa-vyāpti); and the other is the Beatific Presence, the union of the Mother-and-Father principles of Godhood (guna-vyāpti), enshrined in the heart, and ever watching

¹ See Appendix I. "Bhagavān" = "The Blessed", or "The God of all Perfections". The Perfections, infinite in number, are derivations from six Primary Types. The functioning pre-eminently of Two each of these Six is assigned to the Derivatives Pradyumna, etc. See pp. 80 ff. of our Vade-mecum of Vēdānta.

² See pp. 83 ff. of Vade-mecum of Vēdānta.
and directing the systole and diastole of all the processes of the soul’s being.¹

1.5. The Ardā-Form consists in the images of Bhagavān (God) which accommodate themselves to the various tastes of His creatures for their worship, having no fixed form, but that which the worshipper may choose and desire to have of Him; having no fixed name but that which the worshipper may choose and desire to call Him by; all-knowing, but seeming as if not-knowing; all-powerful, but seeming as if powerless; all-sufficient, but seeming as if needy;—thus seeming to exchange places, the Worshipped with the worshipper, and choosing to be ocularly manifest to him in temples and homes, in short at all places and at all times desired.²

III

U. Puruṣārtha-svarūpa, or Goal-Principle.

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

U 1. Dharma,—Duty.
U 4. Ātmānubhava,—Soul-Bliss

U 1. Dharma,³ or Duty, is good works done for the sake of all sentient creatures—such good works as sustain

¹ In other words, the activities of the soul towards, and away from, objectivity (pravṛtti and niyṛtti).
² See note under jñāna (E2), and pp. 86 ff. of Vade-mecum of Vedānta.
³ Cf. Professor Max Müller (Physical Religion, p. 201): “The old commandment ‘Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth,’ has been broken by all religions, if not by making likenesses, at least by conceiving the Deity in the likeness of man.”
⁴ Read Itiḥāsa-samuccaya, iii, 29—
   “Lokāḥ samastā dharmēṇa dhāryantē sa-carā-’carāḥ |
   Dharmō ’pi dhāryatē brahman stambha-bhūtair bhavādṛśaḥ ||”
the moral unity of the universe, or that cohesive force inherent in righteous works which binds together all existence into a harmonious whole or Unity. *Dharma* is unifying, *adharma* is separative; the one cohesive, the other divisive.

**U 2. Artha**, or Wealth, is money, grain, and such other possessions acquired in strict conformity with the rules of *varṇa* and *āśrama*, and using the same in the spirit of charity in the service of Dēvas, Pītrs, and all creatures generally, with due regard to place, time, and fitness.

**U 3. Kāma**, or Joys, are of two kinds: terrestrial or mundane; and celestial or ultra-mundane. The joys of this world are those derived by means of the senses of sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell, from such objects as father, mother, gems, lucre, grain, raiment, food, drink, son, friend, wife, cattle, house, land, perfumes, flowers, and all such luxuries. The joys of the other material worlds are of a nature much exalted above those of this world, and consist in dwelling in such bright regions as *svarga*,¹ in being there bereft of such distempers as hunger, thirst, grief, passion, age, and death, and there enjoying draughts of nectar, and the love of celestial nymphs (*apsaras*) [but all one day to cease].²

**U 4. Ātmānubhava**, or Soul-bliss, is also *mokṣa* (release), inasmuch as it is the release from, or cessation of, sorrow, or in other words, deliverance from the bonds of the revolving wheel of births and deaths and the recovery of the natural state of the soul in its freedom, or the soul-life confined to itself without objective contacts, in the condition called *kaivalya*, or isolation, a purely *psychic* state; but not divine.

**U 5. Bhagavad-anubhava**, or God-bliss, is true *mokṣa*, or release, inasmuch as it is not only attended by the cessation of all the recurring cycles of physical life, but is release followed by God-bliss, the acme of the soul's

¹ See Appendix III.
² Read Bhagavad-*Gītā*, ix, 20, 21.
aspiration and destiny. A total effacement or remission of all the effects of deeds done, good or bad (which force the soul into material bondage), takes place, and the gross body,—which is the medium for experiencing the effects of such deeds (enjoyment or suffering)—which is the seat of the sixfold states or modifications, eventuating therein, viz., conception, delivery, change, growth, decline, and death—which is the abode of the threefold miseries, viz., Ādhyātmika, Ādhibhautika, and Ādhidivaivika—which screens God from the soul and breeds delusion—which, in short, is the root of samśāra,—is sloughed off. The soul then enters into the susumṇā-nāḍī, rises into the head, and, rupturing the crown of the skull, soars aloft in the subtle body, journeying along the arciū-ādi path, and, piercing through the orb of the Sun, reaches the bounds of physical nature defined by the Viśvajī River. Here,

1 It must be noted that this gross body is only the medium or vehicle by means of which pleasures and pains are conveyed to the mind (subtle body), and thence transmitted to the soul, which is the sufferer. Mind, according to Vēdānta, is the subtle material. What mind stands for in the English language is consciousness, which is the inseparable attributive adjunct of the soul. The Vēdāntik mind is said to garner and retain all germs of deeds permitted by the soul to be played on all the material planes, to be available for a new harvest in incarnations to come. Read Itiḥāsa-samuccaya, ii, 9—

"Mānaḥ karma-mayaṁ prāhuḥ sarva-prāna-bhratāṁ budhāḥ
Tat tathā cēṣṭā tēsāṁ bhāvi-karma-phalaṁ yathā."

2 The sañ-bhāra-vikāras.

3 The Tōpā-traya. For example, the eye is Ādhyātmika, any sight or shape outside it affecting the eye is Ādhibhūta, and the sun is Ādhidiva. Pain may be engendered by any of these three causes—the senses, the object, and the presiding deity. In brief, Ādhyātmika is the organ of sense, Ādhibhūta is the object of function, and Ādhidiva is the Power or Higher Intelligence which makes these two, and the contacts between them, possible.

4 Viśvajī is literally the purifying element, by immersion in which all the -ānjās (traces of taint), vi-, disappear. If incredulity forbids the acceptance of a river forming the boundary between the terrestrial and the celestial, it is admissible as a symbol. We are bound by the very necessities of language to speak of the spiritual in terms of the material. See note, p. xi, of our Lives of the Āshvārs. For the arciū-ādi path, see our Bhagavad-Gītā, viii, 24-8, and foot-note references thereunder.
by a plunge into its sacred waters, the soul is rid of all the subtle remnants of physical defilement, as well as of the subtle body still adhering to it; and is anon received, on emerging from that holy immersion, by a glorious Personage called Amānava, whose very touch soothes and disperses for ever all the pangs endured in its aeonic peregrinations in collusion with physical Nature. The released soul is then robed in a body of light and glory—pañcōpanīṣan-maya;—a body which obstructs not, but is made of such light stuff as helps the raying forth of the powers of the soul, which are Knowledge, Bliss, and Divine Service;—a body which is fitted for no other purpose than the service of God;—a body, in short, radiant, celestial, spiritual, divine. The soul is then conducted in due pomp and state—in cortège—into the Beatific Presence of God, who is visualized there as seated exaltedly in a celestial pavilion, made of such ineffable stuff as is celestial, supported on either side by Śrī, Bhu, and Nilā, and other hosts of beings and objects, glorious and past compare or conception. These celestial hosts come and go before the August Presence in incessant procession, bent on serving the Lord, actuated by love indescribable: service before a Presence, instinct and vibrant with visions of beauty flitting before their vision in ever new forms, like golden eddies in perpetual making and unmaking, rippling along a stream as of molten gold. This Beatific Presence is no other than the High Lord of Vaikunṭha (Vaikunṭha-

1 This is the śuddha-sattva nature (see our Vade-mecum of Vedānta, p. 67), i.e. radiant, or spiritual, matter, if it may be so called, having five Upaniṣads, or śaktis, or properties, called (1) Pāramēśthi, (2) Pumān, (3) Viśva, (4) Nīrūti, and (5) Sarva. Also read Vṛddha-Hārīta-Smṛti, 7th Adhyāya, and Pādrama-samhitā (Pāncarātra or Bhagavata-sūtra), chapter xii, Jñāna-kūṭa.

2 See note on p. 15 and pp. 43 and 44 of our Lives of Azhvärs.

3 Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, I, vi, 6, Āpravakhât sarva ēva suvarṇah, and Taittirīya U., III, x, 6, Suvarṇa-jyotih, etc., etc., passim.
nātha¹), or the Changeless All.—Absolute Being—the Immutable, beyond the Perishable—Whose joy without cessation is now granted to the saved soul as the high reward at the end of his evolutionary journey, and the boon of Whose service is to him conferred in terms of eternity. Thus is reached the *ne plus ultra* of blessedness (*parama-puruṣārtha*); in other words, the soul-long (*yāvad-ātmabhāvi*) loving divine service—service which is not a task, but a prerogative—a service joying in the work.

IV

E. *Upāya-svarūpa*, or Means-Principle.²

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—

**E 1. Karma,—Works.**

**E 2. Jñāna,—Knowledge.**

**E 3. Bhakti,—(Love-)Faith.**

**E 4. Prapatti,—(Surrender-)Faith.**

**E 5. Ācāryābhimāna,—Trust in the Mediator.**

**E 1. Karma,** or Works, are those activities that so discipline and mortify the body as to kill sin. Their performance is called *Karma-yōga*. It consists of sacrifice (*yajña*), charity (*dāna*), austerities (*tapas*), meditation (*dhyāna*), prayers (*sandhyā-vandana*), the five great sacrifices (*pānca-mahāyajña*), fire-sacrifice (*agnihotra*), holy pilgrimage (*tīrtha-yātra*), holy residence (*punya-kṣetra-vāsa*), expiatory and purificatory rites (*krochra* and *cāndrāyana*), holy river-bathings (*punya-nadi-snāna*), vows (*vrata*), the quarterly sessions (*cāturmāṣya*), living on fruits and roots (*phala-mūlā-śana*), study of holy works

¹ Vaikuṇṭha is the "Land of unhampered Freedom and Joy", fully described on pp. iv ff. of our *Lives of Āśvāra*. Nātha is the Lord of that region. Vaikuṇṭha is the *Tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam* of the Rg Veda. See note 2 on p. 574.

² See Soteriological Table in our *Bhagavad-Gītā*, pp. 573-4.
(śāstrābhyāsa), holy feeding (samārādhana), silent holy repetitions (japa), oblations to ancestors (tarpana), etc. These constant occupations for the organs of sense and the organs of action prevent the senses from contacts worldly, and consciousness is thus weaned from their contemplation. The consciousness streaming out through the senses to worldly objects, when prevented from sensuous experiences, stands in need of engagements otherwise, and these are afforded in the soul itself. In other words, consciousness is turned away from the Objective, and turned inwards to dwell on the Subjective—a process entitled inhibition or introspection. This process is divided into the eightfold stages of yama, niyama, āsana, prānāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhyāna, dhāraṇa, and samādhi. This eightfold process is specifically called "yoga". This yoga¹ part of karma-yoga may be conceived as the transition between karma-yoga proper and jñāna-yoga proper. This karma-yoga is auxiliary to jñāna-yoga, and is the chief means of acquiring material prosperity (aiśvarya), i.e. artha and kāma.²

E 2. Jñāna, or Knowledge, means the Highest Knowledge, or Divine Knowledge. Jñāna-yoga is its acquisition. The Karma-yoga aforesaid is productive of knowledge. The object, or objective, of this knowledge (in other words, consciousness functioning in this direction) is Divinity, conceivable in various localized situations, much as the orb of the Sun, the Heart-Lotus, and so forth, and concretizable into Figures of Beauty as that which has an Image in space limits, or the Idea, idolized, bearing the Discus and the Conch, attired in radiant robes, bedight with Crowns and Corselets, Armlets and Anklets, mated with Śrī, and so forth. God is thus conceived as confined in contours of bewitching beauty. This is the special

¹ On this eight-limbed yoga, read note 2, p. 106, of our Divine Wisdom of the Drvidā Saints; and Part II of our Lectures on Inspiration, etc.
² See Appendix IV.
manner in which it is yet allowed man to realize the Divine Spirit in actual presence and for profit, and this serves the purposes of constraining attention, which is habitually dissipate, and of its being riveted on to the Holy Object of contemplation. Consciousness, so exercised, is itself moulded into that blessed shape, and, thus trained, is relieved of all distraction over various futile objects. This is Divine Meditation, which at the start is of brief duration, but which the postulant is to extend by practice into longer and longer periods, and in the end to render enduring.

This Jñāna-yoga is auxiliary to Bhakti-yoga, and is the chief means for effecting soul-realization (kaivalya-mokṣa).

E 3. Bhakti is Love. Bhakti-yoga is the practice of Loving Faith. Fixture of Consciousness (Jñāna) on an idolized ideal Object of Beauty is described to be its persistence and insistence thereon, like the streaming filament of a fluid substance, uninterrupted in flow. So far, the experience obtained from such fixture is what pertains to the province of Jñāna-yoga aforesaid. But when the experience partakes of the nature of love, or becomes a loving experience, it obtains the name of Bhakti. The practice of this loving experience of loving faith is Bhakti-yoga. In its onward progress it becomes more and more intense and rapturous. Instead of compelling, as it was, it has become inviting; instead of repelling, as it was, it has become bewitching. Effort is merged in craving, self-assertion giving place to self-abandon. The heart has become poured into the intellect, or, rather, the intellect has become fused with the heart. The purely mental has become united with the emotional.²

¹ See Appendix V.
² Bhakti exists wherever heart exists. All conjecture of borrowing of Bhakti by one nation from another, and by Hinduism from Christianity, is therefore, from consideration of intrinsic human nature and its
Sin is deed wrongly done, and is what confines one in the prison-house of flesh, cutting off from it all the ways of emancipation. It is put into three clusters: sāmcita, prārabdha, and āgāmi. All the yōgas have the virtue of sin-killing. Whereas this virtue is partly effected by the Karma-yōga and the Jñāna-yōga processes aforesaid, the residue of prārabdha which they leave untouched is also entirely eradicated (or effaced from the pages of the soul-life) by Bhakti-yōga. To the Bhakti-yōgin a vivid knowledge of Means and Ends is vouchsafed. In other words, the true perception of what constitutes the means of salvation, and what constitutes the End or what Salvation really signifies, is imparted to him.

E 4. Prapatti is lovingly surrendering or sacrificing faith, or resigned trust in God. The practising of this is Prapatti-yōga. In other words, it is the means of unreservedly placing oneself in His hands, and ridding oneself of all notions of securing salvation by self-effort. It is the attitude of mind entirely resigned to His will. This is real renunciation (sāṁnyāsa). Bhakti-yōga, supported by Karma-yōga and Jñāna-yōga, as described above, becomes a means that tries the utmost strength and capacity of mortals, nor is it compatible with the nature of those souls that have realized their essential nature—their relationship with God. This Path of prapatti is accessible to all, irrespective of caste, colour,

instinctive promptings, waste of breath; and all further speculation on such lines seems waste of brain.

1 Sāmcita is what is stored like grain; prārabdha is so much of it as is taken out of the store for actual use; and āgāmi is what is being sown for a future harvest, and when harvested it is added to sāmcita.

2 Read Bhāgavata Purāṇa, II, iv, 18—

"Kirātā-Haṁa-ndhra-Pulinda-Pulkaśa Ābhira-Kaṅkā Yavanāḥ
Kaśādayaḥ |
Yē 'nyē ca pāpa yad-upāśrayā-śrayāś śuddhyanti tasmai
Prabhaviśnavē namāḥ ||""

Prapatti thus provides an open door to knowledge of soul and God, and a freedom from all religionistic restrictions, to which the other Means or
or creed (varna and āśrama), and soon bears fruit, while the other Paths are circumscribed by a variety of conditions. The mental act, "I trust Thee, Lord," once dedicated, is done once for all, for, as soon as done, it is accepted by Him. Whatever series of acts the Suppliant (Prapanna) may do thenceforward are no more Means to secure an End, but acquire the character of being Ends in themselves; inasmuch as all these acts become but acts of service done to Him, and devoid therefore of any ultra-motive. Motivelessness of all act arises from its being done as Divine Service; and is hence bereft of all binding character, such as entails phenomenal existence again for the soul who does it. The soul, moreover, does the act on the clear understanding of its own intrinsic position or character, as liege of the Lord whom it has to serve. This is the true relation between soul and God, and from it there naturally follows the recognition of the True Means as no other than surrendering faith, or entire loving trust, or trustful faith, which is resignation. Self-surrender, or Resignation, in other words, is sacrificing oneself, or offering an oblation of oneself, at God's feet. The truest freedom lies in self-surrender. The "Self-assert" of Bhakti has given place to the "Self-negate" of Prapatti. The uplift to sublime independence is the fruit of complete subservience to the Supreme Law—God.

Prapatti is of two kinds: Drpta, or Patient; and Ārta, or Impatient. [The Prapanna is what we shall call the Suppliant, or Postulant.]

The Postulant, Patient (Drpta), is he who is not only weary of, but dreads, migratory, or material, or embodied life, and is averse from all delights, mundane and ultra-mundane. To obtain relief from these and access to God,
he seeks a competent teacher, and under his guidance adopts the Way (Prapatti) of Salvation. He adapts his life to the way of shunning evil, and of walking the paths prescribed by the laws of varṇa and āśrama, and, to the best of his ability, remains devoted to the service of God and of the Godly—straight in thought, speech, and deed. He constantly reflects on God being his Lord, and on himself being His liegeman; He as the Ruler, he as the ruled; He as the Master, he as the chattel; He as the Spirit, he as the body; He as the Pervader, he as the pervaded; He as the Enjoyer, he as but the enjoyed; He as the All-knowing, he as the ill-knowing; He as the All-powerful, he as the powerless; He as the Full, he as the void; He as the All-sufficient, and he as the all-wanting. Thus reflecting, the Postulant dedicates all to God, laying on Him all his burden, and spends the lease of his life that may still be left to him in perfect resignation, not allowing its peace to be distraught by considerations of self-care for self-salvation.

The Postulant, Impatient (Ārta), is he in whom—by the free grace of God—by study and service with a true Teacher, wisdom has dawned, making him loathe all such bodies, places, and leaders as wean him from God, and causing him to long for all such things as wed him to Him. He throws himself entirely on the mercy of God, saying, “Lord, Thou alone canst be my Deliverer from all ills,” “Thou alone, Lord, art my Way,” and “Thee alone, O High, I adore”. He grows impatient of salvation, beseeching and besieging God in all manner of ways to lift him once for all to His Holy Feet.1

1 Prapatti or Šaranāgati is Bhāgavata-Dharma, par excellence. Read the Śānjñya-Vidyā (Chândogya Up., III, xiv, 1 ff., Brhadāraṇyaka Up., VII, vi, and Agnirahasya, Śukta-Yajus) in our Table of Upanisad Vidyās, pp. 129, 130 of our Bhagavad-Gītā. The Pānicarātras are specially devoted to their exposition, particularly the Bhāradvāja-Saṁhitā and the Laksāmi-Tantra. Also, see Śānjñya-Bhakti-sūtras and Nārada-Bhakti-sūtras, and pp. 20 ff. and 80 ff. of our Vade-mecum of Vedānta.
E 5. Acārābhīmāna is either resort to the Mediator by the aspirant for salvation, or resort to the saved by the Mediator Himself from His own free choice.

This fifth Means of Salvation possesses the virtue of being within the nearest reach of mankind, as contradistinguished from all the other Means aforesaid. These no doubt prescribe God as the object for resort, but He is so beyond the reach of mankind's senses, minds, and hearts, as to forbid His being used in the manner of other objects more accessible. This want is supplied by the Mediator, insomuch as he is tangibly present in the midst of mankind, as one of their own, and therefore so accessible and so within reach, that the work of salvation becomes for souls, so to say, a practical reality. This contrivance in the Scheme of Salvation has been devised by God Himself, in the manner of the mother feeling love for her child, and the Mediator, patent to all mankind, is the result. The Mediator sees his children as weak and helpless, incapable of shifting for themselves. He stretches his hand down to them, on the one side, to lift them up, and he stretches his hand up, on the other side, to present them to God as fit objects for His mercy and compassion. The function of the Mediator is thus twofold. He is the Mother who is ready to sacrifice her own comfort by voluntarily treating herself to medicine and regimen for the sake of saving the sick child, and he is the Servant who, by such act of self-sacrifice, performs a great deed that pleases his Master, God, who, of course, in the first instance delegated him, or deputed him, for this loving task. He submits to personal suffering in order to redeem the fallen. The Mediator, then, is the Ready Means, under the grace of which souls may take refuge and shape their conduct entirely at his sole bidding.

The resort to a Mediator is both an independent Means and an auxiliary Means to the other Means aforesaid, just as God Himself, the Eternal, is both directly the
Goal, and indirectly the Goal as the Spirit indwelling in all the lesser Gods of the Pantheon.  

V  

O. Virōdhi-svarūpa, the “Anti”, or Hostile, Principle.  

This Truth, or Principle, is subsumable under five categories—  

  0 1. Svarūpa-virōdhi,—Anti-Soul.  
  0 2. Paratva-virōdhi,—Anti-God.  
  0 3. Purusārtha-virōdhi,—Anti-Goal.  
  0 4. Upāya-virōdhi,—Anti-Means.  
  0 5. Prāpti-virōdhi,—Anti-Gain.  

O 1. Svarūpa-virōdhi—Anti-Soul, or what is hostile to the soul or soul-nature—is the soul identifying itself or its nature with the body.  

When this nescience, so to  

\[\text{1 Students of the Gitā will be interested to read in connexion with this fivefold Means the following two verses (xiii, 25, 26):} \]

\[\text{“Dhyānēnā 'tmāni paśyanti kēcid ātmānām ātmānā|} \]
\[\text{Anyē sāṁkhyēna yōgēna karma-yōgēna cā 'parē ||} \]
\[\text{Anyē tv ēvam ajānantaḥ śrutvā 'nyēbhya upāsatē|} \]
\[\text{Te 'pi cā 'tītaranty ēva mṛtyuṁ śruti-parāyanāḥ ||”} \]

As to many gods, or Hinduism smacking of Polytheism, Max Müller justified the hidden significance of this by the term “henotheism”; but the true significance has after all been discovered by only one scholar that we know, Dr. Grierson, in his paper on “The Monotheistic Religion of Ancient India, etc.”, read at the Oxford Congress of the History of Religions. I only quote this:—  

“Other ‘Gods’ are spoken of—millions of them, great and small—but in spite of this a Bhāgavata is no more a polytheist than was the Jew who used the word ‘elohim both for the Supreme and for His ministers. Just so does the modern Hindō use the word dēva both for the Adorable and for His ministering creatures, Brahmā, Śiva, and the rest, divine but finite, whom He called into temporary being to fulfil His will. We translate ‘elohim by ‘God’ or by ‘angel’, according to its sense. If we translate dēva uniformly by ‘God’, no matter what idea it is meant to express in the original, it does not prove that the Bhāgavatas were polytheists, but it does prove that we are bad, and—what is worse—unfair translators.”  

\[\text{2 The student of the Bhagavat-Gitā may read the whole of chapter xiii—a sequel, as it were, to chapter ii-discouraging on the knowledge} \]
say, has vanished, then comes the profession of allegiance (ṣeṣatva) to deities other than the One God; but when this error too has disappeared, what may again supervene is the false idea of the Soul's independence, as if it (the Soul-entity) were not dependent for its very be-ness, not to speak of its activities and final doom, on a Kosmic Entity—God (Bhagavān).

**0 2. Paratva-virōḍhi—**Anti-God, or what is hostile to God—is the mis-notion that lesser Gods¹ possess the character of the Supreme, or the mistaking of non-supreme deities or Gods for the One God; or believing them to be of equal status with God; the investing of minor deities with power that can only belong to the Supreme; the mistaking of God-incarnate (Rāma, Krṣṇa, etc.) as human; and thinking that the images of God are inert and powerless.

**0 3. Purusārtha-virōḍhi, Anti-Goal, or what is hostile to the Ultimate Aim.** It is desire for fruits or ends other than that of God Himself (the others being those noted under Purusārtha-svarūpa); and the idea of deriving self-gratification or of gaining satisfaction for one's self in the doing of Divine Service.

**0 4. Upāyu-virōḍhi, Anti-Means, or what is hostile to the true Means.** It is the notion that other means (those noted under Upāya-svarūpa) are of equal, if not more, efficacy than the Means (Nos. E 4 and E 5), which requires that those should be discarded, or at least looked down upon as subordinate or unimportant; the notion of doubt whether this real Means (E 4 and E 5) can be so simple and light as described, and therefore the fear that it cannot be an efficient means to a goal; the notion discriminatory between body (kṣētra) and soul (kṣetrin), particularly the concluding verse 35—

"Kṣētra-kṣetrajñayōr ēvaṁ antaram jñāna-caksusā | Bhūta-prakṛti-mokṣam ca ye vidur yānti te param ||" ¹

¹ See Appendix VI. Also, read note 1, p. 588.
that the Fruit or Goal is so great (and therefore the fear that it is absurd or audacious to expect it to happen or to be had for the mere asking); and the notion that the obstacles to one's obtaining an End are so great and so many (and therefore the fear that the End is beyond reach, as against such tremendous odds obstructing the Postulant).

O 5. Prāpti-virōḍhi, Anti-Gain or Anti-Fruit,¹ or what is hostile to what is one's Ultimate End or Ideal of Life. That Ideal being God, to sin against Him is but the defeating of that Ideal. The next is sinning against the Godly. The third is what is called "heinous sin" (kēya), begotten of the soul-and-body intimacy, devoid of remorse, atrocious and persistent in performance.

"Sins of Food" is hostile to knowledge or dawning of wisdom.

"Sins of Company" is hostile to bliss or reaping the fruit of real bliss.

"Sins of Self" or "Self-Love" is hostile to Self-Nature (as defined under A, Svā-svarūpa).

Conclusion

To the man in whom has dawned the knowledge of these Five Truths, in whom has arisen the thirst for Final Release (mōkṣa), but who has still to live in this world n the midst of the worldly, the manner of spending that life, till Release is obtained, and so that worldliness may not again besiege or inveigle him, is laid down briefly as follows:—

He shall earn food and raiment in accordance with the rules of Varṇa, Āśrama, and Vaiṣṇavism.² He shall invariably offer them to God, and give to the Godly according to his means; he shall use his earnings no

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¹ The Fruit is Service on reaching the Goal. Disservice (apacāru) is what is adverse or hostile to that service. Divine Service is service to God and all that is His, and avoidance of what is contrary to it.

² See Appendix VII.
further than his physical wants demand, and look upon them as gifts from God; he shall show gratitude to his spiritual Teacher, who takes pains to open in him the gates of Knowledge, and shall behave after his heart; he shall acknowledge his humility before God, his ignorance before his Teacher, and his obedience before Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas; he shall practise isolation from the worldly; he shall languish for liberation; he shall persist in the path he has chosen; he shall dread all that is inimical to his purpose; he shall not love his body; he shall be earnest in his upward effort; he shall ever be alive to his spiritual nature; he shall feel powerless to protect (or inability to save) himself; he shall bear in mind the solemn sublimity of the object of his attainment; he shall be grateful for good received; and he shall, above all, adore his Mediator and follow him.

So armed with the knowledge (of the Five Truths), and adorned by the conduct ensuant therefrom, the Pilgrim to the Kingdom of God becometh to Him an object dearer to Him than all the Heavenly Hosts (Eternals and Archangels) ever near to Him; nay, dearer to Him than even Śrī Herself.

"He that works for Me, strives for Me,
Unasking, gives himself to Me,—
That guileless Friend of all that lives
Soon comes to Me, O Pāṇḍava."

_Bhagavad-Gītā, xi, 55._

_Hail, all Hail, to Thee, All-beloved God!_

APPENDIX I (p. 573).

The term "Bhagavān" gives a conception of Divinity, as that which is All-Knowing (jñāna), All-Powerful (śakti), All-Strong (bala), All-Lord (āśvarya), All-Capable

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1 See Appendix VIII.
(vīrya), and All-Bright (tējas). Our Ācāryas add that these primary perfections of Divinity are the Six typifying an infinite number of them. The term "ADORABLE," chosen by Dr. Grierson, accords with the root meaning of "Bhagavān". Bhaga, the Vedic God, Bhagavān, and bhakti, all come from bhaj, to adore, to love, to serve. In this treatise we shall not be far away from the conception of Bhagavān if we translate it by the term "God" (i.e. "Blessed" or "Perfect"), though our readers should keep in mind the warning of Max Müller—

"We ourselves, the heirs of so many centuries of toil and thought, possess, of course, the name and concept of God, and we can hardly imagine a human mind without that name and concept. But, as a matter of fact, the child's mind is without that name and concept, and such is the difference of meaning assigned by different religions, nay, even by members of the same religion, to the name of God, that a general definition of it has almost become an impossibility. Nevertheless, however our ideas of God may differ, for us to say that the sun or the moon, or a pebble, or the tail of a tiger was God, would be absurd or self-contradictory." (Physical Religion, p. 116.)

In the terms "Viṣṇu" (= All-Present) and "Vāsudēva" (= All-Pervading), the all-pervasive character of Divinity, which is of its essence alone, is radically evident; and not what is implied in the term "Bhagavān". There remains the immanence of Divinity to be provided for. Hence the name "Nārāyaṇa", which includes all these several conceptions, making it thus all-comprehensive. It could

1 The very ancient name for expressing this concept of God, common to the whole Indo-European race is Dēva (Latin Deus, Lithuanian Dievas), meaning "bright". This is only one attribute of the many that are connoted by the term Bhagavān. It may also be noted that Bhagavān is the epithet of the Deity to which Śaivas, as well as Vaiṣṇavas and every other denomination, including Buddhists and Jainas, subscribe. See Viṣṇu-Puruṣa, VI, v, 71-9, and our Bhagavat-Gītā, pp. 5, 6, and 10.
2 See p. 82 of our Vade-mecum of Vedānta.
3 See JRAS. for 1910, p. 159 ff.
be shown that this name includes all the ideas of God connoted by such terms as "Absolute" (Sat), "Infinite" (Viṣṇu), "Transcendent" (Para), and "Divine" (Bhagavān). This Holy Name has thus become to all Vedic people the highest conception of Divinity, and is the Name which they look upon as their solace in life, comfort in death, and salvation after death. When, therefore, we employ the word "God" we must be understood to represent by it all that has been briefly indicated above.¹

APPENDIX II (p. 574).

The Varnas, or grades, in formulated, or stratified, Hindū Society are four: Brahma, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra; and the Āśramas, or stages of life, are Brahma- cārya, Gārhatṣṭha, Vānapraṣṭha, and Saṁnyāsa. Both these divisions may be understood for our present purposes as intended by the foreign term "caste" or "the caste-system". The Varna (lit. colour, but also used in an occult sense) is peculiar to the Hindūs, but the Āśramas do more or less, in other forms, exist in other countries also beyond the confines of India.

APPENDIX III (p. 578).

Svarga is but one of the many material Paradises, or material Heavens. By the word "Heaven" in the Christian system is understood the Spiritual Universe; while, by the word Paradise, as described by Moslems, an approach is made to the Hindū idea of Svarga. Ultra-mundane kāma is what belongs to material regions of varying delights. Mokṣa is really the heaven, or the Kingdom of God, which is eternal. It is Vaikunṭha, meaning "The Perfect"—that oft-repeated tad Viṣṇōh Paramam Padam (Viṣṇu's Supreme Realm) of the Rg

¹ Read further, Topics 14, 84, etc., of our Divine Wisdom of the Drāvida Saints. As to how the Primary Qualities group themselves and expand for kosmic work, we refer our readers to the Vyūha-Principle described on pp. 80 ff. of our Vade-mecum of Vedānta.
and other Vēdas. Those who would know in detail the difference between Svarga and Vaikuntha are referred to the Mudgalō-'pākhyāna (MBh., III, cclix, cclx, 15, 405–15, 491, Calc. ed.) and Itihāsa-samuccaya, iii. Also read Bhg. G., viii, 16, 28; and ix, 20, 21, 24, and 25.

**APPENDIX IV (p. 582).**

To the Hindūs all *karma* is sacrifice. *Karma* is "act", and all sacrifices are, of course, acts. Every act is natural, and this in time assumes the technical meaning of a most sacred and solemn act.

The *agnihōtra* is, in the beginning, the natural act of lighting and keeping the fire on the hearth at sunrise, noon, and sunset; and in time this became a sacred function even to be enforced by law.

The rising and setting of the Sun naturally evoked gratitude and then praise, for the sun was the giver of light, heat, life, and joy. This in turn culminated in the sacred duty of the *Samādhyā-vandana*.

The *cāturmāsya*, or the Four-monthly Sacrifice, is a simple natural festive celebration of the three seasons of the year (summer, autumn, winter). This after a time became an artificial and complicated ritual, with more and more technique associated with it as time ran on.

Thus sacerdotal practices prevailing among all nations owe their origin to the most natural and simple habits of human nature prompted by natural phenomena surrounding it.

See *Śāndilya 'panisad* for an explanation of some of these terms.

**APPENDIX V (p. 583).**

God in Images is described thus:—

"Śrīsasya sarvādhiśṭhānam dāru-vahni-vad īritam |
Viṣnōr viśesādhiśṭānam ayah-piṇḍā-'gni-van matam||"\(^1\)

\(^1\) Quoted in *Śrīviṣṇu-Śamayācāra-Nīkāra* by Pillai Lokam Jiyar.
It is like electricity, which pervades the conducting wire, but which is nevertheless latent, and lacking in utility, till it becomes patently present, by its power of illuminating darkness, at the poles in a vacuum bulb. According to the Bhagavat-Śāstra entitled the Pañcarātra Āgamas, the types for making material representations on canvas or in sculpture are furnished by the Vyūha and Vibhava manifestations of the Deity. Cf. Bhg. G., xi, 46 ff., tēnaiva rūpēṇa caturbhujēṇa, etc. For the man-forms of God on earth, it is written that even the Dēvas desire to worship them: "Dēvā apy asya rūpasya nityam darśana-kāṅkṣiñāh" (Bhg. G., xi, 52); "avatārēṣu yad rūpaṁ tad arcanti divaukasah" (Viṣṇu-P., I, iv, 17).

APPENDIX VI (p. 589).

See Appendix I. The term "Gods" requires explanation. The best that we can give cannot excel that of Ruskin—

"By gods in the plural," he writes, "I mean the totality of spiritual powers, delegated by the Lord of the Universe to do, in their several heights, or offices, parts of His will respecting man, or the world that man is imprisoned in; not as myself knowing, or in security believing, that there are such, but in meekness accepting the testimony and belief of all ages, to the presence, and the like—with genii, fairies, or spirits ministering and guarding, or destroying and tempting, or aiding good work and inspiring the mightiest. For all these I take the general term 'gods' as the best understood in all languages, and the truest and widest in meaning, including the minor ones of seraph, cherub, ghost, wraith, and the like, and myself knowing for indubitable fact, that no true happiness exists nor is any good work ever done by human creatures, but in the sense or imagination of such presences." (Præterita, ii, 172.) Read Bhg. G., ix, 24, 25.

APPENDIX VII (p. 590).

See Appendix II on Varna and Āśrama (caste-system). Vaiṣṇavism is here added to denote all those who could embrace that faith, irrespective of those who could remain within the pale defined by the caste-system. Vaiṣṇavism is simply the faith which acknowledges the All-Pervader (Viṣṇu) as God. To all theists, God, we guess, has by
this time become an all-pervading spiritual Essence, involving what is connoted by the term "immanency". To Vaiśnavism, therefore, every theist can belong, regardless of caste, creed, or race. In this simple sense it is universal and cosmopolitan. In time, as in everything else, the term became confined to a sect, invested once again with technicalities. Sacraments seem gradually to have become its annexe, the administration of which alone entitled one to be admitted as a votary into the fold of Vaiśnavism. Regarded in this sense, rules have been laid down as to the right ways a Vaiśnava should proceed, what he should adopt and what he should avoid, and so forth, in order to gain his livelihood. The code is, however, morally worthy of its name and helpful to spirituality, though restraints are placed upon the free exercise of one's power of earning. Where, without varṇa, āśrama, and Vaiśnavism, earning was before indiscriminate, it is now, with these limitations, restricted to a narrow and elect circle, cut out from the larger society. In cases of mendicancy, these rules also make the mendicant less of a prey on society, and urge him to adopt a less parasitic mode of life, than if he were left to roam at large without them.

APPENDIX VIII (p. 591).

The designation "Śrī-Vaiśnava" comes from Śrī and Viṣṇu, which two terms, divested of all anthropomorphism and allegory, mean, considered in their etymons, the Mother and the Father of the Universe. Śrī is charis, grace, the universal mediatrix, the reconciler, or peacemaker, between God and Soul. Śrī-Vaiśnavas are thus radically those who are believers in the Father-and-Mother principle of the Kosmos. Whether we study Nature without or from within, or the great Supreme lying behind both, it is governed by the two principles of Justice and Mercy, which in metaphor become Father
and Mother, and in symbol Viṣṇu and Śrī. In this universal sense, who is not a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava? Much has been written on this theme, for a few examples of which see note 1, p. 6 of our Bhagavad-Gītā, and Topics 17, pp. 19, 20 in our Divine Wisdom of the Dravid Saints; the articles on Śrī and Christ in the Theosophist, vol. xxvi (January and February, 1905); and Śrī Pāthasārathi Yōgi’s Śrī-vacana-bhūṣana, pp. 5, 6, etc. Also see note on p. 111 of our Lives of the Āzhvārs (“Are there wives in Heaven?” etc.). In the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava system thus, like the three postulates of philosophy—acit (matter), cit (soul), and Īśu (God)—are these three postulates of religion vividly set forth, viz.:—

The Motherhood of God (Śrī or Bhagavati);
The Fatherhood of God (Viṣṇu or Bhagavān);
The Brotherhood of Souls (Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas or Bhāgavatas).

If this scientifically significant language has in modern days been debased into shibboleths of party politics, who is to blame? But it is so all the world over.

There are various theories, both modern and ancient, as to what the Śrī-tattva exactly signifies. There are not wanting those who equate or identify it with inert or inanimate (jaḍa) Prakṛti, or Nature. But they forget that the Śrī-tattva is sentient or intelligent (ajāda). She is the Goddess of Nature, not Nature itself, as God is the God of Nature and not Nature itself, as some others identify Him. That Śrī is a conscious entity is borne out by all the Śāstras from the Rg Vēda (Śrī-sūkta) downwards. Here is one verse from Skānda:—

“Aparam tv aksaram yā să prakṛtir jaḍa-rūpikaḥ
Śrīḥ para-prakṛtih prōktā cētanā Viṣṇu-samśrayāḥ ||”

Śrī is the Daivī-Prakṛti of the Bhagavad-Gītā, and Śrīḥ of x, 34, of the same authority.
THE ARTHA-PANCAKA OF NARAYANA YATI

EDITED BY G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S.

[Note.— Vide ante, p. 568. Long vowels are, as usual, indicated by the sign "; thus, Śrimatē. But when they are the result of saṃdhī, they are indicated by " Thus, rāmānuja. The text is based on two MSS. (A and B), now in the library of the Deccan College. A (No. 152 of 1888-4) is without date, B (No. 267 of 1879-80) is dated Sam. 1846 = 1784 A.D. I am indebted to Professor Vinayak Saktharam Ghate for a careful copy, embodying the readings of both MSS. I am also indebted to Āldondavilli Gōvindācārya Swāmī for kindly reading through the proofs and for making some valuable suggestions.—G. A. G.]

Śrimatē Rāmānujāya namaḥ.
Śrīmān akhila-lōkānāṁ nāyakaḥ, karuṇā-’kararah
Karōtu māṅgalāṁ puṁsāṁ kamalā-nāyakō Hariḥ ||

Athā ’rthapañcakam nirūpyatē. Tē ca JĪVĒ-ŚVARO-
PĀYA- PHALA- VIRŌDHINO hy arthāḥ. Tatra JĪVA-lakṣaṇam. Śeṣatvē sati jñātṛtvam jivatvam. Tē ca pañcavidhāh, NITYA- MUKTA- KĒVALA- BADDHA-
sadācāryo- ’padēsa- labdha- sanmantrā- 1’rtha- tattva- jñāna-
nirmukta-samsāra-bandhāḥ kēvala-bhagavat- kaimkarya-
prayōjanā MUṬTĀH. KĒVALĀS tu pūrvajanma- sukṛta-’nusārēṇa sarvē- ’śvara- kṛpā- prāpta- varnā- ’śrama-dharma-
karmā- nuṣṭhāṇa 2- nirdhūta- nikhila- malā- ’ntahkaraṇa- sam-
jāta- tattva- jñāna- niṣṭhā- parākāṣṭhā vinirdhūta- samsāra-
vidēha- sattva- rūpā ³ jñānā- ’nandā- ’nubhavatṛptāḥ.

MUMUKŚAVO bhava- janita- vidita- vividha- nikhila- duḥkhā-

¹ B, saṃmātrā- ’tha.
² B, vidēha- svarūpa- jñāṇā.
³ B, varṇā- śrama- nuṣṭhāṇa.
'nubhavō-'dbhūta-nirvēdatayā sāṁsārikā-'ka-pāralōkāi-
ka-sukha-vimukhāḥ kēvala-kaimkaryā-'rthinaḥ. Te ca
Tatra bhakti-niṣṭhās tu bhagavat-kṛpā-labdha-nikhila-
niṣiddha-karma-tyāga-pūrvakaṁ sva-sāktyā karma-yogā-
'nuṣṭhāna-nirdhūta-nikhila-pratibandhkatayā samjāta-
tattva-jñāna-paripāka-daśō-'tpanna-prēṃnā sāksātkāra-
paryantēṇa nirdhūta nikhila-dōsāḥ prārabdha-nikhila-
karma-'nubhava-paryantam vilambya mōkṣa-gāmināḥ.
Prapannās ca tāvan-mātra-vilambā-'sahāḥ sāktyā 'nurū-
patayā saṁtyakta-sarvō-'pāyā bhagavad-ekō-'pāyā mōkṣa-
gāmināḥ.1 Te (prapatti-niṣṭhāś) 2 ca dvēdhā, drptā-'rta-
bhedāt. Tatra drptāḥ prārabdha-dēhā-'vasāna-paryantam
niratiṣayāṇanda-paraṇa-bhōgyam prāpya viraha-janita-
maḥādūkhāḥ-'nabhijnāḥ. Ārtās tu samjātā 3 mithunaka-
imkaryā-'mṛta-bhōga-tīvṛō-'tsukatayā tad-virōdhī-
dēhā-sambhandhā-'sahisnavaḥ. BADDHĀS tv anādi-karma-
vāsanā-sampanna-dēva-tiryaṅ-manuṣya-sthāvarā 'tmakac-
caturvidha-sarīra-kṛtā-'bhimānatayā tat-tad-anubhava-
viṣaya-prāvanyēna parabrāhma-'nanda-vimukhās tat-tad-
viṣaya-sādhana-yajña-dāna-tapō-vratānuṣṭhāna-mantrō-
pāsanā-parāḥ.

ĪŚVĀRA-tattvaṁ paṅca-vidham, PARA-VYŪHA-
VIBHAVĀ-'NTARYĀMY-ARCĀ-bhedāt. Tatra PARĀH,
vaikuṇṭha-vāsī nitya-muktāi-'ka-bhōgyāḥ, ēri-bhū-lilā 4-
samētaḥ, śrimad- divya- bhūṣaṇa-divya- 'yudha-
'mbarā-divya-srag-gandha-lēpana- 'dy-alamkārō- 'paśobhitē
divyā-saundaryā- 'parimita-divya-māṅgala-guṇa-viśista-
vigraha-vān anādy-anantaḥ sva-tantrō brahma-'dīnāṁ
prakāśita-sādgunyāḥ. VYŪHAS tu śṛṣṭi-sthiti-samhārā-tham jñāna-sākty-ādi-guṇa-vyūhanēṇa. Vyūhāḥ sam-
karsaṇā-pradyumnā-'niruddhāḥ. VIBHAVAS tu asad.

1 A. mōkṣa-’gāmināḥ.
2 These words are omitted in both MSS., but are required by the sense.
3 B substitutes for prārabdha . . . samjāta, ‘bhagavat-kaimkaryā-
prema- ‘mṛta-bhōga- ‘svādēṇa mottāḥ.’
4 Both MSS. have lilā, but the usual term is nīlā. So elsewhere.
dharma - bādhita - sad₁ - dharma - vilōkanā - 'kṣamaḥ sat-
paritrāna-saddharma-sthāpanā-'rtham asaddharma-nirāsā-
'ṛatham viditā ²-vatārair jāyamānaḥ. Sa tu dvividhaḥ,
mukhya - gauṇa - bhēdāt. Tatra mukhyaā dipād
utpanna-pradīpa-vat prakāṣita samasta-kalyāna-guṇā-
prākṛta-paṇcō - 'panīsan-maya-divya-maṅgala-vilakṣana-
vigraha - viśiṣṭā rāma - krṣṇā - 'di - rūpāḥ. Gaunās ca
dvividhaḥ, suddha - 'suddha bhēdāt. Šuddha - cētānēsv
āvirbhāvāḥ sūdhāḥ, balī-vaśā-levardh. Aśuddha-cētānēsv
āvirbhāvā aśuddhāḥ, śāmkara-jāmadagnya-śdayaḥ. Viśva-
niyantā 'NTARYĀMI. Sa tu dvividhaḥ, avigraha-
vigraha-bhēdāt. Tatra 'vigrahas tu jūnānā-'nandā-'ka-
svarūpi samasta-kalyāna-guṇā-⟩karō, 'khila-hēya-praty-
anikāḥ samasta - cētānā - 'cētana-sattā-nirvāhakō, Viṣṇu-
Nārāyaṇa - Vāsudēva - Paramāthama - Paramātma - śabda-
vācyāḥ, sarva-vyāpakaḥ, sarva-śariri, tila-tailavād dāru-
vahinivad durvīvēcaṇiya - svarūpaḥ. Sa - vigrahas tu
kēvalā - prākṛta - śāṅka - cakrādi - divyā-⟩yudha - dharāḥ,
kirītā-⟩divyā-bhūṣana-bhūṣitaḥ, samasta-kalyāna-guṇō-
⟩dadhir yah samasta-hēya-pratibhataḥ, sarva-⟩akti-pra-
vartakah, ² samasta-bhōktā, Hṛśikēśaḥ, Parama-Puruśott-
tama - Vāsudēvā - 'di - śabda - vācyō, vān - mayō, ārdhaḥ.
ARCYAS tv acid-vigraha-⟩vatārō bhaktā-⟩dhīna-samasta-
vāpāraḥ, sarvajñō 'py asarvajña īva, cētānō 'py acētana
īva, sva-tantrō 'pi para-tantra īva, sarva-⟩aktir apy aṣakta
īva, avāpta-samasta-kāmō 'pi sa-kāma īva, sarva-rakṣākō-
⟩py asarva-raksaka īva, svāny apy avāmī 'va, adṛṣyō
⟩pi sarvē-⟩ndriya-⟩viṣayaḥ, sudurlabhō 'pi parama-sulabha
īva, punyādēsa - punyasthāna - punyatirthe - punyanagara-
punyagrāma - punyāyatana - punyagrha - punyapurūṣēṣu
kṛta - śam nidhānaḥ. Sa caturvidhaḥ, svayamvyaktam,
divya - siddha - mānusa - bhēdāt. Bhaktā - 'nugraha-
'ṛtham svayam ēvā 'virbhūtam svayamvyaktam.

₁ So B, A sarva.
₂ B, sarva-⟩aktīḥ.
³ So both MSS. ³ vividha.


1 B, Srīraṅga-muṣṭi-śrīveṅkata. 2 Sāligrāma 3 Manusyaśail ... prasiddham only in B. 4 A, sāmkalpika. 5 B, pravṛtti-yogā-Cāryābhimānayogā. 6 dēva ... 'di, only in A. 7 A, sādhanam.
yôga-jañitâ 'tma-jiñâna-jañita-svâtma-prati¹-sambandhi-
jiñânasya hrdaya- kamalâ 'ditya - mañdala - vîômâ 'disu
Upêndram Tridhâmaṁ Vâsudêvam Viśnum Nârâyanaṁ
Sarvêsvaram Šâṅkha-cakra-divyâ 'yudha-dharam Pitâ-
mbarâ 'laṁkrtam Kiritâ 'di - divya - bhûsaṇa - bhûṣita-
vilakṣaṇa - vigrâham visayî - krtyâ 'nubhûyâ 'nubhava-
yôga-bhyâsa-balênâ 'nubhava-kâlam vardhayitvâ - nu-
bhava - nairantaryô - padânam. Tad âtad bhakti - yôgasya
saha - karôti, kaivalya - mûksasya pradhâna - sâtîhanam.
BHAKTI - YÔGAS tu taila - dhârá - vad avicchîna - smrti-
saṁtâna-rûpatâm âpâdyâ prârabdha-karma - 'vasâna-pary-
antam punah punar anubhava-prakrâta sakṣât kâratvô-
'padânam. PRAPATTI-YÔGAS tu âvam-vidha-jiñâna-saha-
krta - bhaktiyôga - 'saktasya, prapatti - yôgas ca su-karaḥ
ûgra-phaladah. "Sakrî ēva hi âstra-rtha" ity upâya-
nuṣṭhânasya sakrttvâd anuṣṭhânâ - 'nantara - bhâvi - bha-
gavat - visayânâm sarvesāṁ prâpya - kōti - ghatitavât.
Svarûpâ-nurûpas cā 'dhyavasâyîa-viśeṣaḥ. Sa tu dvividhah,
ârta-prapatti - yôgaṁ drîpta - prapatti - yôgas cē 'ti.
Ârta-prapatti-yôgas tu yâdṛechika-bhagavat-kaṭâkṣa-
samanantara-sadâcûryô - padēsa - mûla - sacheṭra - 'bhysa-
śravanâdi-tō yathârtha²-jiñâna-samanantaram paramâ-
nanda-rûpa-bhagavad-anubhava-virōdhi-dēha-sambandha-
sya duḥsahatayâ bhagavad - anubhavâ - 'kântikâ-
'tyantikâ - 'nukûla-rûpa - dēha - dēśikaprâpti - vânechâ - dînâ
atyanta-tvarayâ tâvad-bhagavad-anusamâdhânê tatparô-
'tpâdana-viśeṣaḥ. Tad-uktam abhiyuktaih:-

"Na déham na prânân na ca sukham aśeṣa 'bhilaśitam|
Na vá 'tmânam nā 'nyat kim-api tava śeṣatva-vibhavât||
Bahir-bhûtaṁ nātha kṣaṇam-api sahä yâtu šatadhâ |
Vinâśam tat satyam Madhu-mathana vijnâpanam
idam. ||"

¹ B, karmayôga-jañitâ 'tma-prati.
² A, sacheṭra 'bhysa-samanâditō yathârtha.
"Nanu prapannaḥ sakṛd ēva 'nātha |
Tavā 'ham asmi' 'ti ca yācamānah ||
Tavā 'nukampyaḥ smarataḥ pratijñām |
Mad-ēka-varjām kim idāṁ vrataṁ tē ||"¹

Drpta - prapatti - yōgas tū 'pacayā - 'pacaya² - dēhā -
'ntara - prāpty - ādiśu tad - yōgā - bhūta - sukha - duḥkha-
garbha - vāsēṣu svarga - narakā - 'diṣu ca viraktō bhitaś
cā bhūtvā tan-nivṛtty-arthaḥ bhagavat prāpty-arthaṁ
cā sad - ācāryō - 'padēsa - prāptitayaḥ hēyō - 'pādēyatayaḥ
viparita-pravṛtti-nivṛttah, vihita-varna-šramā-nuṣṭhānāṁ
cā bhagavat-kaimkaryam, kāyikāṁ vācikāṁ mānasikāṁ
cā kaimkaryam yathā - saktyā cā 'nutiśṭhaḥ paramā-
tmanāḥ svasya ca 'sēṣa-śeṣi - sambandham, pitṛ - putra-
sambandham, bhartṛ - bhāryā - sambandham, niyanṭṛ-
niyānya - sambandham, śarira-śariri-bhāva -sambandham,
dharmi - dharma - bhāva - sambandham, dhāraka - dhārya-
 bhāva-sambandham, rakṣya-rakṣaka-sambandham, bhokṭṛ-
bhōgya-bhāva-sambandham cā 'nusamdhāya, tasya ca
sarva - jñatā - 'tmanās cā 'kimcanaṭvam cā 'nusamdhāya,
vō - 'pēya-nimitta - sarva - bhara - nyāsam bhagavaty ēvā
'rōpya nirbharatayaḥ vinivrōtaḥ³ sva - prapannō bhūtvā
vasthānam. Ācāryābhimāṇa - yōgas tū 'ktō -'pāyēsv
āsaktasya tad-arthaṁ kēvalayā 'va kṛpayā parigṛhya-
puruṣasyā 'narthaka-hānim artha-prāptim ca tat-prāpti-
abhagavat - priti - parama - samṛddhi - paratvō - 'pāpādaka-
tayā svarūpa - lābhām cā 'nusamdhāya, vyādhi - grasta-
stanāmdhaye naṣyati svātmā - hāni - tad - rōga - nivartak'
ausadham sēvamānā māte 'va tad-arthaṁ svayam ēva,
'nuṣṭhānam kuruvaṁ parama - dayālmā mahātmānam
āśritya, tat-sāksāt-krta-ksētra-grha-kalatrā-patya-dhana-
śariraḥ san, tad-adhina-pravṛtti-nivṛttikō bhūtvā 'vasthā-
nam. Yathē 'śvarō -'pāyō nitya-siddha-prāpya-svarūpāḥ
sann ēva sarva-dēvā-ntaryāmitayaḥ prāpya-bhūtāḥ, tathā-

¹ This passage is taken from Yamunācārya's Stotra-ratnam.—[A. G.]
² B, ucd. 'uca for upacayā-'pacaya.
³ A, vinivrōtaḥ.
'cāryo 'pi svayam ēvō 'pāyāḥ sann ēva sarvēśāṃ upāyānām sahakarōti.


Dharmaḥ-prāṇa-paritrāṇam tad-vaimukhyām tu pātakam | Sarvāṇi dharma-jātāṇi étac-chēśāṇi vai jaguḥ || Ēkataḥ kratavah sarvē samagra-vara-dakṣināḥ | Ēkataḥ prāṇa-bhitasya prānīnāḥ prāṇa-rakṣanam ||


Virōḍhi tu viśeṣenō - 'pādēyaṁ runaddhi 'ti VīRODHĪ. Sa tu paṇca - vidhaḥ, SVA - SVARŪPA - VīRODHĪ, PARA - SVARŪPA - VīRODHĪ, UPĀYA - SVARŪPA - VīRODHĪ,

1 So A; B, panthas tilavam.
2 B om. tat - svikāra . . . āvīṣya. This passage is taken from Lōkācārya's Arcir-ādi, see p. 570. — A. G.]


1 B, anātma-buddhiḥ tor anātmany ātma-.  
2 B, taksakatva-bu-.  
3 B, tmśevaratva-buddhiḥ, śaṁya-bu-.  
4 A, 'cchhā-'vatār.  
5 B, deha-sāmbandhaś tat-sāmbandhaḥ-nūtā-pā.  
6 We ought to have here Abhimānaḥ svarūpō-'pāyō-'pēya-virōdhi.  
7 B, vihū-'na-pānā-'di-kramaṇo-'na-pānā-'di-saṁpādita.  
8 B, kaïṁkaryā-vinīyōgaṁ.  
9 B, bhōga-vaśvahārā-'di.


¹ B om. divya - vimānō - 'dyāna. ² B, asaṁ-mārga-nirātan.
³ A, yōgā - 'khyai [sic]. These, abhigamana, etc., are the five Pāñcarātra ceremonies.
⁴ ? adhikatāṁ.
⁵ B om. tvarita.
⁶ A, kṛṣṇō.
⁷ ? evam anusṭhānam.
⁸ B om. saṃrakṣaka.
THE SIBYL AND THE DREAM OF ONE HUNDRED SUNS
AN OLD APOCRYPHON

BY M. GASTER

IN addition to the more or less accredited ancient Sibylline oracles, others circulated, under the name of the one or the other of the Sibyls, which also claimed to be of equal authority. The name was a recommendation for a special kind of apocalyptic literature, and the example set of old of foretelling the future was thereby continued for many centuries. The character of this Sibylline Oracle was akin to some of the old Apocalypses, in which the future was revealed in a symbolical form, and the events to come foretold by allegories and signs, which were interpreted by the Sibyl as by one of the prophets of old. By connecting such apocalyptic revelations with some ancient name and ascribing to men or women of the past works composed at a much later time, these compositions entered into the domain of that apocryphal Christian literature which made use of old formulas for disseminating new teaching and thus prepared the mind of the people for untoward incidents. These oracles were soon drawn into the cycle of the Doomsday; the legends of Antichrist and of the Last Judgment were incorporated with the older oracle; and thus an oracle which originally may have been a mere forecast of purely political events became a religious manifesto, a prophetic pronouncement on the course of events, leading up to the final drama.

Such an apocryphal oracle was then ascribed to the Sibyl of Tibur. This was one of the best known among the nations of Europe and has been preserved in two ancient Latin versions, known as the Sibyl of Beda, one, however, dependent upon the other. According to the researches
of Sackur, it had assumed its last form in the ninth century, though its origin must be much older and is to be sought in the East. The most prominent feature in this oracle is a dream seen by one hundred noblemen on one and the same night, in which they saw seven or nine suns appearing on the horizon, each one distinguished from the other by some peculiarity. The Sibyl is called upon to explain the dream and what the seven or nine suns portend. This symbolical multiplication of the sun and its diverse aspects and manifestations, by which the future was to be foretold, and which required an expert interpreter, is of Oriental origin. Important events in the life of men and nations have often been connected with wonderful apparitions and signs in the skies. The appearance of the star which led the Magi from the East to the cave in Bethlehem is only one of numerous similar examples in Oriental literature. The Rabbinical literature knows of a brilliant star appearing at the birth of Abraham; and of four stars fighting, three of which were swallowed up by one at the birth of Moses. In both cases astrologers are called in to interpret their significance—in the one case to Nimrod, in the other to Pharaoh.

In the interpretation of those nine suns there was a wide scope given to the imagination of the successive interpreters and adaptors of the old oracle. For, after a lapse of time the same nine suns were represented as signifying some such series of events as the writer of the time took a more personal interest in. In the West, e.g., the history of the Frankish kingdom was read into it, and, as will be seen later on, in the East at a later period Mohammedan history had to do duty and become the object of the prophecy. The authors of these oracles were invariably Christians, and therefore the eschatological element was joined with the history of the appearance and spread of Christianity.
The vaticination of the Sibyl did not stop at a list of succeeding kings, but the last of them was to lay down his crown at the gates of Jerusalem and thereupon was to follow the time of the Antichrist and the final struggle, until the Day of Judgment would put an end to the rule of evil, and then would be ushered in the kingdom of heaven. It was this final portion which assured to the Sibyl the popularity which her prophecy enjoyed. Professor Bousset, in his exhaustive study on the Antichrist (Der Antichrist in d. Ueberlieferung d. Judenthums, etc., Göttingen, 1895), has devoted a special chapter to the investigation of the relation in which the Latin Sibyl of Beda stands to other compilations of a similar nature. He compared it with that of Adso, Pseudo-Methodius, the Syriac homily of Pseudo-Ephraem on the Antichrist, and the genuine writings of Ephraem. The date of this apocalyptic prophecy he thus moved upwards, first to the time of the irruption of the Arabs into the West of Asia and their spread far and wide, then higher up to the epoch of Leo the Isaurian (eighth century), then the period of Heraclius, the time of the invasion of the Huns, the allied nations from Asia, and still higher up to the time of the establishment of a Christian emperor on the throne of Byzantium. We are thus led back as far as the fourth century for the latter part of the prophecy. Curiously enough, the first part, the vision of the hundred suns, is missing in those ancient texts, even in Pseudo-Methodius (Orthodoxographa, Basel, 1555, fols. 387 ff., an edition unknown to Bousset and others), and must have been lost at an early period, so soon as the legend had reached the West of Europe. In the light of Arabic versions of the legend it cannot be doubted that the dream of the hundred suns was not only an integral part, but the very starting-point. In it lay the justification for ascribing the prophecy to the Sibyl and ensuring to it a wide circulation. It is precisely this first part which
claims our attention. Thus far no old parallels nor any link have been shown to exist between the oracle of the Sibyl of Beda and such Oriental versions as are preserved in Arabic and Ethiopian.

Dr. J. Schleifer\(^1\) has now published for the first time these Oriental texts of the Sibylline apocryphon in Arabic and Ethiopian. One of them is a Karshuni text, of course Arabic, but written in Syriac characters. The editor confines himself primarily to a critical edition of these various texts, none of them very old, and yet each one interesting in its own way. The Karshuni text, the Ethiopian, and then three Arabic texts, are printed in five parallel columns, and so arranged that the relation between these texts should be seen at a glance. In the foot-notes various readings are carefully noted. A minute description of the MSS. used is given, and a German translation in three columns. In this translation Dr. Schleifer has combined the three Arabic versions into one, and given the result of the critical emendation of these texts. In the foot-notes to the translation reference is made to the Latin Tiburtan Sibyl (Beda), and the book concludes with an examination of the relation in which these versions stand to one another. They all go back to one ancient original, to which the Karshuni text is most closely related, and almost of equal value as the Arabic, though differing from the latter sufficiently not to be its immediate source. The latest is the Ethiopian, which rests on a text closely akin, though not identical with, Arabic iii.

This edition of the Oriental versions is of great importance for the history of the apocryphal tale, which has exercised so great an influence upon popular imagination, and was at the same time a reflex of the popular

naïve philosophy of history, which sees in the present the realization of events foretold in the past, and finds in it a source of comfort and hope for the future, lifting the people above the temporary trials and holding out a promise of reward and of peace everlasting. For it is all fore-ordained, and it is part and parcel of the divine economy which shapes human life and leads the world on irresistibly to a final day of judgment, when the actions of man will be weighed—the good rewarded, the evil punished, and the destroyed harmony of the world re-established.

These Oriental texts start with the dream, and the interpretation given by the Sibyl brings us down to the time of the rule of Al-Ma'mun and his successors (ninth century), possibly also to that of the Crusaders and Richard Cœur de Lion. The king immediately before the appearance of the Antichrist will be the "son of the Lion" from the land of the Franks. In some points there is a close resemblance between these versions and the oldest Latin text. The question naturally arises: Where is the connecting link between the Eastern tale and its Western parallels, and which is their ultimate source? Dr. Schleifer might have turned his attention to this question, the importance of which for the history of this apocryphon cannot be gainsaid, but he scarcely touches it. The Arabic version rests probably on an older Syriac text, for that the book is of Oriental origin there cannot be any doubt. The whole setting and the detailed history of the Muhammedan Empire down to the tenth century and later, exclude the possibility of an Occidental origin. No old Arabic book has been translated from the Latin. But the Syriac itself could hardly be anything but a translation from a Greek text. That the Arabic may have been translated from the Greek is rather a remote probability, for if the book was originally written in Greek it has no doubt.
reached the Arabs through Syriac mediation. A Greek text would be the natural link between East and West. Unfortunately, hitherto no such Greek text has come to light; at any rate, I am not aware of its existence. I have now discovered another version, which may safely be taken to represent the hitherto undiscovered Greek original. As far back as 1883, in my *History of the Rumanian Popular Literature* (pp. 338–9), I have discussed at some length an old Rumanian legend of "The Sivila and the dream which was seen of one hundred Senators in one night"; the very same dream of nine suns and of the "Sivila" interpreting the dream to the emperor. This Rumanian version in its turn is only a literal translation of a much older Slavonic version, which again rests ultimately on a Greek original. All the Slavonic and Rumanian apocrypha go back to older Greek originals which were as a rule literally translated, and then only slightly altered in those details that affected their own nation. At times they ventured also—but very rarely—upon some small interpolations. A comparison between these texts and the oldest Latin form of the Tiburtan Sibyl shows the closest possible parallelism. No room for doubt is left that the one must be dependent on the other, and the internal evidence goes far to prove the dependence of the Latin on the Greek (= Slavonic) version. Moreover, the whole Slavo-Rumanian text is very short, and all the eschatological portions, as well as every reference to the Antichrist and the Last Judgment, are entirely missing. The introduction is also very brief, and differs entirely from all other versions. Every apocryphal story or legend must be an addition to the history of the Bible. In one way or another it must embellish the narration of Holy Writ. By these means the apocryphal story enters the holy cycle and forms henceforth part of the "Historiated Bible". Only in the Slavonic version this connexion with the
Bible is found—a proof of its great antiquity and its independence of the Western versions. It is an attempt to connect the Sibyl with David, whose offspring she is in a marvellous manner. She is here the oldest form, if not the origin, of the legend of Reine Pédaque, and possibly the ancestor of “Mother Goose”. Professor Vesselofsky has studied this cycle exhaustively in his Opyty po istorii razvitiya kristianskoi legendy (ii, pp. 351–3). There he refers also to the legend current in the name of the Venerable Bede, and he shows that it agrees in the main with the Sibylline oracle in a Slavonic version, of which a copy had been placed at his disposal by Buslaev and Drinov. Since then an old Slavonic original and the Rumanian version, of which I wrote in my Literatura populară română (Bucharest, 1883, 337 pp.), have been published by L. Miletitch in the Sbornik of the Bulgarian Minister of Public Instruction (vol. ix, Sofia, 1893, pp. 177–80). According to Miletitch the Slavonic MS. (now in the Library of the State Archives in Bucharest) of the sixteenth century is merely a copy of an older MS. which belongs at latest to the fourteenth century. The Rumanian codex (in the Library of the Rumanian Academy) from which I published many years ago, also a portion of the legend of Adam and Eve (Revista pentru Istorie și filologie, ed. Tocilescu, Bucharest, i, pp. 78 ff.), belongs to the end of the sixteenth century. It is an almost literal translation of the Slavonic. In a few details it differs from the text published by Dr. Miletitch and supplements the latter. I have now translated these texts into English, following in the main the Slavonian version as the oldest, and adding in brackets the variants of the Rumanian. I am also reprinting here the Rumanian text, for it is preserved in an unique copy; the edition of Dr. Miletitch is unfortunately faulty in many passages, and the text is practically inaccessible
in the Bulgarian Sbornik. Moreover, it is written in the old Slavonic or Cyrillian alphabet. I have transliterated it and corrected the mistakes which have crept into the last-mentioned publication.

The comparison between these texts and the Latin versions of the Sibyline oracles mentioned before proves identity of origin and close resemblance in details. The description of the nine suns in the Slavonic and in Beda and their peculiar appearance agrees in many points. The divergence begins with the interpretation, which has undergone the greatest possible change. It had to be adapted to local exigencies if it was to be of any use, and if it was to be believed in as an old prophecy of coming events. In the Slavonian, unlike the Latin, the name of the great emperor is called explicitly Constantin, which might settle one of the difficulties of the Latin texts where the names of the kings and emperors are not fully given; they are indicated only by the initial letter, and it was left to the imagination of the reader to supply the remainder, thus leaving an open field to fantastic interpretation and interested guesswork. In other respects the Slavonic also differs in the names of the various nations that were to make incursions into the western world and bring trouble upon the peoples. No doubt, as often happens with texts in which the names of ancient nations since extinct appear, more modern names are substituted by the later copyists for those of the older nations that had come and gone. Thus, the Tartars have no doubt taken the place of the ancient Huns, and the Saracens that of the Persians in the older versions. These names indicate the latest date for these Slavo-Rumanian versions, and lead us to the time of the invasion of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, known among the nations of Eastern Europe mostly under the name of "Tartars".

Peculiar to these versions is the animosity against the
Greeks and the exaltation of the "Iberians" of Armenia, whom they describe as a God-fearing, pious, and modest nation, just the contrary to the rapacious, impious Greeks, who have changed their faith three times, and are inhospitable and greedy. This no doubt reflects the feelings of the Bulgarians, who were in constant warfare with the Byzantine emperors. The author of the translation and adaptation from the Greek probably belonged to the sect of the Bogomils, whose chief literary activity centred in the translation and dissemination of the old apocryphal literature. This predilection for the "Iberians" is found also in other apocryphal and popular writings which were translated from the Greek by the same agencies, the members of that famous sect, and then adapted to their own peculiar teaching. This may also be the reason why some of the eschatological details found in all the other versions, and which therefore formed part of the old original, are missing in the Slavonic text, and why the Archangel Gabriel, who was the special favourite of the Bogomils, is introduced as the restorer of peace at the end of days. I cannot here follow up in greater detail the examination and comparison of these texts. Until a Greek text of this apocryphal tale comes to light the Slavo-Rumanian version forms the connecting link between East and West.

The History of the Sibyl and the Dream of the Hundred Senators of Rome.

Translated from the Old Slavonic and from the Rumanian.

King David was a man of overpowering strength, and it oozed out of him. The servant one day wiped the phial with some grass, and threw it out, and a goose came and ate it. No sooner had it eaten it than it laid an egg, and the egg burst, and out of the egg came a girl. They told it in secret to David, who when he heard of it understood what
had happened, and gave orders to hide the child; and they hid her away in the land Gorskia (Rum. Ugorsku), (and she grew up and studied), and she was wiser and more beautiful than the whole world, and through her wisdom (she obtained the rule over the whole land of Ugorsku), and she became the ruler of Rome (Rimá), and she considered (or, pondered over) the word of the prophets, for God had said unto David: "Of thy seed will I place upon thy throne;" and she considered also what the other prophecies foretold. And her name was Maria, but for her wisdom they gave her the name Sivila. And she hoped that from her Christ would be born, and she kept her virginity for fifty years, until one hundred of the great boyars saw a dream, and then Sivila understood that it would not come to pass as she had hoped.

And the boyars came together and said: "Let us go to the Queen and tell her the dream which we have seen." And they came to her and said: "May it please your Majesty. We the one hundred boyars have had one and the same dream." And Sivila said: "Tell me the dream, and I will endeavour to explain it." And the barons said: "We have seen nine suns rising." Sivila replied: "Tell me how these suns looked." And they said: "The first sun rose clear and gentle, and it was a pleasure for us to look at it. The second sun, its light was three times darkened and hidden. The third was black, with dark rays round about it. The fourth sun was like flaming dark smoke. The fifth sun was (white) and burning hot; it was difficult for us to look at it. The sixth sun was white as snow. The seventh sun had a blood-red glow, and in the midst thereof there were hands. The eighth sun had soft and clear rays. The ninth was the most terrible and awe-inspiring, and hotter than all."

The Sivila replied: "The nine suns signify nine generations (or, periods). The first sun is the generation of the Bulgarians, who are good and hospitable and true
believers and worship in the Christian faith. The second sun signifies the nation of the Greeks, for they have three times changed their faith and mix with other nations; they are fond of money, publicans (or, taking bribes), and they betray the kingdom of God. The third sun signifies the Franks; they will conquer all the nations, and from among them will be born a man from two nations (two origins or families?), whose name will be Constantin, and he will conquer many nations, and he will wage great wars on the earth, and signs will be shown to him in the heavens; and he will lift up the Greeks, and he will raise an empire among the Greeks, and he will build among them a town, and he will call it New Jerusalem, a fortress for the Greeks and a resting-place for the Saints. And to his mother the crosses of Christ will be revealed, and they will perform many miracles in the world. The fourth sun signifies the Arkadians, who will conquer the Franks and will take Rome. And Rome will again be rebuilt (or, sacked?), and that man will be drowned (die) in the water. The fifth sun signifies the Saracens, who will destroy Jerusalem and take Syria. The sixth sun signifies the Syrians, who held Jerusalem and lost their throne; and their country will be devastated for three hundred years. The seventh sun signifies the Jews. A woman will arise in their midst and give birth to a child from heaven, and his name will be called Jesus, and the girl that will give birth to him will remain a pure virgin. His throne is the heaven, and the earth his footstool. The name of the woman is Maria. And all the princes and judges will gather together and will hand him over to be crucified, and he will be buried, and on the third day he will rise and ascend to heaven. And he will send twelve men who will spread our faith, and that faith will grow strong, and that faith will have dominion from the rising of the sun to its setting."
The Jewish priests and the princes exclaimed then:
"Be silent, O our Queen, for we wish to ask thee one thing more. Is it possible that God should descend from heaven and beget a son from a woman and destroy our faith?" And the Sivila answered: "O my foolish people! do not wonder at great and marvellous things. Consider well in your minds on what do the heavens hang and on what is the earth established that it does not move? Our law is not a good one, and I up till now had hoped that the Christ would be born of me, and I have kept my virginity for fifty years, but now I know that he will not be born of me.

"The eighth sun signifies the Iberians, a righteous and hospitable people (loving the stranger); they keep the Church and fear God, and (observe His holy Word). There is no guile among them, and it is of them that God says: 'Blessed are the meek ones, (for they will obtain salvation).' The ninth sun signifies the Tartars, who shed blood upon the earth, and no one can withstand them; they will eat up the whole earth, and they will destroy from among men the name of the archangels (and for a time they will be so strong that no nation will be able to stand up against them, but in the end they will be destroyed from among men by the name of the archangel Gabriel). Our God be praised for ever and ever."

THE RUMANIAN TEXT

CUVÂNTU DE PRÉ INȚELÉPTA Savila

Davíd prorocul lui dumnezău avé pohtă mare cât eșiea vrătutea lui adecă plodul lui șí puné un vas șí pica in vasă. Iară într'o zi un înășăt al lui ștérse plodul cu nişte buruiane, șí le aruncă afară. Șí eșí o gânsceă șí mâncă buruceanele. Șí cum le mâncă îndată o'o un ou, șí crepă șí din șí eșí o pruncă parte muerescă, șí intru ascunsă spuseră lui Davíd. (Cum) a auzăt de acasta Davíd.
bine înțeles precum se făcă. Acieași zise de ascunseră fata acéea întru pământul Ugorscului. Și ea crescu șii învăță cartă șii fiu înțeleptă mai vrătos decât toți oamenii ce petrecea în toată lumea. Și cu înțelepciune ei dobândi țara Ugorscului toată, șii împărăți în Râmă, șii socotea zisele prorocilor, cum zise dumnezău lui Davide: "Din sâmânta ta voi pune spre scaunul tău," șii a altor proroci zisele le socotea. Numele ei era Mariea, șii pentru înțelepciune ei i zi eră Sivila. Și trăge nădejd că dintru dansa se va naște Hristos, șii feri fecioarea sa în 50 de ani, până cândă văzură o sută de boeari mari toți un vis. Atuncea înțelese Savila că nu easte acéea ce nădâjduieaște.


2. Al doilea soare de trei ori întunecă șii se ascunse lumina. 3. Al treilea soare cu zări negre pregur dansul. 4. Al patrule soare ca o pară de fum negră. 5. Al cincile soare albă șii fierbințe era noao a-l socoti. 6. Al șasele soare lumină avă ca zăpada. 7. Al șaptele soare cu zare roșie șii în mijloc mâni avă. 8. Al optule soare zările lui era line șii curate. 9. Al noiele soare de toți era mai groaznică spăimăț, era șii fierbințe."

Sivila zise: "Noao sori sănăt noao rodurî. Cel soare dintâi este rodul Bălgarilor, buni șii iubitori la oaspeți șii credincioși, șii cea dreptă credință creștinescă lui Dumnezău au închinată. Al doile soare săntă Grecii, șii ei de trei ori credința sa au lepădat-o șii cu toate limbile să amestecă, iubitori de argint șii luitori de adâmană împărăție lui Dumnezău déderă. Al treile soare săntă, Frăncii, ce ei vor călca toate limbile, eșii-va dintru dansii om
de 2 roduri, și numele lui va fi Constantin, și acela va cărea toate limbile și va face războaie mari pre pământ și i să vor arăta lui sémne pre ceri și va rădica Grecii, și va face înparăție întru Greci, și va zidi întru dânsii cetate și să va chiemia Ierusalimul nou, ogra da Grecilor și răpaosul svântilor, și mâni-sa i să vor arăta crucile lui Hristos ce iale vor face sémne multe pre pământ. Al patrule soare aceastea săntă Arcadei ce vor birui Franții și vor cărea Rimul și iară va fi Rimul, și acela om într'apă va muri. Al cincile soare, aceastea săntă Sărăcineștii (-nenii ?), ce vor pustii Ierusalimul și vor cărea Siria. Al șesele soare, aceastea săntă Siricanii, ce ținuară Ierusalimul, și pierdură scunul său și pământul lor va fi pustii trei sute de ani. Al șaptele soare aceastea săntă Jidovii. Eși-va o mueare dintru dânsii și va naște fiu din ceri și-i vor zice numele lui Isus, și fata cea ce va naște va fi tot fecoară curată; scunul lui iaste ceriul, iară pământul iaste ăsternută plioarelor lui. Numele fecoarei va fi Mariea, aduna-să-vor toți domnii și toți giudecătorii, și-l vor da spre răstignire, ingropa-l-vor pre dânsul și a treea zi va învie și să va sui în ceri; și va trimite 12 bărbați și aceea legea noastră vor rășăpi, și a lor lege vor întări, și aceea lege va înparăți de la răsăritul soarelui până la apus."

Atuncea ziseră popii jidovești și toți boarii: “Năi, taci înparăție ta, că încă una te vom întreba. Poate aceea a fi, să pogoară dumnezău din ceri și să să naseă din fecoară și să spargă légé noastră ?” Atuncea Savila a zis: “O nebun rodul mieu cel mare și minunat! nu vă mirareți de acasta, ci socotiți eu înțelepciune voastră, ci socotiți pre ce stă ceriul animat și pământul întărit și neclătă; iară legea voastră nu spre bine stă, că și eu până acum m'am nădăjduit că dintru mine să va naște Hristos și mie-am ferit fectoriea mea în 50 de ani, iară acmu cunosc că nu-s eu aceea."

Al optule soare, aceastea săntă Iverii dereții și îbitori
la oaspeți, beséreca pâzăscu, de dumnezău se tem și
cuvintele svinției sale carcă, și petrec fără de răutate,
i unora ca acestora le zice dumnezău: "Ferice la ceea
ce se plècă aceea vor dobândi spaseniea." Al noiele soare,
aceea săntă Tătarii ce varsă sânge pre pământ și nimea
înaintea lor nu vor sta, mâanca-vor toate țărâle și până
la o vrème atâta putere vor ave câtă înainte lor din
limbi nimea nu să va puté protivi; iară cândă va fi pre
urmă cu numele lui arhangel Gavriil iar de(n) oameni
vor peri.—Slavă părintelui și fiului și duhului sântă,
acum și pururé, și întru vécii de vécii amin."
THE BRAHMINOS OF MALABAR

By K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

THE lofty chain of the Western Ghats bears much the same relation to the land of Bhārgava-kṣetra, a Sanskrit name of the coastal country of Kerala or Malabar, as the gigantic Himālayan range bears to the land of Bhārata-varṣa, or the Indian continent as a whole. This huge and impervious mountain-barrier, shutting off the low-lying seaboard region from the high table-land of the Deccan behind, has made it a separate world in every respect. The face of Nature, with its luxuriant growth of palms nurtured by the abundant tropical monsoons, differs from that of any other part of the Indian Peninsula. The language, Malayālam, though a branch of Dravidian speech, is confined to this region.

1 Note by Professor Macdonell: "This article is a result of my Indian tour, in the course of which I stayed, in December, 1907, at the Residency on the island of Bolghatty, near Ernakulam, Cochin State. The writer, with whom I had previously been in correspondence, had two long interviews with me there. He is a graduate of Madras University and the author of a small collection of essays on some highly problematic questions of mythology, etymology, and race, entitled Comparative Studies (Madras, 1908, pp. 47), of which he has presented a copy to the Royal Asiatic Society. I found him eager for advice as to how to set about some line of research which his knowledge qualified him to pursue. I suggested to him an account of the Brahmins of Malabar, about whom little is known in Europe, and with whose life and literature he himself is personally familiar. Setting to work on this task he completed it last year, when he sent me his manuscript. This I have revised and prepared for publication in the form of the present article, adding a few footnotes of my own."

2 In allusion to the legend that this country was created or reclaimed from the sea by Bhārgava Rāma for the purpose of free distribution among the Brahmins whom he is said to have brought and settled here, in sixty-four villages, in order to expiate the sin of having exterminated the Kṣatriya dynasties thrice seven times.
The pre-Aryan population, isolated for many centuries, retained their ancient institutions and customs, such as polyandry and matriarchy, some of which have survived unmodified down to the present day. Into this region Aryan Brahmin colonists migrated, settling down in it perhaps fifteen centuries ago. They, too, suffered the fate of isolation, which became so complete that they contented themselves with local substitutes for the holy Ganges and Gayā, the sacred city of the north—with the river Nila, otherwise called the Bhārata or Ponnani, and the hilly hamlet of Tirunelli. Cut off thus from their brethren in other parts of India, they formed themselves into a distinct caste—a caste formed by migration, as Sir H. Risley would express it—chiefly known as Nambūtiris. The first part of this word is nambu, "faith" or "knowledge", being the Dravidian equivalent in sense of the Sanskrit  veda, "sacred knowledge." This name, as well as the corresponding Sanskrit Brāhmaṇa, is extended in Malabar to include Brahmins of an inferior order who are not entitled to study the Vedas, though enjoying certain quasi-Brahminical privileges. The latter are excluded from the scope of this paper, which will confine itself to describing the Vedic section of the Brahmin community of Malabar.

In order to understand fully the internal structure of this caste, it is necessary to be familiar with the order of precedence recognized among these Vedic Nambūtiris and the privileges on which that precedence is based. The section called Aghuvancheri Thampurakkal (which is the combined family name and title of the members of a single Nambūtiri house) occupies the highest rung of the social ladder. Even the (native) rulers of the land pay homage to the members of this house by inviting them to their courts as well as by visiting them to show their respect in person. Next in order come the remaining noble (ādhya) houses. These Brahmin chiefs
are said to have been at the head of the theocracy of ancient Malabar. They are now mostly the rich landlords, having armed retainers to attend on them and scorning to serve as priests. It is doubtless for this reason that sacrifices have become obsolete among them. The Brahmins of the third grade are called Āsyas. They are not all of equal status, but are arranged in the following gradation:—

A. (1) The Bhaṭṭavṛtti Brahmins, or those who are supposed to be proficient in the Śāstras of Grammar, sacrificial lore (Pūrvamīmāṁsā), and Vedānta;
(2) The Agnihotra Brahmins, or those who have the right to perform sacrifices.

B. (1) Brahmins who are eligible for service as Vedic teachers;
(2) Brahmins who are eligible for admission into the order of Sannyāsis or ascetics.

C. (1) Brahmins entitled to services as Pujāris or ministers (but not as Tantris or temple priests);
(2) Brahmins entitled to the bare right of Vedic study.¹

All the titles and privileges I have mentioned are supposed to be hereditary. Instances are, however, not wanting of interchange of status between Āsyas and Ādhyas, that is to say, of members of the former class becoming members of the latter, and vice versa.

In order to describe and illustrate the village organization of the Brahmins of Malabar, I propose to select three well-known and typical villages (grāmas): (1) Chovvaram, (2) Perumanam, and (3) Irinjalakudai. In each of these

¹ According to another view the two subdivisions of the C class are: (1) those entitled to the full right of Vedic study; (2) those entitled to the performance of temple service as Pujāris and to the bare right of Vedic study.
are found Nambūtiri householders, who are not only entitled to perform, but have actually performed or still perform, the Vedic sacrifices (e.g. Agnihotra, Iṣṭi, Agnistoma, and Atirātra). Each contains two families of hereditary Vaidikas or sacrificial priests (or altogether six Vaidika families) who are at the same time the highest authorities on all religious, social, or caste rules, entitled also to prescribe the expiatory procedure for the violation of such rules. Each of these villages further possesses an endowed institution called the Sabhāmaṭh (assembly college), which is said to have been originally intended for training the Brahmin youths of the village in sacrificial lore and priest-craft, but the net income of which is now divided among its managing trustees, the Karmis (those who have actually performed any of the sacrifices other than the daily Agnihotra). The Karmis have an additional source of regular income in the funds set apart for annual distribution among them, and called Karmi-thānam = Karmi-sthānam ("sacrificers' share"). Hence they are sarcastically, but perhaps truly, described as "performing sacrifices for livelihood only". Bhaṭṭa-vṛtti, or the status of the Bhaṭṭas, is the hereditary privilege of many a Nambūtiri of these villages, qualifying him for patta-thānam, the vernacular form of bhaṭṭa-sthānam ("scholars' share"), or a share of the sum divided annually among a certain number of the Bhaṭṭas of each village, but originally meant only for those who had studied and acquired proficiency in either Mīmāṃsā (according to the Bhāṭṭa or the Prabhākara system), Vedānta, or Vyākaraṇa (grammar). These subjects could be studied in a class of endowed Sabhāmaths different from those in which sacrificial priests were trained. There is still in existence a maṭh of the former kind, which has a few pupils on its roll and possesses a library of old Grantha MSS., including, as I am told by the present head of the institution, several volumes that originally belonged to the
learned Payyur Bhaṭṭatiris of old, and, after their death, found their way into this math.

What is common to all the households of a village is its patron deity. The villagers are regarded as once having had a voice in the management of his temple and the property belonging to it. On the other hand, the characteristic features of a typical village community, such as equality of holdings, their customary management and periodical redistribution, communal lands, hereditary village officers, and so forth, are all absent, having perhaps been swept away by lapse of time. The houses are not clustered together nor built in rows with streets between them, as in the adjoining Tamil country, but are scattered far and wide, many of them being situated miles away from the central village temple. They are built in gardens fenced on all sides. Their plan is rectangular, the four blocks which enclose the rectangular central courtyard being supposed to constitute four tenements separated from one another by some conventional contrivance of native architecture, such as a beam, a narrow passage or corridor, so as to prevent pollution from one to another by contact. The traditional explanation of this plan is that a Brahmin can by this device provide separate lodgings for his four wives taken from each of the four castes. But tradition fails to supply specific instances of such a practice. The village of Panneur, which was once a rival to Chovvaram and held in high esteem as a centre of culture, is now under the ban of perpetual degradation for a very sacrilegious act which the villagers are accused of having committed in the distant past—the burning of the idol of their patron deity (the varāha-mārti or Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) and the spoliation of his temple. Similar interesting traditions account for the peculiarities of other villages, but they are too numerous to be included in this short paper.

Only the first three Vedas (tri-vidyā), the Rig-, Yajus-, and Sāma-, are current among the Nambūtiris. The first
two have a larger following than the last. The Sāmaveda is, indeed, confined to a dozen or two households only, all of which belong to the school of the Jaiminīyas. The Kauśitaki and the Āśvalāyana sections of the Nambūtīris have one and the same Saṃhitā text of the Rigveda, but separate Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. For the advanced study of the Rigveda there exist two rival colleges, or maths, the one at Trichur and the other at Tirunāvaye, each managed by its hereditary Vādhyan or managing teacher. These ancient endowed institutions are respectively patronized by the Rāja of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut, the heads of the two rival kingdoms of ancient Malabar. Almost every year pupils from these rival colleges meet at the Temple of Kadavellore and whole-heartedly compete for the verdict of proficiency. The syllabus consists of the text of the Rigveda in the four forms of the Padapātha, Krama-pātha, Jatā-pātha, and Ratha-pātha. The last, which is the most complicated and difficult mode of recitation, is based on the second (krama) method. It may be described thus: if one anta or half-verse consists of four words a, b, c, d, these must be grouped in the following order: ab, ba, ab, bc, cba, ab bc, cd, deba, and ab, bc, cd, and d. The symbolic representation and teaching of the Padapātha and the more elaborate methods of recitation based on it seem to be peculiar to, if not a special invention of, the Nambūtīris of Malabar. All the verses that are analysed in the Pada text, and these only, are mechanically reproduced with exactness, being communicated and taught by means of a series of finger and palm signs or symbols resembling those of the deaf and dumb alphabet. This course also is taught in the two Vedic colleges I have mentioned.

The text of the Yajurveda current among the Nambūtīris is that of the Taittirīya school of the so-called "Black" recension of this Veda. Its Āpastamba subdivision is said to have existed in Malabar till not very
long ago, but is now extinct. Almost all the Yajurvedic Nambūtiri families belong to the Baudhāyana school, the remaining few representing the Bādhūlaka section. The latter I am inclined to regard as the followers of the Vādhuṇā Sūtra mentioned by Mahādeva in the introduction to his commentary on the Kalpa Sūtra of Satyāsādha Hiranyakesin. The only difference now existing between these two schools—the Baudhāyanas and the Bādhūlakas—is to be found in their Vedic ritual and ceremonies, not in their Vedic texts, both the Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa being the same for both.

The period of Brahma-cārya or pupilage, from the seventh to the fifteenth year inclusive, of every Nambūtiri youth is wholly devoted to the learning of his Veda by heart, though some discontinue the study afterwards and even forget what they have already committed to memory. Considerably more than half the Nambūtiris, indeed nearly 75 per cent., can recite the Saṃhitā texts of their respective Vedas. Much smaller is the number of those well-versed in the Padapātha and the more elaborate methods of recitation. One or two may even be found who can recite more than one Veda. Those who have committed the Brāhmaṇas to memory are limited in number. The Vedic texts are not only learned by heart, but are also practically applied, both in everyday religious observances (such as the Śvādhyāya or the Brahma-yajña), and in the great Vedic festivals held in the temples, such as the Vāram, Trisandha, Othūkottu, Pañchasandha, and others. The Nambūtiris' intonation (not accentuation) in chanting the Vedic hymns is peculiar, differing much to the ear from that of the

1 On Bādhūla as the name of a family see Hall's Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems (Calcutta, 1859), p. 112, and Burnell's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. at Tanjore, pp. 97, 122. [A. A. M.]
3 The Bājā of Cochin informed me that at least 3500 Brahmans in his State can recite the whole of a single Veda. [A. A. M.]
Brahmins in other parts of India. Their customs and observances also diverge in many respects from those prevailing elsewhere. Some of the more important of these peculiarities I will here indicate.

1. The tuft of hair is worn on the top or crown of the head.

2. Not more than one sacred thread is ever worn at the same time.

3. The dress of both sexes must be made of white cotton cloth.

4. The eldest son alone is allowed to marry. The object of this restriction seems to have been to prevent the family being divided into branches. The inevitable result was polygamy, subject to the restriction that a Brahmin cannot marry another woman while he has three wives alive or during the lifetime of his sacrificial partner (*patni*). His brothers, however, may marry if there is a sufficiently cogent reason, such as lack of issue on the part of the eldest brother, or exchange of girls in marriage to avoid the necessity of cash payment to a bridegroom as a dowry. Otherwise they are "to live a life of strict celibacy" as Snātakas (those who have completed the period of studentship); but they generally lead a licentious life by freely contracting what are called fugitive alliances with the women of the Marumakka-thayam or matriarchal families.

5. The marriage of girls after attaining puberty, and even at a more advanced age, is not only permitted but is common. Infant marriage is unknown.

6. The marriage is consummated very soon after the wedding ceremony, generally on the fourth day. This is also the custom in the rare cases in which girls are married before they attain the age of puberty.

7. A form of marriage known as *Sarva-sva-dānam* ("gift of one's entire possessions"), not recognized in the
Mitākasāra, but based on Vasiṣṭha's formula, "I give unto thee this virgin (who has no brother), decked with ornaments, and the son who shall be born of her shall be my son," is still in force among the Nambūtiris; and the adoption of a son in the elsewhere obsolete Dvayāmu-śyāyana form, that is, as the son of two (the natural and the adoptive) fathers, is the one current in Malabar.

8. The Nambūtiri women's life is regulated according to the strict Gosha system of female seclusion. Their noses are never bored, and their ornaments are far from showy, attractive, or fashionable. The punishment for unchastity is excommunication, following upon the confession of the guilty woman and of her male partner in the sexual crime, after an elaborate investigation, which includes what is known as dāsī-vicāra or "examination of (her Nayar) maidservant".

9. The corpse of the dead man is burned in his own compound, not being conveyed to a common crematorium.

10. Śrāddhas, or death anniversaries, are performed on the star-day (naksatra), on which the person died, and not on the lunar day (tithi), of his death, unless both coincide. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule.

Besides the customs I have mentioned there are many special rules regulating the ablutions, observances, and ceremonies of daily life, which are, generally speaking, performed with care and punctiliousness, and seldom neglected or wilfully violated.

From what I have said it would appear that, as far as the religious side of life is concerned, ancient tradition is by no means neglected among the Brahmīns of Malabar; for Vedic study, inasmuch as it consists of learning the Vedas by heart, may be said to flourish among them, and Brahmínical rites are still carefully observed. On the other hand, general Brahmínical learning and culture are in a state of decline. For the Subhāmaṭhs have become
lifeless institutions, rarely resorted to, and hardly utilized as they were intended to be, while the religious endowments no longer fulfil their original educational purpose.

I can now proceed to describe briefly what the Nambūtiri Brahmins have preserved of their ancient literature and science down to the present day.

Bhārgava Rāma, the Brahmin warrior, the mythical creator of Malabar, is also regarded as its first lawgiver, and the author of a special code for Malabar, known as the Bhārgava Smṛti. It exists now only in name, for no copy of it has ever been found in any library yet searched. It is, however, cited as the chief authority followed by Śaṅkara in his abridged code, the Laghu-dharma-prakāśikā, of which the first part, in twelve chapters, has been published in Malayālam characters, and in which are noted the peculiar customs and observances current in Malabar. The Śaṅkara to whom this work is attributed has, however, by no means been proved to be identical with Śri Śaṅkarācārya,¹ the versatile and encyclopaedic genius of ancient Malabar.

There are six ancient native authorities who are consulted in regard to sacrificial (śrauta) and domestic (grhya) ceremonies and allied subjects. Thekkad Yogiatiri and Erkara Brahman are specially connected with the Kaśitaki school. Parangode and Mazhamgalam follow the system of Āśvalāyana, the latter also that of Baudhāyana. Puthumana Chomatiri belongs to the school of Āśvalāyana, and Kovād to that of Bādhūlaka.

As regards the study of the speculative and philosophical portion of Vedic literature contained in the Upanishads, the people of Malabar, with pardonable pride, claim its great exponent, Śaṅkarācārya, as a native of their country. He is regarded as a divine teacher,

¹ In fact, he is more probably Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyana, author of the Sarva-dharma-prakāśa, a work of which there is a MS. in the India Office Library. [A. A. M.]
a prophet, an incarnation of Śiva, as one whose mission it was to stamp out heresy, reform religion, and regenerate society. The revival of asceticism, and the consequent establishment of the order of Sannyāsīs, or religious mendicants, and their endowed mathas at Trichur and elsewhere in Malabar, are standing witnesses of his propaganda of religious reform.

Special attention was paid in former days to the study of Astronomy (including Astrology) in Malabar. The following are the most authoritative works on the subject produced in the country. (1) The Daśādhyaâyī is an elaborate commentary on the first ten chapters of Varāha Mihira's Horā-sāstra, by Thalakkolathur Bhattachāri; (2) the Āryabhatiīya Bhāsya is a commentary on Āryabhaṭa; (3) the Tantra-saṃgraha is a treatise on computation; (4) the Grahaṇa-nirṇaya is a work dealing with the “determination of eclipses”. The last three treatises (2–4), as well as another, the Siddhānta-darpana (5), were all written by Kelallore Nilakanṭha Chōmatiri (Somayāji, ‘one who has performed the Soma sacrifice’). In addition to these are to be mentioned the Mānasagyānīta (6) on “mental calculation”, by Puthumana Chōmatiri (Sōmayāji), and the Kāla-dīpaka (7) or “Lamp of Times”, by Mazhamgalam. There are, besides, many minor textbooks on Muhūrta (division of time), Praśna (astrological inquiry), Jātaka (horoscope), and Gaṇīta (calculation).¹

Medicine and surgery have been from early times the hereditary professions of Vaidya (medical) families who have not only practised but taught, and thus popularized, the system of Āyur-veda, or medical science, introduced into Malabar from elsewhere. No indigenous Sanskrit works of any importance on this subject are, however, known to me.

¹ Cf. Mr. Sthanu Pillai’s article on Āryabhaṭa in the Indian Review, July, 1905.
Temple ceremonies and kindred topics connected with idolatry, including the principles and rules of temple construction, form the subject-matter of what are known as *Tantra-granthas*. Of these, the most important indigenous work is the *Tantra-samuccaya*, by Chenna Mangalath Narayanan Nambūtiri, himself a Tantri, or temple-priest (not one of the Pujārī or ministrant class), as well as a Mantra-vādi or magician, who also seems to be the author of a commentary on the *Kriyā-sāra* ("Essence of Magic"). The *Śeṣa-samuccaya* is said to form a supplement to the *Tantra-samuccaya*. Another class of *Granthas*, closely related to that just described, are the *Mantra-granthas*, or treatises dealing with spells, their intrinsic value, their use, and so forth. The well-known and often quoted standard work on this subject is the *Prapāṇca-sāra* ("Essence of the World"), by Śri-Śaṅkarācārya, who is also the reputed author of a number of *Stotras* or short prayer-books, such as the *Saundaryalahari*, the *Bhujanga-prayāta-stotra*, and the *Daksināmūrtya-āstukam*.¹ To this last class belongs the *Nārāyaṇīya*, by Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri of the Meppathur family. It is an abridgment of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, addressed in the form of prayers to the god Nārāyaṇa in the Guruvāyur Temple. It is especially current among such castes as are not entitled to read the original Purāṇa. One of its commentators, Desamangalath Variyar, belongs to one of these castes. Kulaśekhara Bhūpa, mentioned as the author of the well-known *Mukunda-mālā* and of some other *Stotras* in the Catalogue of the Palace Library at Trivandrum, seems to have been a native hymn-writer belonging to a royal house.²

¹ Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* enumerates more than fifty *Stotras* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya. He there gives a list of nearly 300 works attributed to the same scholar, who is reputed to have died at the age of 32! [A. A. M.]

² He is perhaps identical with the Kulaśekharavarma Bhūpa mentioned below.
Sanskrit grammar has always been a favourite subject of study in Malabar. The Koodalore or Nareri Nambūtirī house, which possesses one of the oldest and best manuscript libraries in Malabar, has been a welcome resort for all persons wishing to devote themselves to this branch of Sanskrit learning. The following indigenous works under this head may be noted here. The Prakriyā-sarvasvam (1) and an incomplete commentary (2) on Kaiyāṭa's Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa are both by Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīrī. The Sarva-pratyaya-māḷā, by Śaṅkarācārya, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Palace Library at Trivandrum, seems to be known outside Malabar by only one entry in Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India.¹

Under the comprehensive heading of general poetical and prose literature, including the Court epics, lyrics, and dramas, as well as the class of writings known as Campūs and Prabandhas, written partly in prose and partly in verse, mention might be made of many modern books, some of them by authors still living, but in this brief sketch I can only refer to old standard works. The Āścārya-cūḍāmanī, by Śakti-bhadra, the Samvarana and the Subhadra-dhananjaya² of Kulaśekhara-varma Bhūpa,³ are the three dramas that are even now acted according to local stage-lore by the native Naṭa caste, the Chakkyars, who are said to be the representatives in Malabar of the Purānic Sūtas, or story-tellers, and in this capacity entertain their audiences on festive occasions with Purānic tales humorously related, and in so doing instruct their hearers with moral sermons, for which the texts are generally chosen from Prabandhas and Campūs. In the Catalogue

¹ Vol. i, p. 453, No. 5701, as existing in the private library of Amūsvāmī, at Śrīvalliputtūr, in the Tinnevelly District. [A. A. M.]
² The only drama with this title in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum is there stated to be by Gururāma Kavi. [A. A. M.]
³ Identified by tradition with the Cheraman Perumal or one of the Perumal rulers of ancient and undivided Kerala.
of the Palace Library at Trivandrum, Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīrī is mentioned as the author of several Prabandhas; and the Mānaveda Campū was composed by a Zamorin of Malabar.

The well-known old Kāvyas are the Śrī-krṣṇa-vilāsa of Sukumāra and the Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya of Pathath Vasudeva Bhaṭṭatīrī, who belonged to the village of Perumanam. The Śuṣka-samdeśa, or "Parrot's Message", is a lyrical poem, similar in metre, diction, and subject to Kālīdāsa's Meghadūta. It was written by a poet of the Karingampilli Nambūṭīrī family, Laksṇīmīdāsa as he calls himself, and was commented on by a scholar of the Zamorin's family. The authorship of the Amaru-śataka, "The Hundred Stanzas of Amaru," is, like that of so many other works, attributed to Śrī Śankaṛācārya, who, before establishing his claim to encyclopaedic knowledge, had to prove his proficiency in erotic science also. The Krṣṇa-nāṭakam (in Malayālam Krṣṇāṭ-tam) is a lyric drama of the Gīta-govinda type, which was composed by a pious Zamorin of old. It is even now acted, especially in the southern district of British Malabar, not by members of the professional caste, but by men specially trained for the purpose.

The foregoing sketch of the institutions and literature of the Brahmins of Malabar is meagre, and largely based on traditional knowledge. Before an exhaustive and critical account of them can be written, every manuscript library, and there are many such in Malabar, must be carefully and patiently searched, and all rare works believed to be of indigenous origin, together with the native traditional lore and the current chronograms (astronomical formulas recording the dates of great and memorable events), must be subjected to a thoroughly systematic and critical examination, an undertaking for which I am not sufficiently well equipped. This will indeed be a huge task, which nothing short of an organized enterprise will succeed in accomplishing.
In conclusion, I wish only to add that almost all the above-mentioned departments of learning are also well represented by standard textbooks in the vernacular Malayālam literature of the country. I would also point out as noteworthy the fact that the Malayālam texts dealing with the Vedic ceremonies and kindred topics have acquired a semi-Vedic sanctity, and are treated as sacred literature.¹

¹ Further information on the subject of the paper will be found in the following publications: (1) Mr. Fawcett’s monograph on the Nambūdris, Madras Museum Bulletin, vol. iii; (2) the old District Manual of British Malabar and the recently published District Gazetteer, Malabar and Anjengo; (3) the Travancore State Manual, 3 vols., Trivandrum, 1906; (4) *The Census Reports of Cochin, Travancore, and British Malabar, 1901*, more especially that of Cochin, chapter viii, on Caste, Tribe, or Race.
THE AHUNA VAIRYA, WITH ITS PAHLAVI AND
SANSKRIT TRANSLATIONS

(Continued from p. 68.)

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

IX. A single additional word upon the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian Commentaries is needed here.

It has been sometimes carelessly supposed that all the commentaries upon the Avesta are those which appear in the secondary stage of the Avesta language, with their Sanskrit and Persian translation, but of this Ahunaver we have at Yasna XIX an interesting discussion of a very representative character, and in the original Avesta language, though it is not impossibly, yet I think hardly probably, a retranslation from an extinct Pahlavi original. A translation of its Avesta text into English will be found in the thirty-first volume of the Sacred Books of the East at the place designated by the page number. This text itself is actually a commentary upon the Avesta Ahunaver, but it has also—as said above—in due course, its own separate and entire (?) Pahlavi translation-text in the body of the Pahlavi Yasna, which has been edited by the present writer with all the MSS. collated, and in its deciphered form, in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band vi, a translation of it into English having followed in the JRAS.; and it—this Pahlavi translation-text—has also its own Sanskrit translation in the course of Néryōsanghī's translation at the place, with its Persian translation, like those of the Gāthic Sections, which appear in my addition of the Gāthas. The treatment of their original, the Avesta-Ahuna, in both this Avesta Commentary upon the Avesta-Ahuna and in its—this
Avesta Commentary's—translation into Pahlavi—always, of course, a necessary distinction—is somewhat artificial and erratic when regarded as a tentatively exact and exhaustive exposition; but it has, perhaps, all the more its own interest, in spite of that very necessary defect, if not in consequence of it, as being a fine specimen of the products of the later Sasanian schools; and, as may be seen above, it is unexpectedly important on account of some of its expressions, which have created much discussion in the matter of the history of the Christian Logos Doctrine. But this Zand, or Commentary, upon the Ahuna Vairya in the Avesta language, etc., at Yasna XIX need not detain us here, as I have just given above in this Journal, p. 61, the full and immediate Pahlavi translation of the Ahunaver at Yasna XXVII (Sp.), and also treated Yasna XIX fully, as said above, in ZDMG. and JRAS., and we need now only to remark that those more diffuse translations in Yasna XIX are in general harmony with those of the actual and immediate Pahlavi translation of the Ahunaver at Yasna XXVII as regards the main question upon the moral idea which I here bring chiefly into issue (see below upon the interpretation), and some of its expressions I must cite further on.

Having done what I could to provisionally exploit our leading materials, we can now proceed in our final attempted exhaustive exegesis of the Ahuna Text itself.

X. Final Textual, Grammatical, and Syntactical Criticism in view of the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Avesta Commentaries, now fully exploited above and in other volumes.

Verbatim.—A word as to the closeness of the verbatim

1 "The word which was before the world, etc."; see Yasna XIX, SBE. xxxi, JRAS., and ZDMG., has been erroneously supposed to be the original motive of the Philonian and Gnostic Logos, with that of St. John.

2 See JRAS. for January, 1910.
renderings will not come amiss; all the words are verbatim, clear and certain as to their root ideas, save one, vastarem as indicated, while here acceptable alternatives at once suggest themselves. As to form also, save as to one expression, we might say much the same thing, the exception readily admitting reconstruction. This latter exception is "dazdā", which some hold to mean "giving"; so following the Pahlavi translator, while others prefer "giver".

Again, indeed, some others, or a single author, seem still to suggest a verbal form, as to which see below. As regards vastaram, the one word of doubtful origin, one might think of the root vah, "to clothe"; so the Pahlavi here, who has vastaryg="a garment" at Yasna XIX, 35, however, the Persian seems to render va-āsān (or va-āsānī), while Néryosangh there made the important first suggestion of a root for vastryā as a vah, vāh (vas, vās)="to fodder", or "to pasture"; he has āhāram with its later sense of "food", this at Yasna XIX, 35, with, however, merely pālanam there in the ḫordah Avesta from which my present text of him is taken.

As to the word vaïryō (which is clear), an eminent scholar, by a curious side-slip, used to follow the Pahlavi (see above) rendering as if the word were a substantive="the will"; "as is the will of the Lord", a rendering which is impossible, the word being, of course, the fut. pass. participle, nom. sing. masc., and as such is now almost universally recognized. As is frequent in the Iranian and Indian languages, the verb "to be" is not expressed; and the future passive sense of vaïryō, which suggests the nature of a future needed action, naturally leads us to supply a mild imperative after aθā; as the ahā (is) to be chosen, so (let the) ratu (be) . . .

That the word dazdā is not a verbal, but a nominal, form is sufficiently obvious from its position between the two related genitives, a verbal being here, again, quite
impossible. I prefer to accept it (dazdā) as the reconstructed equivalent of a *dadhitā* to an Indian *dadhitīr-tār,*¹ the binding vowel having fallen out, and for the meaning I should prefer "creator," in the rhetorical sense of it, as each of the genitives belong reciprocally to the other, "a creator of a good intention and disposition;" so also, the Pahlavi translator has a nominal form (see above), though he prefers the rendering "gift" to "giver" or "establisher," "the giving of *vahman*" [sic], as to which see above and below. The word means "establisher," as I hold, and is in apposition with the *ratuš.* "So... the *ratu,* an establisher (and promulgator) of good views and intentions."

*Syaobnanām* must refer back to *Dazdā* as the agent noun, while *a unhēus* cannot be separated from *syaobnanām,* nor in any way associated with "Lord"; see above, also its Avesta original in the Gātha, at the place named, p. 58; nor can it be taken in any sense but that of "life" or "world"; and *Mazdāi,* in spite of its original and its undoubted connexion with *χαθρέν ahurāi ā,* seems also inevitably connected with *syaobnanām a unhēus*; for it is hard to resist the conviction that, in the constant use of the formula, the thoughts of both hearers and readers were directed towards this connexion; "and of actions (done) for *Mazdāi*"; see above; see also the commentaries, both that in the Avesta language at Yasna XIX, and that in the more immediate translation in the Pahlavi at Yasna XXVII above; and so also, I believe, all the moderns. But here at this end of line 6 and at the beginning of line 7 occurs one of those half double uses, or double translations, to which I have so often called attention in my commentaries upon the Avesta texts as translated by the Pahlavi writers, in ZDMG. and JRAS.

¹ Perhaps the binding vowel is to be restored, so filling out the metre, for *vahhēus* is to be read as two syllables only. Without the binding vowel, *d+d* becomes *zd.*
These two-fold and sometimes widely differing, though closely adjacent, renderings of the same words and sentences, which abound in these documents, seem to have been the early scholars' idea of an "alternative translation". Here we must again emphatically recall the obvious facts of the method of its composition. The piece not being at all spontaneous either in its origin, or in its expressions, leaves such curious usages the more possible at every step; which indeed rather adds to its significance in one light upon the matter. For its artificial construction resulted from the fact that it is made up of words expressly selected because of their being already sacrosanct, and signally characteristic of the main ideas contained in the Gāthas. If a composer purposely sets to work to construct a group of terms with the preconceived intention of bringing in certain well-known parts of sentences, of course his flow will be constrained.

Mazdāi χαθρεμाह ahurāi ā here, at the end of (b), and at the beginning of (c), evidently once belonged closely together; see Mazdā tavā χαθ्रेम, Yasna LIII, 9, cited above; yet here we must separate them, so violating their original connexion: the deeds of life for Mazda, and then the Kingdom (is) to Ahura. This artificial nature of the composition is further illustrated by the extremely awkward position of yim . . . drigubhyō dadaṭ vāstārem; that is to say, if, as I now hold, yim . . . vāstārem refers back to the ahū or the ratus of line a—probably to the ratus, as this term stands the nearest to it in the wording.

I may mention here, however, that other expositors relieve this difficulty by refusing to translate this part of the text as it stands, often a most warranted withdrawal, with conjectural suggestions, but here not called for; as to this see further on.

XI. It is now necessary to turn a friendly glance in criticism upon the opinions of more modern expositors upon the Avesta text. And we must first note that it is
extremely desirable when dealing with ancient composition to avoid falling into that conspicuous mistake of beginners, the error of seeing too much meaning, or too modern a tone of thought, in our document, especially so in the present case because some of us have obviously lost all sight of that quasi-artificial nature of this composition to which I have endeavoured more than once above to call such close attention. All the meaning conceivable should be indeed closely examined as well as challenged, for it would be disastrous for us to miss a single point of it; but, as in the case of our own Holy Semitic Scriptures, a successful critique often forces us to abandon the first suspected abstract, higher, and more spiritual, meaning for the concrete, familiar, and lower one. But we must not, of course, on the other side, fail in placing ideas to a degree more than may be warranted in simple realistic objectivity.

First of all, the secondary, general, and merely implied references to Zarathuštra are too definitively pointed by some. One distinguished writer would point the references here to such a degree that he would put this Ahunaver (as to point) almost on a level with the "Cry of Islam", which has the name of Muhammed in its chief significance. Other parts of the Avesta itself mention ahura in its secondary sense of "Lord" as applied to human potentates, while there is no mention of Zarathuštra's name\(^1\) at all in our entire passage. As seen above, I take the Ahū and the ratu as being the titles of the two classes of officials; both terms obviously cannot refer exclusively, without much difficulty, to the same person, even if Z. were immediately intended, for the terms are plainly put in a certain antithesis, if in an harmonious one; the reference or expectation obviously points to some high-class functionaries, holding office, perhaps, in the immediate

\(^1\) The Zartūšt in the Pahlavi commentary is the name of a later commentator.
time and circle of the compiler, and it carries with it, as of course, a far deeper religious effect if whole classes are held in view than if the isolated Prophet himself were the sole subject considered, for in this last case some personal influence might be suspected. Then some hold aṣāt eít to be personal in the sense of "by Aša even . . . he is to be chosen". A most egregious error, in my opinion, for Aša, as the Archangel, would occur most awkwardly in such a connexion. Why should he, the Archangel, engage in such a function as the "appointment of officials"; and while eít may, indeed, certainly mean "even" at times, it is here by far the most effectively used in its generalizing sense, as just the idea needed "from his, the ratu's, exact correctness in every particular whatsoever is he thus to be chosen". See also the original passage above cited from which ratuḥ aṣāteít was taken, Yasna XXIX, 6; there the Personal Archangel is similarly impossible. That dazdā can be a verbal form is, I fear, still asserted by some; see above, though it stands between the two closely related genitives, while the simple terms anēhēus syaobhanām Mazdāi are dragged sometimes into unnatural connexion with what precedes; anēhēus cannot mean anything but "life", "world" here, and such is the meaning of the Pahlavi aχvān, in form a plural but singular in meaning; see also Nēr.'s antar b'uvane above. All seem to feel the connexion between Mazdāi and syaobhanām, "deeds for Mazda," while some (or "all"?) strangely overlook the further addition, or the doubled application of it (in the terms of this connexion); see above, in Mazdāi ʿsaḥbreṇ Ahurāi ā, as to which compare again Yasna LIII, 9. The difficult form yim, immediately following, was once sought to be relieved by resolving it into yo-im; see above (a suggestion not at all to be despised, though later retracted by its author); others regard the accusative form as attracted from the nominative, yō being its force.
I, however, think it best to regard the occurrence of it as an awkward misplacement, or a bit of debris owing, as said above, to the early artificial state of the grouping, and so I refer it to the ahū or ratus of line a, although so widely separated from it in the lines, "whom (the ratu) He (Ahura) appointed as a nurturer to the poor" (possibly "will appoint", for all the preterites may be taken in a conjunctive future sense). Some might hold χṣaθrem to be a masculine here on account of yīm; but could this "Archangel" be so named as the nurturer of the poor? The talk is of the ahū or of the ratu, and if χṣaθrem be masculine we should be further forced to render a χṣaθrö Ahurāī ā as "And the Archangel is Ahura's", which would be equally vapid, as no one had any hesitation as to whether χṣaθrem, or any other Archangel, belonged to that Supreme Deity.

XII. This brings us back once more to the most important consideration in the entire discussion, which requires very full and careful additional treatment as to its historical bearings, both retrospective and prospective; I refer to that point already slightly touched upon at the outset by way of Introduction, see p. 57; again, see also above in the treatment of the Pahlavi at p. 66; I refer, of course, to that moral idea, which is so indefinitely precious and so anxiously sought for by searchers into its history,¹ and by this crucial principle, I mean simply Human Faith—as only externally synopticized in the Decalogue—that one interior element in all real religion, for the sake of which, first of all, let us hope religion mainly exists—an equitably balancing and measuring force, without which civilization becomes impossible and life an evil. If, therefore, any religious lore can assert and maintain its claim to be regarded as The Document of such a principle, it should become, by the very fact, the symbol of the most

¹ The main question in all historical moral theology.
endeared and solemn interior power which has ever arisen from the elements of nature to ameliorate humanity.

Can the Avesta, then, in its original compositions, as in their sequents, be termed such a document?

As readers here may recall, I have made much effort, as above all other considerations, to put this point in as clear a light as was feasible—for this lays a totally exceptional obligation upon us as expositors of Zoroastrian Lore—see especially my careful contributions to JAOS. in vol. xx, where I separate and group the Gāthic passages, which express this universally applicable law according to their degrees of point.

But all arguments may be assisted by corroborative evidence: let me then sum up in a few concise words this additional proof which presents itself in this Ahūna as a symbol of the essential principle named, so gathering up, as it were, and clinching, as they bear upon this matter, whatever especial views have been expressed above here in this treatise.

XIII. The terms ašat ēit hača here at once control the interpretation to the interior sense indicated, for us, and this completely. Ašat ēit hača alone fixes for us the idea in vairyō as being highly ethical, see above upon p. 66, in re the Pahlavi translation; and even if the Archangel Aša were here meant, the words could only refer to him as the impersonation of a principle of equity. Even in the very-most rudimental application of the meaning of the word the idea of Right is at once involved, for the Ahū, as the Ratu, was to be appointed “especially and in every way” (ēit-, see above and below), “in accordance with his fitness for his office,” one of the most obvious and practical of all the forms of sound adjustment; and this, as involved in the first syllables of the Ahūna, should naturally guide us in forming, if it does not actually dominate, our exegesis of the formula throughout, suggesting interior ideas in all the terms, rather than mere
references to persons below Ahura, however individually exalted they might be.

So also, as often implied above and below, of Vahuheus dazdā manaḥho; it must have a similar interior significance, for neither the Ahū nor the Ratu could have been "the Creator", or "regulator", of vohu manaḥ when understood as the Person of the Archangel Vohumanah; and the Pahlavi translation (see above), though apparently for another reason, itself avoids the proper word "Creator", having the rendering "the giving"—a less forcible expression; nor could either of them, the Ahū or the Ratu, have discharged a similar creative function towards Vohumanah as equalling "the correct citizen", "the typical good man", as later more fully represented by these words vohu manaḥ in the Avesta,—except in a far-fetched, secondary, and indirect manner through the ordinary channels of better influence. So also "the actions of life", while those "actions" of course, as ever, included a due attention to sacred ceremonies, they were positively determined to a more practical sense by the mention of the "poor" and their "relief" (inculcated in line c), an idea which again dominates the whole collection of words at their close, as aštā cīt haça affords their "keynote" at their beginning. So also in the rest of the contexts (see again above in the Pahlavi translation). I might add here that the term syavdna, in its Vedic form evautnā, had never, there, in Veda, any reference at all to "ceremonies", yet etymology and cognate meanings in alien documents are extremely dangerous sources of certainty as to such points as those before us, and they are, therefore, badly and justly discredited among critics, and it is only with reluctance that I allude to this item here. To resume, nor can Mazda ḟāthremčā Ahuru ā mean anything else but "the Kingdom" and not "the Archangel" (this fatuously) is to Ahura (see above); this also forbids us to regard yim as referring to ḟāthrem, though even if
it were, indeed, the "Archangel" who would be so needlessly said to be "Ahura's", then the "Archangel" is only God's Sovereign Power personified, and if the meaning could be again the "King is Ahura's", this strengthens rather than debilitates the moral idea expressed in the passage. Even when understood as standing in the accusative masculine, "The King He appointed as a nurturer for the poor," then, too, the conscience-idea is again most practically focussed, for the "care of the afflicted" was then, as now, perhaps the first dictate of equity, next after personal righteousness, aša (arša), and coming itself under the head of Vohumanah, benevolence (as to which see below); and in fact we have in practical actuality in Yasna LVI, 2, 7 (?) one of the earliest instances of the mention of an "asylum" or "hospital" for the poor, perhaps the very first in a refined and extended literature; and as this idea affords the after "keynote" to the Gāthas, so it sends its tone throughout the then coming, but now to us, only later, Avesta. And this is memorable. Such, then, are the conspicuous literary circumstances little questioned by any serious inquirer who has become qualified for their examination, the incisive value of these elements affecting religious history in its most interior range of annotation and record. Whereas, then, in the Original Hymns, as we have seen, and as a crucial point, the moral idea is incisively present in certain passages, and this to the exclusion of all others;—and while it is also implied everywhere as a vital necessity to the accordant and concomitant sense in the rhetorical and dogmatic personifications of the Attributes, the Amesha Spentas;—and while also it is yet often expressed amidst a small chaos of admixture of these two cognate points of profoundly important meaning—that of the Attribute and that of its personification in an Archangel (see above);—yet here, in the Ahuna Vairya, we have also an invaluable triplet evidently chosen out from the Gāthas in an especial
spirit, as if in a quasi-synopsis,—and in every one of the selected expressions the moral idea, in its most practical application, is present; while every lower allusion, as if to ceremonies, seems to be completely excluded—a most remarkable circumstance in itself considered, when we study it attentively in all its bearings.

XIV. But we have also, as resulting from its examination, three technical particulars, each of high moment, which bear especially, and in a sense indispensably, upon the history of ethical doctrine, for first, the spirit of the Ahuna adds corroborative evidence to our conviction of the existence and intensity of the moral idea in the Gātha itself, and, while this needs little corroboration, yet that little is always welcome in such a vital matter; secondly, it also affords us, by implication, in combination with the above, some gauge as to the width and depth of the foundations upon which the Gāthic system was built, for that system could not have arisen in a day; but thirdly, and most incisively, it gives us an all-important glimpse at the historic fact of its firm continuance, a view which fills up the greatest of all such needs, in the matter of the immense practical issues once involved in the Gāthic life.

[I should have here interposed, after my second point, some particulars which recall a decisive and deeply interesting proof of the relatively earlier age of the Ahuna as expressing this animus of the Gāthas, so the more fully vindicating, if need be, my right to place it as evidence of the effectiveness of the Gāthic propaganda. The Ahunaver must have been composed at least two centuries earlier than those pieces which use it—the Ahunaver—metaphorically, or poetically, as hyper-sacrosanct. There is nothing really trivial in the use of it as the "Sword of the Spirit", see this in the Srōs Yast, as in the mythical temptation-scene of Zaraḥuṣṭra; see it also used in the same spirit in Yasna XIX; yet this metaphorical use of it itself proves that the Ahunaver was]
ancient at the time of the composition of this Lore, for it—the Ahunaver—could not possibly have been so—metaphorically—used unless it had been held in great reverence for a considerable period of time, and it was therefore a relic of antiquity at the date of the still vigorous Yaśts, as of the other passages alluded to: so much for a valuable differentiation in regard to the Ahuna's post-Gāthic age.]

To resume, we have here, then, in the spirit of this formula approximate evidence also as to the date of the continuance of the Gāthic animus in its practical efficiency. XV. The Gābas must have been sung for at the very least (see above) a century before this little piece was put together from among their contents, doubtless among very many similar bits now long since lost and forgotten, see, as specimens, the Asēm Vohu, the Aiyamān iṣyō, and Yenhe (Yahya Hātām);—and here, in the Ahuna, we have what shows us that after from one to three centuries the Gāthic moral "appeal", so to speak of it, had by no means fallen flat, as some have asserted of the later strenuous moral effort of Socrates, that it "fell flat upon Greece";—the Gāthic animus had therefore not fallen flat, as seems certain, for it survived, at least in this afterpiece.

XVI. And from this Ahuna, therefore, we can in so far measure the duration of this spiritual life, for after they, the Gābas, with their lost companions, had been used in ritual before the altars for the period indicated, this Gāthic animus was embodied in such pieces as this Ahunaver, that is to say, at the time of that first composition of this Ahuna there existed the intellectual tendency, the fashion, so to speak, among the superior Priests of Iran, in some dominant centres, to gather up the Apex of the Gāthic creed in little deeply significant pieces like this Ahunaver, with their moral point supremely prominent and aggressive. This would be the third of our items, certifying to us the historical
fact, which, as I freely conjecture, no serious person anywhere, who understands it and what it involves, will underrate, denying its very grave—if past—significance, that is to say, if the past destiny of large numbers of our fellow-men is of any importance.

XVII. It not only proves that the Gāthic animus and point had consequent, persistent, instinctive life through the intervening period from its origin, at least till the date of the Ahuna (see above), and that the Gāthas neither fell flat at their first chanting, nor did they expend their spiritual energy until that time of the Ahuna (see above); but it likewise proves inclusively, and as a corollary, that their spirit must have animated an extensive literature, of which these few words are but splintered chips, so to express oneself; for, while the Gāthas were in their inception doubtless but fractions of a literature many times more voluminous than they appear to us to be at present, so also as, we must never forget, the later Avesta is likewise, in its turn, but a fragment, though it is, indeed, of itself by no means excessively limited in extent;—and, as we have reason to believe, we have surviving to us of all the Avesta but two of some twenty-one, now, with exceptions, extinct, but once influential books or collections of treatises;—and this concept of the “right and wrong” must have made itself felt everywhere and through all. This idea of equity on which the chief value of all policy depends (see above) seems, then, to have afforded the very keynote to the animus of the entire Zarabŭstriian doctrine, not only to that of the Gāthas, at about from one to three centuries after the death of Zarabŭstra, at which date we might place the Ahunaver;—so, as already implied, it must have survived through the remaining pre-Christian periods, even reaching some foreign, external, or even distant influence, as the Greeks report of it proves (see it in the indications of Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plutarch);—it speaks out in an emphatic manner in the supervening
traditional literature of exegesis,—and it is professedly alive to-day.

XVIII. Portions of the Semitic Scriptures also contain its expression; and, since the era of Christianity, they have had an enormously wide field for influence; but the Avesta moral system pre-dated Christianity, and is supposed to express conspicuously the "equitable idea" in a form which surpasses that, at least, of all Aryan Literature, while, in one vital particular, it takes the lead of all moral theologies, Semitic or Aryan, of equal age with it. I refer, again, to its emphatic doctrine of subjective recompense;—then, if this can be made out, and it can hardly be denied, while it is seldom questioned— in the Gābas and their now lost companion literature, as in their descendants whether lost or surviving, we have, indeed The Documents of the universal moral idea in its development, and this effect in the control of vast portions of our race in mid-Asia through successive generations¹—a past result with which little else of a regulative and stimulating character can compare—stimulation and regulation in this direction being almost supreme factors in the question of the value of our civilizations.

XIX. Even as a mere theory all this cannot fail to have had a very serious effect in the course of the life of the greatly extended populations; for, in the extreme position of an exceptionally privileged class, we gather that there prevailed in Persia the otherwise unwritten law that "the poor should be nurtured", and we may well hold that, next to Israel, this feeling was more firmly fixed there, in Iran, than in any other country, while as to the one great particular² (see above) the force of the moral idea surpassed even that form of it which prevailed in the Holy Land.

XX. Of course the uses of the terms Aṣa, Vohumanah,

¹ See above in the Introduction, p. 58.
² Subjective recompense "as to thought, word, and deed".
χαθρα, etc., in their latter exterior and sometimes half-trivial application, as above indicated, also continued on throughout the subsequent periods, side by side with this never-failing use of them to express their original and literal meaning as to the "moral" thought; and it rather heightens than lowers our interest to notice that such a term as Ἀσα, which, at later times, was often apparently used even for the "fire", from the sanctity of the sacrificial flame, maintained its original interior energy even where it became known in non-Iranian lands; for there is no trace of such a recognized use for it, in that physical sense, in the "invaluable" passage in Plutarch; nor does χαθρα there mean "bronze" or any other metal, in Plutarch, Ἀσα being distinctly, if noticeably, rendered as the God, or Demiurge, of "truth" Ἀληθείας without a hint looking toward the endeared quasi-sacramental element; while Vohumanah was the God of "good mind", εὐνοίας, with no suggestion at all of either "orthodox mankind", or of the other "good" "living creatures, flocks and herds"; so, as we have seen, χαθρα is simply and alone the God of "good order", εὐνοίας, while Aramaiti was the God of "wisdom", σοφίας, near enough as a translation; Hauvatāt was the God, or Demiurge, of "riches", πλοῦτου quite expressive of "Universal Weal", nothing about "water"; with which it became later so closely associated, Amertatāt being the God of "pleasure in things beautiful" somewhat free, yet with no word of "plants". Notice the order of sequence in the enumeration which accords with Zoroastrian usage. And these facts, these expressions of abstract ideas at that time and place—Greece during the lifetime of Theopompus, for Plutarch quotes Theopompus—of course positively illustrate, and all the more, the once extant exceptionally vital moral vigour of the theological tone at that later time and among those widely extended circles. And if myth—to recall the less impressive features of the case—or mythic use, did not develop side
by side with the moral force, then this latter would have had an easier task before it to maintain itself; but it survived nevertheless, and notwithstanding these somewhat degenerate applications to "fire, flocks, metals, the earth, water, and plants". I need hardly repeat what I first hinted at above, viz. that the presence of the moral idea, as so proved to exist in Iran so long after the Gāthic period, is all the more also thus proved to have been a very vital element among the wider forces which were guiding the destinies of multitudes in the ancient centuries over the vast regions indicated; and this, surviving from the intensified animus of the Gāthic decades—and the fact is as solemn as it is astonishing. If it were, indeed, the truth that a large percentage among the millions who succeeded each other in the generations of Old Medo-Persia (see above) were at all, to any degree, the subjects of the moral convictions, and devoted to Right, Benevolence, and Order, Spiritual Energy—i.e. effective piety, "as to thought, word, and deed"—incalculable restrictions of crime must have resulted, with much positive incitement to industry and the domestic virtues among the ancestors of multitudes of Asiatics. It may, indeed, well be that the moral idea as to right and wrong had never prevailed over such extended territories, or with such wide practical influence before upon the earth, as regards time and population, i.e. before the existence of this Lore;—and has it since?
KANauri Vocabulary in Two Parts: English-Kanauri and Kanauri-English

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Introduction

KāNAURĪ is one of the complex pronominalized languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. It is spoken in the Sātlāj Valley in the Pānjāb, from a point about 20 miles up the river from Rāmpūr to near the Tibetan border. Bāshāhr State, of which Kānaur is the eastern part, begins 50 miles east of Simla; it has an area of 3800 square miles, and a population of 84,000.

Kānauri is spoken over the whole of Kānaur except in the extreme east, where a dialect of Tibetan is current. It has four dialects: (1) Lower Kānauri, in the west of Kānaur, north of the Sātlāj; its area is about 12 miles from east to west, and 6 miles from north to south. (2) Standard Kānaurī, the language of the following vocabularies. (3) Chitkhlūli, spoken only in two villages in the Būspā Valley, viz. Chitkhlūl and Rākshām. (4) Thēbörskad, spoken in the east of the State, in the villages of Lippā, Āsrān, Labrān, Kānām, Shūnnām, and Shāsō, i.e. between the Lippā River and the Tibetan-speaking area of Kānaur. It should be noticed that while speakers of Lower Kānauri and Standard Kānauri readily understand one another, Chitkhlūli is totally unintelligible to them, and Thēbörskad is only half understood even by villagers living within 10 miles of the Lippā stream. The entire number of speakers of the four dialects is just over 19,000.
The following gives as nearly as possible the geographical position of Kānaur and the dialects of Kānauri:—

Kānaur, long. 77° 47' to 78° 54'; lat. 31° 11' to 32° 4'.
Lower Kānauri, from 78° extending 12 miles west, from the Sātlāj 6 miles north.
Standard Kānauri, long. 77° 50' to 78° 40'; lat. 31° 23' to 31° 40'.
Chītkhūli in two villages, Chītkhūl 78° 30', 31° 21'; Rākshām 78° 26', 31° 23'.
Thēbörskād, long. 78° 17' to 78° 40'; lat. 31° 37' to 31° 53'.

Kānauris call their country Kānōrin (altered by Aryan speakers to Kānaur), and their language Kānōrin Skad', Kānauri language, or Kānōrēanū Skad', the language of the Kānauris. For convenience sake in this introduction the spelling Kānaur is employed. So far as I know the form Kānāwār is due to Europeans. I have never heard a native pronounce the word in that way. The Pāhāri dialects spoken to the west of Kānaur are called by the one general name Kōēī.

In the following pages I have endeavoured above all to be accurate in the representation of sounds. The pronunciation of Kānauri is extremely difficult, much more difficult than that of Hindī and Ūrdū; its numerous fine vowel distinctions and its half-consonants require the closest attention. The proper way of writing the half-consonant is a matter of dispute. I have used sonant letters, occasionally giving alternative forms. A few inconsistencies may be noticed in the writing of some sounds. It seemed to me better to attempt, even at the risk of being inconsistent, to represent exactly the sound of a word, than to assimilate arbitrarily all similar sounds to one regular form. It is possible that in an unexplained diversity of sound there may sometimes lie valuable phonological truth. Each word I have tried to write as
the speaker pronounced it, not as I might have thought from analogy that he should have pronounced it. I have gone into the question of pronunciation more fully in the Grammar referred to below.

I have to express special thanks to Pândit Tikā Rām Jōshi, formerly rājgūrū to the Rāja of Bāshāhr. He very kindly sent me some of the proofs of his Vocabulary. I found them very useful and suggestive. Nearly a hundred words in the following vocabulary have been taken from Pândit Tikā Rām’s proofs. They are indicated by the letters T. R. All these words, however, I have independently investigated; in a few cases a different meaning has been assigned, and in nearly every case a different spelling has been employed. To the proofs, also, of a brief grammar, written by the same Pândit, a debt is owed for words suggested.

Literature.—I may be permitted to refer to my own Kānauṛi Grammar appearing (probably early in 1910) in the Zeitschrift für den Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Pândit Tikā Rām’s Grammar and Vocabulary will ultimately be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For the philological side of the language students should consult a valuable contribution by Dr. Sten Konow, of Christiania, in the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 430–41. All these works are in English. The Rev. H. Bruske, formerly missionary in Kānauṛi, has translated the Gospel of St. Mark into Kānauṛi. It has been published in the Nāgri character by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The following is the system of romanizing employed.

Consonants as usual in Royal Asiatic Society publications, with the following additions:—

Half consonants represented by ' placed after them.

The very lightly pronounced ū is written above the line, as in raũ, horse; cf. rāũ, mountain; zawaũ, gold.
Occasionally \( l \) and \( u \) are very liquid, but generally they are as in Hindi. Kānauri has a strong leaning towards half-long vowels. The very short vowels \( \hat{a} \) and \( \breve{a} \) are very often found in words taken directly from Aryan sources.

Vowels:

\( \hat{a} \) as \( u \) in hut.
\( a \) and \( \hat{a} \), the short and long of \( a \) in father.
\( \hat{e} \) like \( e \) in pet. Sometimes this is much narrower, like a shortened French \( \acute{e} \).
\( e \) and \( \hat{e} \), the short and long of French \( \acute{e} \).
\( \hat{\iota} \) like \( i \) in hit.
\( i \) and \( \hat{i} \), the short and long of Italian \( i \).
\( \breve{o} \) above the line like \( o \) in hot, the corresponding long sound \( \breve{o} \) being almost like \( awe \).
\( o \) and \( \breve{o} \), the short and long of French \( \breve{o} \).
\( \breve{o} \) on the line, between \( \hat{o} \) and \( o \).
\( \breve{\hat{o}} \) like German \( \breve{o} \), but always short.
\( \acute{o} \), the same sound long.
\( \hat{\ddot{u}} \) like \( u \) in put. There is also a \( u \) between \( \hat{\ddot{u}} \) and \( \acute{u} \).

See \( zgy\ddot{u}, y\ddot{udd} \) in the vocabulary.
\( u \) and \( \hat{\ddot{u}} \), short and long, like Italian \( u \).
\( \ddot{u} \) like German \( \ddot{u} \).
\( ai \), more or less like English \( i \) in high.
\( au \), used only in Hindi, Urdu, and Panjābī words, more or less like the \( \acute{o} \) of Kānauri words.

Frequently a final vowel is stopped short almost with a jerk. To show this ' is printed after the vowel, e.g. \( toke \).

One example of an aspirated sonant consonant will be observed in \( bh\ddot{or}n\ddot{en}n\ddot{ig} \). This is probably an unconscious temporary assimilation to an Indo-Aryan sound.

Kānauri has a habit of aspirating (though not always) a final surd consonant, a final vowel and a final \( l \). This is represented by (\( h \)). This \( h \) is not an integral part of the word, and falls away before an inflection or before another word.
In some words $y$ is faintly pronounced, sometimes being omitted, sometimes plainly enunciated. This is written ($y$).

The letters in brackets immediately after a verb show its present participle. A knowledge of this is necessary for forming the present and imperfect tenses. Thus $rēnnig$ (-do) shows that the present tense is $redo dug'$. A few instances will be noticed of the uncertainty common in Tibeto-Burman languages of initial $s$ or $z$ followed by a consonant, e.g. $til$ and $stil$, $gūi$ and $zgūi$.

In the English–Kânauri vocabulary most trees and plants are entered under the heading 'plant'. The botanical names are taken from a list of Bâshâhr plants, very kindly lent by Mr. A. J. Gibson, Deputy Conservator of Forests.

After some words I have indicated a Hindi, Ürdû, or Pānjbâbi equivalent. This has been done only when the Aryan origin of the word does not seem at first sight obvious. As will be seen, a considerable portion of the Kânauri vocabulary is of Aryan origin. (Th.) denotes Thébôrskad' words. To get the literal meaning of compound words the Kânauri–English vocabulary should be consulted. The infinitive endings -$nnig$ and -$nmig$ are interchangeable.

**ENGLISH–KĀNAURI VOCABULARY.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kānauri</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>able (be), sōkēnnig', hannig', gorēnnig'.</td>
<td>ablē be, sōkēnnig', hannig', gorēnnig'.</td>
<td>name of oak, e.g. brē shō, of <em>Quercus ilex</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abolish, band lanmig'.</td>
<td>abolish, band lanmig'.</td>
<td>adept, lāik. See good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutely, kūaṭi, muti.</td>
<td>absolutely, kūaṭi, muti.</td>
<td>admit, v. (acknowledge), shkonnig' (-do).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absurd, wāṃthām.</td>
<td>absurd, wāṃthām.</td>
<td>adultery, commit, v., tsūk-shēmig', gōshēmig'; with man, gōnmig', v. tr., with acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse, n., gāliũ; v., gāliũ shēnnig'.</td>
<td>abuse, n., gāliũ; v., gāliũ shēnnig'.</td>
<td>advisable (be), gyāmig', gyāts (impers.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusation, n., ọlō.</td>
<td>accusation, n., ọlō.</td>
<td>adze, n., bāsīn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accuse, v., ọlō phimig' or lanmig'; (complain of), āshterzāmig'.</td>
<td>accuse, v., ọlō phimig' or lanmig'; (complain of), āshterzāmig'.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
affection, n., pyār. See love.
afoot, adv., yānō, pāō. See foot.
afraid (be), v., byaūmīg'. See fear.
among, pr., majōn, majōno. See between.
amulet, n., stūnmā, chōshṭān, gaō.
amuse, v., wān shēnīg'. amusing, honnīg', honnīgā. and, conj., ae.
angry, adj., rōshōn, dūkhōn.
animal, n., zānvwār.
ankle, n., palkāth.
anna, n., annē; two —, pōlī (or nakīs, a secret word);
three —, baṭlōs pōlī; four —, dēlī; twelve —, baṭlōs rupēa.
amnoy (tease), rōlēmīg', gōts rōlēmīg′ (give trouble to), kāninām shēnīg′.
ant, n., kōkānē′.
anxiety, n., zōrī.
anxious, adj., zōrī, (s)tos (s)tos; — (be), v., zōrī hacimīg′; (for absent person) (s)tosmīg′, (s)tos nīmīg′.
ape, n., gōnōs.
appear, v. (seem), kōlēmīg′. applause, šhabāsh.
apple, n., palē; — -tree, palē bōthōn.
appoint, v., tāmīg′; — a day, pētō tōnnīg′ (used of consulting oracle), tūyāmīg′.
arm, n., gōdd; arms, thūm, e.g. in one's arms, thūmō; forearm (cubit), rin; arm-pit, kēs.
around (all round), adv., pō kānāre.
arrive, v., pōnnīg′, pōts' hēnīg′; —, cause to, pōpō shēnīg′.
arow, n., mōh, rōnu mōh.
artery, n., sirōn. See vein.
ascend, v., ūnīmīg′.
ascent, n., taṅ; gentle —, khyēr khyēr.
ashamed (be), v., sōrmēāshīmīg′. See shame.
ashes, n., mëpyáts (lit. firebird).
ask, v., ìmìg'.
as, n., phöto; male, gyábôn; female, bonmó.
assemble, v. intr., dummiq' (-mo).
assembly, n., dum.
astray, adj., dal dal; — go, v., dalumiq'.
astrologer, n., loto khuzyása; astrologer's book, n., loto.
attack, v., kozia lanniq'.
attempt, v., kōshix lanniq'.
attention, n., mōnōn; — pay, v., mōnōn shënniq'.
aunt, n. (father's sister or mother's sister - in - law), nāne, ane; (mother's sister), amá, chimá (Th.); (father's sister - in - law), anáts.
autumn, n., tsharmí.
avarice, n., lālōts.
avaricious, adj., laléi.
awake, adj., yanyan, yanshés.
axe, n., lasta.

back, n., pishíin.
bad, adj., mār, kötsön, maskkáts; badly made or put on, uncomfortable, adémó.
bag, n., phad'.
balcony, n., toñônón.
bald, adj., (s)pithá.
ball, n., gindú, pë́l'ks.

bank (of river), n., khudélón.
barber, n., nāes; fem., naénikh' (g').
bark, v. (of dog), tsühlmig'; n. (of tree), khòláp; (of shyag'), pad'.
barley, tag; (a barley drink), yùdd.
barren, adj. (land), āshán; (woman), banzic.
basket, n., cēnër; (a 'kíla'), kōti, kōndi, sonni'n; — maker, canálós; fem., canálé.
bastard, adj. (z)bi.
bat, n. (animal), türpéats (lit. darkness-bird).
be, v. (I am), tog', dág'; (I was), tokeg', dweg'.
beak, n., tākūs.
beam, n. (wood), sāthirá; (in ceiling), dàrón.
bear, n., hom; v. (lift), sar-miq'; — child, chan támiq'.
beard, n., dàri.
beat, v., toñumiq', cīlëmimiq'; külmiq', thīsimmiq'.
beautiful, adj., demô, shyaró; fem., shyaré, banthós; fem., banthè, banthìn; — (in word and appearance), rémiq'.
become, v., nīmig', hacimig'.
bed, n. (for sleeping), mázo, pëláng'.
bee, n., yān, yānth, wasyān,
wasyānūth; beehive, kāśhīn, mōkhār, dorōn.
before, pr. adv. (in front of), oskō.
beg, v., unnig', ancimig'.
beggar, raula.
bēgin, v., zūnīg (— go).
behalf (on behalf of), prep., kacōns, tēsēs.
behind, adv., nyums, nyūskō.
believe, v., mōnēsamig', pōtēnnig'; (cause to), mōnāyamig', pōr'yāmig'.
bell, n., gamōn; string of bells on horse, argā.
beloved, adj., pyār.
belt, n. (leather), bājōn; (servant's), gachōn.
bend, v. tr., kōnnīg', kutā lanmīg'; be bent, kōnshī-
imig', kūtā hacīmig'; bent, adj., kōnshēs, kūtā. See crooked.
beneath, prep., yuthōn.
bent, see bend.
berry, shō.
best, adj., zō dām, zō dēbash, etc., thōtsi dām, etc. See good.
between, prep., adv., majōn, majōnō.
bier, n., lōtōn shìn.
big, adj., teg'.
bīnd, v., tshūnmīg'.
bird, n., pyā, pyats. The following are some names of different small birds:
sparrow, kim pyats or kōtōn pyats, or kōthōn pyā (i.e. house bird); woodpecker, shìn thōn; others, shālī, bīshōn, kākēt(h), kōnē, hīcō pyā, rītōts; a red bird, lama pyā; a bird as big as crow, lan pyā, lī pyā. See blackbird, eagle, crow.
bīt, n. (piece), tūkrāts.
bite, v., cīnmīg'. See sting.
bitter, adj., kag.
black, adj., rōkh.
blackbird, cūt(h).
blacksmith, n., domōn; fem., domūdīk'(g); bērū; fem., bērūnīg.
bladder, n., bampī.
blanket, n., kambāl(h), tsūdār, dōrī.
blast, v., sārāngōs pashmīg' (lit. break with tunnel).
bleat, v., bāshēnnīg'.
blemish, n., phērāk (lit. difference).
bless, v., bōrkāt lanmīg'; phāida lanmīg'.
blessing, n., bōrkāt, phāida.
blind, adj., kānō, kānā (in Hindi kānā means one-eyed).
blink, v., mig stēmīg'.
blister, n., tipōl(h).
blood, n., p'Iāts.
blow, v. (of breath), phūkīrē-
āmīg'; (of wind), bōnīg' (lit. come).
blue, adj., rāy.
blunder, n., gāltī. See mistake.
blunt, adj., ma rāsk.
board, n., rō. See plank.
body, n. (human), deōn; (upper half of front of body), mākhōn.
boil, n., pyūtō; v. intr., khocimig', bucimig'; v. tr., khocim shēnnig', bucim shēnnig'; — (food), pan-nig' (-do); be boiled (food), bannig' (-do).
bolt, n. (wooden), hurōn, bitshū.
bone, n., hārōn.
book, n., kātāb.
boot, n., see shoe.
borax, n., tshalē; — merchant, tshalē pā.
born (be), v., zōrmēnnig'.
bough, n., brad'. See branch.
bow, n. (for arrows), gām; v. (join hands), dalōnnig'; (to lama, forehead on ground), chāg rannig'; — oneself, khaoshimig'.
box, n. (wooden), kōth, sōndāk; (wooden, for grain), urts; (leather), dhōm. See trunk.
boy, n., dekhrā, dekhrāts, sharā, latū.
bracelet, n., dakłō.
branch, n., brad'.
brass, n., pītal.
bray, v. (ass), bāshēnnig'.
bread, n., rŌth; (plur. rōte' ), of barley or hōd; (oiled), polīcōkts; (cooked in oil), pōlē.
break, v. tr., tōnmīg', (-go), pholmīg'; (stones), pashmīg'; (thread), sōrmīg'; be broken, shōnīmīg' (-go), See crush.
breast, n., shūg'; (one of the two breasts), nūnī.
breath, n., dēm, riūsā, sāsōn. breathe, sāsōn kanmīg', sāsōn būnnīg'.
brībe, n., būriū; v. tr., būriū ranmīg'; (take bribe), būriū zāmīg' (lit. eat).
bridge, n., tshamm.
brier, n., tsōh.
brim, n. (of hat or vessel), biniū.
bring, v., kanmīg'.
broad, adj., kānkh.
brooch, n. (clasp), pītsu', āthk.
broom, n., nālōn, gārōn. See stream.
broom, n. (for sweeping), kucōn.
brother, n. (elder), ate ; (younger), baya, bai, baits; full brother, nūz bāz; plur., nūza baza; brother-in-law (wife's brother), shakpō; man's sister's husband, shakpō; woman's sister's husband, bēsa; husband's brother, bēsa.
brow, n. (forehead), *phyā.
brown, adj., *pūrkh.
brush, v. (with hand or 'brush), *börmiąd, *yūnmīąd (-go).
bubble, n., *shub’.
bud, n., *jitritis ū. See flower.
buffalo, n., *mēsh.
bug, n., *sutt(h) ; plur., *sute’.
build, v., *poñmīąd ; (bridge), *tshamm lunmīąd.
bull, n., *dāmās.
bullet, n., *gālām.
bundle, n., *gōtots.
burn, v. tr., *coonmī (do), *poñmīąd ; (wood), *parmīąd ; v. intr., *boñmīąd ; (wood), *barmī долг.
burning place, n. (for bodies), *mērthlin.
burst, v. tr., *pharmīąd ; v. intr. (cloth), *barmīąd ; (anything hard), *bashmīąd.
bury, v., *aṭčamī günd.
bush, n., *gāto bothoun.
butcher, n., *zēd shābtsea. See slaughter. —, v., *shūmīąd (-bo).
butter, n., *tsoprōn.
butterfly, n., *shupāth.
butter-milk, n., *rātī, *bōt(h) ; (what remains after drawing off butter-milk), *jyā.
button, n., *bōtōn.
cabbage, n., *gobi.
cage, n., *pinjōr.
calf, n., *rats ; (of leg), *pilints.
camel, n., *ūt.
can, v., see able.
cap, n. (small Kanauri), *pōrīnā tēpōn.
captive, kēdī, bāndūa.
carding instrument, n., *tshītīkī.
carpenter, n., *ōrōs ; fem., *ōrēnikh (g) ; bērū ; fem., *bērūnīg.
carpet, n., *surānji, dōrī.
cast, v., *shōtēāmīg.
caste, man of higher caste, *donōs (n almost = n) ; man of lower caste, *binānōs.
cat, n., *pīši ; wild cat, *stūrts.
cataract, n., *chodōn (waterfall).
caterpillar, n., *hōn.
cause, n., *bāsh. See reason. v., generally *shēnmīg with verbal noun, especially of trans. verbs. For intr. verbs often separate word.
cave, n., ag', čabrič.  
caw, v., bashennīg'.  
censer, n., dākhrič.  
centipede, n., zacić.  
certainly, adv., gramēd', agrē.  
chain, n., šanlōn.  
chair, n., khūrśi.  
change, v., spalmig', skolmig', bōdālēamig'.  
chap, v. (hands and feet), bolmig'.  
chapping, n., bōbōl.  
charcoal, n., thō(h).  
charm, n. (incantation), dūb dūb; (mutter —), dūb dūb lānumig'.  
chat, v., see converse.  
chattels, n., ĉe bāst.  
cheap, adj., s'sta, bao dēbash.  
cheat, v., nōrōn lānumig'; n., nōroñseca; — (out of money), v., ḍōkhēamig', thāgāyamig.  
cheek, n., pion.  
cheer, v., nyokēamig', nyok-lēnnig'.  
chicken, n., kukhri chunts.  
chide, v., dopkēamig'. See threaten.  
child, n., chān; small child, chunts, thiklēpts (bigger than ayānōn, see infant); from childhood, dzigitots.  
chin, n., ĉētkōn.  
chisel, n., tshēmič.  
choke, v. tr., gōlōn tsūmig', gōlōn tsūm tsūm sanmig'; v. intr., gōlōn jiūmig' (-no).  
choose, v. (select), bīnēamig'.  
Christian, n., Krīshčān.  
churn, n., gōr; v., gōr lānumig; churning cylinder, donmō.  
cinder, n., thō(h).  
city, n., shēr, bāzār.  
clap, v., hastlōn buzzennīg'. See palm.  
claw, n., cin.  
clay, n., shkam.  
clean, adj., dēbash, etc. See good.  
clerk, n. (Persian writer), dumig'; (Hindi writer), kaitōs, f. kaitānī; also cētseca, mūnshī, f. mūnshīnī.  
clever, adj., shērdār.  
climb, v. (tree), bimig'. See ascend.  
clod, n., délā.  
close, adj. (get close to), cilmig'; v., hūrēamig'. See shut.  
cloth, n., gasā; clothes (Kanauri), trousers, suthān, long-coat (wool), chubā; (cotton), tsalā; pieces in coat-tail, palō; breast-piece of coat, pitēnts; skirt, kūrtī; hat, ūpōn; girdle, gachōn; shawl, etc., tsādār, challī, yaṅlāks; women's special skirt, dōrī; jacket, tsoli.
clothe, v. tr., gasā phōnīmīg' (-go) ; clothe oneself, gasā phokshīmīg'.
cloud, n., jū. See mist.
coarse, adj. (inferior), bogrōs ;
(cloth with holes), jābōle ;
(flour), bogrōs ; (coarsely ground), phrēskē.
cock, n., kukhrōs.
cold, n., liss, s'dkh ; — and cough, chamba. See cough.
collar, n. (iron for dog), gīlpāth(h).
collect, v., eke launīmīg', zōma launīmīg' ; — cows' urine, jāmīg'.
collection, n. (small number of men, animals, stars, etc.), pōnū.
colour, n., rāṅg.
colt, n., bātshērā.
comb, n., kāthōn ; v., shkūmīg'.
come, v., bōnīmīg', būnīmīg' ;
— out, dōnīmīg'. See go, emerge. — down, jāmīg'. See descend.
comic, see amusing.
command, n., hūkm ; v., hūkm raunīmīg'.
conceal, v. tr., maunīmīg' ;
— oneself, maunshīmīg'.
conceit, n., shēkhi.
conceived, adj., mātekpa.
See proud.
concubine, n. (of raja), khwās ;
(ordinary), bērin goēnē ;
zār. See mistress.

cone, n. (offir-tree), pātōl, tōto ;
(of Pinus Gerardi'ana), prās, sprās.

confound, see shame.
conquer, conqueror, see win.
consider, v., istsalmīg'.
consolation, v., sākōn.
console, v., sākōn ranmīg'.
consult, v., sālā imīg'.
contagious, adj., tūpeidea ;
— (be), v. tūpeimīg.
content, adj., rāzī.
contract, n. (price), dramōn.
contumacy, n., mūzori (= obstinate disobedience),
conversation, n., batōn, batōn cūg'.
converse, v., batōn launīmīg', batōshīmīg'.
cook, v. tr., launīmīg' ; n., boṭja ;
be cooked, sitēnīmīg. See boil.
coolie, n., bārōs.
copper, n., trōmōn.
cord, n. (twine), ridī ; (rope), thakpā, bōsī.
corn, n. (growing), zōdī. See grain, flour. — n. (on foot), tsōcōn.
corner, n., zīr.
corpse, n., lōtōn, mūrda, mūro.
corrode, see rust.
cotton, n., rāj ; — wool, rājī.
cough, n., tsū, chāmba (with cold) ; v., tsūmīg'.
count, v., narmīg'.
counting, n. (up to 100), āngī.
counterfeit, adj. (coin), khòtòs.
country, mûlôk.
couple, n., nyotôn. See pair.
cover, v., lubèâmig', khûn-míg' (-bo), khûmûmmig' (-bo);
   n., lubmâ, khob.
covet, v., lâlôts lanmûmig'.
covetous, adj., lâlcî.
covetousness, n., lalôts.
cow, n., lân.
coward, n., bîyanîmîna.
cowherd, n., gwâlôs.
crack, v. intr. (dâmûmîts),
bôlmig'.
crawl, v., daptûshîmîmig'.
crazy, adj., bôli. See mad.
cream, n., doyôn.
cresse, n., zûprî.
create, v., pêdâ lanmûmig'; be
   created, pêdâ hûcîmîmig'.
crooked, adj., khêr; — (be),
v., khûrmig'; — (be very),
khûnshîmîmig'.
crop, n. (harvest), sàl. See
harvest. — (of birds,
sheep), cîpar.
cross, v., tûrmûmig', bûnêâmig';
adj. (roads, etc.), brà,
bràjê (with om, road, etc.),
bràlâm.
cross-legged, adj., pôzêrmîts.
crow, v. (of cock), bashêmûmig';
n., kag'.
crown, n. (of head, where
   Hindu lock of hair is),
talgôn.
crumb, n., grûgrû.
crumble, v. tr., grû lanmûmig';
   — v. intr., grû bûmûmig'.
crush, v., cekhyâmig', caûmûmig'.
cry, v., kramûmig (-bo). See
weep. — together, krap-
shûmûmig', skrapshûmîmig'.
cubit, n., riw'.
cucumber, n., kukhrîn.
cud (chew), v., rûmûmig.
culpable, adj., kûshûrmîna.
cunning, adj., cûlak(h).
cup, n., kargûyûl(h), zoûbâth;
v. (bleed), tsûûmig', rûd
   tsûûmîmig'.
curds, n., doyôn; dried —,
chûrâ.
custom, n., pàthôn.
cut, v., mûlmûg', gûnmûmig'.
cymbal, n., bûgjyêl(h).
dagger, n. (Gurkha), khûn-
khrî.
daily, adv., dtûrô'. See
always.
dance, v., c(y)âmîmig', c(y)ãshî-
mûmig'.
danger, n., byaûmûmig'-bash.
dark, n., adj., tûrô, tûr,
anyûrôn, anyûrûs, tham-
sûîn.
daughter, n., cîmêd'; — in-
law, — sêm, têm.
dawn, v., rûshûn bûmûmig' (rûshûn = long shadow
or ray); râtin sanmûmig'
   (= night end).
day, n., lai, lē; (by day), adv., lai, lē. See daily.
As measurement of time, diūr, dyūsōn, barōn.

day - after - to-morrow (i.e. third day), rōmī; fourth day, pāe; fifth day ēi, ē; sixth day, cēi, cē; seventh day, kūroi.

day - before - yesterday, rī; fourth day back, ritsōmyōi.
deal, perform rites for, atiū lanmig'. See corpse.
deaf, adj., ʻono.
dear, adj. (loved), pyār; (costly), see price.
death, grē, mot.
debt, n., rin, bulon.
debtor, n., rinia, rinsa, bulonsea.
deceit, n., nōrōn.
deceitful, adj., khotōs.
deceive, v., see cheat.

decide, v., pantsi lanmig', phaisāla lanmig'.
decision, n., pantsi, phaisāla.
decompose, v. intr., cismig'.
deed, n., kāmōn.
deep, adj., dābōs.
deer, n., pho; different kinds:
skin (called in Koci āskin); war(h) (Kochi, bōrd);
(musk-deer), rōts; (bārasingha), sōnīh rūd' sea;
(others), gord, sar(h), ēmō.
defeat, v. tr., phammig'. See

win. Be defeated, bammig'. See lose.
delay, n., derī; v., khrāmig', derī lanmig'.
delight, n., khūsi.
demon, n., raksōs.
den, n., dabrūn, ag', wā. See cave.
deny, v., hārmig'.
descent, n., chūr; very gentle, khīr khīr. See ascent.
desire, v., gūmig'.
destitute, adj., rupēā.
destroy, v., sho shēmnig'; be destroyed, sho bimig'.
dew, n., ʻoshōn.
die, n. (bone), pāshîn; (brass), cholo'; play at dice, pāshîn yōcimig', cholo yōcimig', chōlimig',
dice-player, pāshîn yōcīza, chōlā.
die, v., shîmig'; die off (whole family), khōjînîmig' (-go) nā kui hacimig', nā kui bimig'.
difference, n., phārāk.
difficult, adj., talk, oldō, kotsōn, mūshkil.
dig, v., kōtēamig'; (for sawing), gōlimig'.
direction (towards), kō, kacōn; in this direction, jekō, lōkō; in that direction, nēkō, noskō, nēskō;
in my, his, direction, aû
kō', dōkō', etc.; in which direction, hātekō'.
dirt, n., kūri. See dust.
dirty, adj., kūrisea.
disappear, v., maunshimig'.
disciple, n., tsēla.
disease, n., ṭōd'.
dismiss, v., totā shēnumig', tōnumig'.
disobey, v., ma mōnēamig'.
disperse, v. intr., (z)bōrmig', (z)bōrshimig'; v. tr., bērim shēnumig'.
displease, v., rōshōn tānum shēnumig', rōshōn lanumig'; be displeased, v., rōshōn tānumig', nārāz hacimig'.
distribute, v., kaunmig' (-go).
divide, v. tr., kaunmig' (-go).
divorce, v. tr., shī ū tōnumig' (lit. break the stick); tshar-ēāamig'.
dizziness, n., jaunōro.
dizzy (be), v., jaunōrohacimig', jaunōro lanshimig'.
do, v., launmig', lanumig'.
doctor, n., habā, amājī.
dog, n., kū (plur., kō'); large Tibetan, cakūī.
doll, n., yōcimig' chāun.
dome, n., angō.
door, n., pītōn, dwārōn.
double, adj., nish du gnā.
doubt, n., bōram; see suspicion; v., bōram lanumig'.
dove, n., rapēā', gūptī.
down, adv., shōn, yūā', yūg', yōskō.
doze, v., dulcimig', dulcim or nizrōn bōnumig'; — n., nizrōn.
draw, v., dammig'. See pull.
dream, v., maunmig'; n., maun.
dress, v. (oneself), phokshimig', likshimig'; — (another), phōnumig'; as a special honour, liūnumig' (-go) with obj. of thing put on, e.g. shoes, flowers, clothes.
drink, v., tānumig' (intoxicants), kyōsmig'; give to drink, tān rānumig'.
drip, v., cowmig' (-go).
drop, v. tr., dada shēnumig'; v. intr., dada bimig'. See fall.
drown, v., tōo bibi shīmig'.
drum, n. (in order of size), bām, dōl, nāgro, dolkhī, dāmākh, dakhra.
drunk, adj., kyo skyōs.
dry, v. tr. and intr., tshar-umig'; — up, of tree (inside crumble away), suamig'; — adj., tshars.
duck, n., bōtk.
dumb, adj., jyārō, latā.
dung, n. (human), phurō; (dog), khō; (bird), khō; (horse, etc.), lid(h); (sheep, goats), dūl(h); (cattle),
mölöö; (cattle, dried), kôd, körkhōō. 

dust, n., pūrcahīn; dirt and dust, bōna.
dwarf, n., šhāpānūts, bōnmits.

eagle, n., khyyūnpyā.
ear, n., kānōn.
earring, n., sedū, kōntāi, kōntuli, sokōn.
earth, n. (soil), bōspā, matīn; (world), dūnyā.
earthquake, n., zūngā, bān-
cālīn.

case, n., sūkōn.
easy, adj., sūkōn.
eat, v., zāmīg; give to eat, zāmā rānāmīg.
echo, v., rōnēnīmīg (nom. hill, etc.).
eclipse, n., grōnōn.
eddy, v., šhūrēnīmīg.
edge, n., toks, kānāre.
effort, n., kōshtōn.
eggs, n., lit(h).
eight, adj., rai.
eighth, adj., rē, raiō; 800, rairä; 800th, rairä.
eighty, pōnizā or pōnizā; — one, pōnizō idī; —
two, — nish; — three, — shūm; — four, —
pō; — five, — nā; — six, — ūg; — seven, stish; — eight, — rai; —
nine, — zgūī. For ordinals add -ī to last word in each case; nizā changes -ā to -ī.
either . . . or, koē . . . koē.
elbow, n., kurūkt(h).
eldest, adj., jēshmōn.
eleven, adj., sigiđ; eleventh, sigidē.
elope, v. (of married woman), har bimig'; eloping woman, harule; man with or to whom she goes, harulea.
embrace, v., tămishmīg.
employ, v., tāmīg; with word for servant (q.v.), as yokpō, etc.
empty, adj., shāgi.
endure, v., ṣyāmīg.
enemy, n., amē, mā kyūshīd mi, zīd; sea. See meet.
enmity, zīdē.
entangle, v., phāsāyamīg; be entangled, phōsēnīmīg, jiēmīg.
enter, v., dishmīg.
entrails, n., gīma.
entrap, v., phāsāyamīg.
entreat, v., 'rz lanmīg, nish gūd ipōn lanmīg (i.e. make two hands one).
equal, adj., bārābār.
error, n., kūshūr, kōshūr.
escape, v., barēshmīg, bāĉēnīmīg.
evening, n., shāpā.' ever, adv., tērōn.
excommunicate, v., tìtsik'mitsik'shënìng or lan-
mìg'.
execute, v. (finish), shùn-
mìg'; (hang), phansi'shënìng'.
exile, v., tòtì'shënìng', bérinì lanmìg'.
expel, v., shelchāmìg', shelēlēa'shënìng'.
expense, n., chatà.
explain, v., ñe'mzāyamìg'.
extinguish, v., spin'mìg' (-go);
be extinguished, v., bin-
mìg' (-go).
extravagance, n., yar khörts.
extravagant, adj., dvālia, khyaampo.
eye, n., mig'.
eyebrows, eyelashes, n.,
migspū, migtsām.
face, n., (stō).
fall, v., gōrmìg', brīn binmìg';
of house, blūsmìg';
(drunk), bralmìg'. See
knock.
false, adj., alkōlōn. See lië.
fan, n., pakhōn; (pankha)
pānkhōn; v., pakhōn'
rūlēamìg', lān kānnìg'.
far, adv., adj., dör, wark.
farewell, say farewell to,
brālmìg'.
farmer, n., zimidār.
fast, n., bōrt(h); v., bōrt(h)
lanmìg'; adv., hōzō, hāsāl.
fat, adj., motōs, bakhōs; n.,
tshōs.
fate, n., kisnīt; evil fate,
dosha.
father, n., apa, bon, bau,
bōba; — in law, rū;
man's — in-law's family,
dūrōs, dūrōspōn.
fault, n., doshōn. See error.
fear, v., byan'mìg', dēk kon-
mìg' (-go).
feather, n., pōl(h), pakhōn.
feel, v. (touch), thannìg'.
fellow-villager, n., dēshia;
-countryman, mūlō-khia.
female, adj., mōnth (with
noun).
fence, n., tsōr.
fern, n., see plant.
festival, n. (melā) kāyōn;
special melas, lōsār in
January, bīsh in April,
ākhyān in September.
fetter, n., ron.
fever, n., zārgōn, krīn tōd'.
few, adj., gāto. See minority.
field, n., rim; small —,
shārōn.
fifteen, sōnā; fifteenth, sōnā';
fifty, nishnizōsai; fiftieth,
— sai'; fifty-one, nishnizō
sigid; — two, — sōnish;
— three, — sērūm; —
four, — sapō; — five, —
 sōnā; — six, — sērūg'; —
seven, — sōtishi; —
eight, — sōrai; — nine,
— sōzyūi. For ordinals add ḍ to the last word.
fight, v., dāshimig'; — cause to, dāshim shēnmig'; —, n., dāsho.
file, n., sēgdūr.
fill, v., pōnmig'; — tight, caūmig' (-go); be filled, bōnmig'.
fine, adj. (cloth), pithös, nakits; (small), nakits; (be — weather), v., bīżen-
mig', bīženmig'; —, n., dānōn; small — not in law-courts, collected by village headman, ūtpaū, chodpā; —, v., dānōn lanmig'.
finger, n., prats.
finger-nail, n., cin.
finish, v., shānmig'; be finished (of assembly, disperse), dānmig'.
tire, n., mé; v. (with gun), bāyāmig'.
tire-fly, n., méhoū, méhoūts.
tire-place, n. (native earthen), meliū.
firwood, n., (parmig') shīn.
first, adj., idū, dūrē; — place, dūrōn; —, at,adv.,omē,om.
fish, n., matshi; v., matshi tsūmmig'.
fisher, n., matshi tsūmzeu.
fist, n., māṭthu.
five, nā; fifth, nāḇ; 500, nārā'; 500th, nārāḇ.
flag, n., darchōd; —, prayer, darchōd.
flame, n., lāb.'
flea, n., shpōg.
flee, v., bōmig'. See run.
fleece, n. (sheep), tsamm; (goat), rōmōn.
flint, n. (for light), mērā.
float, v., tīū dēn tōshimig', or bīmig'.
flock, n. (sheep, goats), shāliū, dāyōn; (belonging to raja or wazir), pūr; (of birds), ḥuūn.
flog, v., tsāmūk cilēmig' (tsāmūk = whip).
flood, n., hōldū.
floor, n. (wooden, of upper story), panthōn; (earthen, of lower story), khārōn.
flour, n., cēsōn; —, wheat, kōnekhōn.
flow, v., bīmig', tsālēn livig'.
flower, n., ā.
flute, n., sānāl, bāshōn, dūtāri.
fly, n., yān, yānūth, kim yān, kim yānūth; v., yammig'; —, cause to, yam shēnmig'.
foal, n., bātshērū.
foam, n., shāb'.
fodder, n., cī(h).
fold, n. (sheep), thach; (as in fourfold), dūgna (e.g. fivefold = nā dūgna); v. tr., thōnmig', chammig'.
food, n., zās, khaū.
foot, n., baù; (paw), baù; (of bed), baù.

footprint, n., mōd'.

forbid, v., ma shēn弥g'.

forefathers, n., apa tētē.

forenoon, n., om lai.

forest, n., bōnān, zāngāl, dzāngāl.

forget, v., bōshīmāg'.

forgive, v., māp lanmig'.

forked, adj., brājé, brā.

formerly, adv., om, omi, pēlē.

fortune, bāg.

forty, nish nizā; — one, nish nizā idi; — two, — nish; — three, — shūm;
— four, — pō; — five, — ēnā; — six, — ṭāg'; — seven, — stish; — eight, — rāi; — nine, — zgū."n.

For ordinals add " to last word. Nizā changes ā to ē.

foundation, n., gīnō.

four, pō; fourth, pōb; 400, pō rā; 400th, pō rāb.

fourteen, sapō; fourteenth, sapōb.

fox, n., shyāl.

free, v. tr., tshutēmig'.

freeze, v. (water), shānēmāg'.

Friday, n., shukārōn.

friend, n., sōnāyya, kōnos, zokhyā, zakhyā; — woman's female, ōmēd'.

friendship, n., zokhyā, zakhyā.

frighten, v., (s)pynāmig'.

frog, n., tiplōkth.

from, prep., dōkt's, — ts (as suffix).

front (in), oms; in front of, oskō.

frost, n. (hoar), pāglōn.

froth, n., shāb'.

frown, v., rōshōn taunig'.

fruit, n., phōlān. Names of particular fruits are generally (not always) the same as the name of the tree.

fuel, n., see firewood; —, bad, aši̇n.

full, adj., bōnshēs, etc. See fill.

fun, n., tōnāsho.

furrow, n., sītōn.

garden, n., shārōn.

gardener, n., māli.

garlic, n., lōstōn.

gather, v., zōma lanmig'. See collect.

generous, adj., būlōs.

ghi, n. (clarified butter), mār.

gift, n., nām, (s)ten (= remembrance-gift); — bag (in which gift is given), phad', phats.

ginger, n., adāro, adargōn; (dried), sūth, cāgyā.

girl, n., tshētshēs, dēkhūr, lātī.

give, v. (to me, us, thee, you), kēmig'; (to others), raunig'. The distinction is not always observed.
glass, n., sīsō, tsīsō.
glove, n., gu sab’ (for gud’, hand).
glutton, n., ṭyoūn zāzēa.
gnash, v., gār cilmīg’.
go, v., bīmīg’, pāmīg’, yūnmīg’; see walk; start togetherson journey, dōmīg’ (-go); — out, donmīg’; — away, dōmīg’; — away from country, byonmīg’ (-no); — together (many), zōmshimīg’.
goad, n., jāl’.
goat, n. (male), azh; (female), bakhōr; (breeding male), pērātōs; sheep and goats, zēd.

God, n., Pārmeṣūrōs, Bāgwān, Nārān, Rām.
god, n., shu, darya; house-god, kim-shu.
goddess, dōwī.
gold, n., zaī.
goldsmit, sōnārōs, f. sōnā-rie.
good, adj., dām, dāmba’sh, dēbāsh, bīnōs, bōnēts, jikpo, dāmkh.
governor, n., hākōm.
grafft, v., niśt bōṭhōn idd lanmīg’.
grain, n. (all kinds), chūā, anōn; brāss(inferior), kōdā (very small), ēlōgō (good), dankhōr (inferior to ēlōgō and superior to) tiṇtā (slightly superior to barley).

granddaughter, mōṁh spāts.
grandfather, n. (paternal or maternal), tētē; in Upper Kanaur (paternal), mēmē.

grandmother, n. (paternal), tēgo, api; (maternal), tēgo; aī (Upper Kanaur); ayo is either grandmother or great-grandmother.
grandson, n., skyō spāts.
grape, n. (tree and fruit), dakhōn.
grass, n., cī(h).
grasshopper, n., (z)bēn.
graze, v. tr., roūmīg’ (-go); v. intr., roksimīg’.
grease, n., ciknsis; v., ciknsis shēmīg’.
green, adj., rāg.
grieve, v. tr., bishārēn shēmīg’; v. intr., bishārēn- mīg’.
grieved, adj., dākhōn.
grind, v. (knife, etc.), rasmīg’; (corn), yūnnīg’ (-do); (with hand, foot, etc.), rammīg’ (-bo).
grindstone, n., rasmik’ pān, darzō.
groan, v., ūnēs mīg’.
groom, n., rō pālōs, khasdār, tsoruedār.
grope, v., gūdōs topēnnīg’, or topēmīg’.
grow, v., bōmīg’; (spring up,
of plants), *sūmīg*. See increase.
growl, v., *grūnīnumīg*.
guard, v. (watch), *rānumīg*;
n., *rūnūz*.
guest, n., *pāṇōkōs*.
gum, n., *chī*; (in mouth), *(s)ṭil(h)*.
gun, n., *tūbākh*; — powder, *dārū*.
hailstone, n., *shōrū*.
hair, n., *krā*; (—, fine on body, —, etc., on clothes), *spū*; (long and loose), *sholkrā*.
hairy, adj., *krāsa*.
half, *khanūn, adhōn*; —, more than, *sādhē, sādhē nū; 5½* (Hindi, *sārhe*; Panjabi, *sādhe*).
halo, n. (round sun or moon), *dunērūn*.
halter, n., *kaktsū bōsh*.
hammer, n., *gōnaū*.
hand, n., *gūd(h)*; handful (single), *i gūd*; (double), *lubbūn*; (two hands in position of holding), *lub*; closed single hand, *stub būn*; without hands, *thullu, tāndān*.
handle, n., *mūth*; of whip, *tshū*.
hang, v., *shishē tānumīg*; (execute), *phansī shēnumīg*.
happiness, n., *khūsī*.
happy, adj., *sākhvēnumīg*; be happy, *dīl tīnumīg*. See well off.
hard, adj., *talk*.
harlot, n., *pātra*.
harness, n., *rānū sazu*.
harvest, n., *sūl*.
have, v. (possess), verb subst., be, *tōg, dāg*; with *dōa*; to have to, infin. of verb with *nimīg*, become, or with verb subst., be, *tōg, dāg*.
hay, n., *tshars ci*.
he, pron., *jā, dō, nū*. See self.
head, n., *bāl(h)*; of bed, *kum*.
headman, n. (of village), *mūkhūn, lāmbārdār, cārōs*.
heal, v. intr., *parōn hācinīg* or *kānumīg* (with word for scar).
heap, n., *rāshōn*.
hear, v., *rōcinīg, thasmīg*.
heart, n., *dīl, zūnā*.
heat, n., *zhān*.
heaven, n., *sōryōn*.
heavy, adj., *lik*.
heel, n., *thōnūl*.
heir, n., *hākdār*.
help, n., *pāch*; v., *pāch lanmīg*.
helpless, adj., *bitsārikōs*.
hen, n., *kukkrē*.
hence, adv., *jōnts, hojōnts, jōkts*.
herd, n. (cattle), *gōshtūn*.
here, adv., jōn, hojōn, jū.  
See direction.
hide, n. (complete), ponōn;  
(incomplete, cut), talōn.
high, adj., raṅg, lamōs, rēgēn.
hill, n., rān, dānī, dōkhōn, thōl(h); (several hills), dokha'.
hinder, v., rōkēāmīg'; be 
hindered, rōkēāshīmīg'.
hinge, n., kōbzā.
hire, n. (price of labour), than.
hive, n. (bee), dōrōn, mōkhār, kāshīn.
hold, v., tsūmmig'.
hole, n., doyōn; (in ground), 
dubōs; (smoke - hole in 
roof), tīniū; —, make, 
kānnīg (-bo), pharmīg, 
with noun.
honey, n., wās; honeycomb, 
kāshīn.
hoof, n., khocōb (when hoof is 
divided, as with pig, each 
half is khocōb).
hook, n., tsūts(h).
hope, n., āshā.
horn, n. (of animal), rād'.  
See trumpet.
hornet, n., rañōl.
horse, n., raṇ.
hot, adj., bōkh.
house, n., kim, kōthī; (in 
fields), shēnnōn; (lodging), 
tsāt, see lodge; (thatched 
temporary hut in fields), 
tshanī.
how, adv., hale, hala.
however, haliāna.
hump, n. (of bull), tsūlīn.
hundred, rā; hundredth, rāē.
hunger, n., ōn.
hungry, adj., onōs.
hunt, v., ērīn lāmnīg', ērīnō 
bīmīg'; animal hunted, 
shō'.
hunter, n., ērōs, nagrōs, ērīn lānza, ērīnō bitsea.
hurt, v. tr., nām shēnnīg';  
— (be), nāmmīg'.
husband, n., dāts.
hush! intr., cām tōshīn.
hyena, n., thar.
I, pron., gō.  See self.
ice, n., ōhanōn, stil(h).
idol, n., rōthōn.
il (be), v., tonmīg'.
ilness, n., tod'.
image, n., kūndā; —, make, 
tonmīg', with noun.
immediately, adv., zōrōp, 
zōtpōt.
incense, n., guglōn, dupōn;  
—, burn, dupōn ranmīg'; 
—, one who burns, nērpa.
incision, v. (surgery), phāmmīg'.
incite, v., hūmmīg'.
income, n., āgōth.
incorrect, adj., gōltī.
increase, v. intr., bōdēmmīg'.
indeed, adv. (inferential), ta, 
agré.
infant, n., jītī, jītits, chan,
chaūts, ayānōn (Panjabi anyān? an-jān?).
inferior, adj., bogrōs.
injury, n., chaṭa. See loss.
ink, n., sīā.
inkstand, n., māskhzōm.
insect, n. (large stinging, brown), guzōr.
insert, v. (as pole in ground), tsānimig'.
inside, prep., kōmo.
instead, prep., bānthā, with gen. as aν chaλu bānthā, instead of my son.
insult, v., bēzzātī lanmir'.
intercede, v., kacōns batōn dām lanmir'.
intercourse, n. (connexion), wasta.
interest, n. (usury), biāz; — summer, shōl biāz; — winter, gūn biāz.
intoxicated, adj., kyōskyōs.
invite, v. (one another to food), dono kāsh’imig’ zakhyā kāsh’imig’.
iron, n., ron; for flint, rānkō. See tinder.
irritable, adj., lamgids zūa sea (lit. Hindi halke ji wāla).
itch, n., khāzi; —, cattle, phāshōn; v. intr., khāzi hōrmig’.

jactal, n., kōkör, kōkörts.
jaw, n., kyaŋōl.

jest, n., ṭhaṭe; —, in (not true), tsōntī.
jewel, n., mōnīn (ō almost ā).
jewellery, n., tānā.
joint, n. (of bones), tsig’.
joy, khāsī, khāshī.
juice, n., tī.
jump, v., lān tsharēamig’; n., lān; — about (horse), gor burēnmig’.
jungle, n., bonīn, dzāngāl, zaṅgāl; —, grass, without trees, in Tibet, pabōn.

Kanaur, n. (country), kānōriñ.
Kanaur man, kānōrōs, pl. kānōrōa; — woman, kānōrō (pl. kānōrië), kānōriñ chēsmī; —, adj., kānōriñ; — language, kānōriñ skad’ kānōrēnu skad’; as spoken between Kānām and Shāsō, the-bōrskad’. Kanauris say that Koci-speaking people call Kanauri minchān, or minchānōn.

keep, v. (— safe), tsōkōsōs tāmig’, tsōkōs lanmirig’; preserve, arpyāmig’.
kernel, n. (of fruit-stone), rēmō; of walnut and Pinus Gerardiana, ge.
key, n., tāliūts.
kick, v. (horse), shpaj cīlēamig’, or kémig’; —
(man), lathôn or latôn cîlêérânîg'.

kid, n. (male), baktûtîs;
(female), mâts.

kidney, n., p’îtrops.

kill, n. (murder), sâmîg';
(slaughter animal), shâm-
mîg'.

kindred, n., përî', pérôû'à'.

king, n., gyalbô, râza.

kiss, n., papu; v., papu râmîg'.

kite, n. (bird), dânshûrûs.

kitten, n., pîshî chûtâs.

knead, v., stêmîg'.

knee, n., pôshpôn.

kneel, v., pôshpôn tsâmîg' (-go).

knife, n., khûr(h), khûrts.

knock, v., tûkêkyâmîg';
— down, phràlmîg';
— down house, phlûsmîg';
— down man, brûn shêmîg'.

knot, n., ganthôn; v., ganthôn tsâmîg';
— untie, thô-
mîg', thôrmîg'.

know, v., nêmîg'.

knuckle, n., pratsû tsig'.

labour, n. (forced, unpaid),
one month in year, tharû;
one week in year, bûtrâôlî;
— (forced, paid), gâchûs,
bûgar.

labourer (forced, unpaid),
khûnûn; — (forced, paid),
barûs, kûlî; — (day wages),
môzûrî.

ladder, n., sôûgâ.

lag (behind), v., channîg' (-do).

laggard, n., chatsea, chatpô;
fem., chatse, chatmêts.

lake, n., kûldûn.

lama, n., lamâ; —, head
(celibate), tûarg' lama,
kushôg'; (non-celibate),
gyêloû (inferior to tûarg'
lama); gêshûl (inferior
to gyêloû).

lamb, n. (male), karts;
(female), khûts.

lame, adj., khorû.

lamp, n. (native), khorû;
lighted (including wick,
oil, etc.), duûn.

language, n., skad'.

lash, n., tsûmûk.

last, adj., bûge.

latch, n., hûrûn.

late, adj., gûrûs, gûrgûr, khrû
khrû; — (be), gûrsâ shêmîg', khrû khrû hacî-
mîg'; —, it is, gûrsa hacî.

laugh, v., honmîg' (-do),
vûmîg'.

law, go to (with another), v.,
tsûmshêmîg'.

lazy, adj., dilôs, sûst, dêmîg',
dêlua.

leaf, n., patrôûn.

leak, n., doûn, doyûn; v.,
cûnmîg' (-go).
learn, v., hushimig'.
leather, n., talom.
leave, v., tsharēamig', tshōrēamig', tshwarmig'.
leech, n., gato tishām.
left, adj. (not right), khojōn;
— to the, khojōn kō.
leg, n., ba'n; legs straight out in sitting, sholba'n;
sit in this way, sholba'n shēnnig'.
lentils, n., different kinds,
pethon, māsor, cishēn,
yar, māsh, tsēnē (= gram), māgo'n (= mūngī),
chōb.
leopard, n., tharr.
leper, n., būsea.
leprosy, n., bā.
letter, n., kayli; (of alphabet), akhrōn; Tibetan letter (epistle), hige.
level, adj., sprēd, sollōs.
liar, n., jābē, alkolōs; fem.,
akolē.
licence, n. (written), prána.
llick, v., lēmmig' (-mo).
lie, n., alkolōn; v. (tell a lie),
alkolōn lamnig'; — down,
resting on elbow, lāmos
thishimig', dishimig'.
lift, v. (load, etc.), kyūmmig' (-bo).
light, adj., lamgids; n.,
tsadk(h); v. tr., connig' (-do); — lamp, duin
connig', tshāmig'.
lightning, n., bizēl; lighten,
v., bizēl bōnnig'.
like, adj. (similar), dēs, bāsh
(with gen. or nom.); v. (food, person), zānnig' (-do); — one another,
zushimig'.
lime, n. (for building), tsuno.
line, n. (straight, etc.), rekh(h),
rekōn; in cloth, cēd';
across front of fingers for counting, cēd'.
lip, n., tunōn.
liquor, n., from gār, grapes,
raht(h); from cereals,
phāsār; others, shutōn,
(wasu)dikhi; intoxicants
smoked, ōtar (= bhang)
būkhlō (made from bhang),
phōm (= opium).
listen, v., thasmig'.
little, adj., gato, dzigits,
tshērēp, tshōp', tshōbo. See
small.
live, v., shōnnig'; inhabit,
bēsēnnig'; (causative),
bēsēamig'.
liver, n., shin'.
living, adj. shōn.
lizard, n., tshēmār; — very
small, rausılı.
load, n., barōn.
lock, n. (for door), shānōn;
v., shānōn shēnnig'; n. (of
hair, long), ozrā; Hindu
pig-tail, molin.
locust, n., sholū.
log, n., gońiū; short —, one man's load, tūrōn, hōriū.
long, adj., lāmos; for how long time, te stōn; — ago, phage.
long for, be anxious for (child), (s)tos (s)tos nūmig'.
look, v., khyāmig', taumig', khāmig'.
loose, kōlös.
lose, v., shō shēnnig'; be lost, shō binig', be defeated, bammig', harēnig'.
loss, n., dōkha, nūksān; (enemy's loss causing joy), hukotā.
lot, n., poglōn; draw lots, poglōn shēnnig'.
love, v., gyāmig'.
loving, adj., bēnnōn, nichol.
low, adj., yōcā; — country, i.e. Rampur, etc., gyalsha.
lower, v. tr., tonnig (H. ātārnā).
luggage, n., cīz bāst, āsbāb.

man, n., mī, (as opposed to woman) choṁmā, morchanā; — of certain place, add -pā (fem., mēts) to name of place, which is sometimes contracted, e.g., Rōgpā, — from Rōgē; Tāk-pōkpā, — from Tāk-pa; Rapā, — from Rānōn.
mare, n., gōnma.
maintenance, n., janetōn; (of lower caste), gādār.
marrow, n., tsil(h).
mask, n., bag'.
mason, n., orōs; fem., orēnik'.
See carpenter.
massage, v., nōmig' (between o and au), toōnig'.
master, n., dākpo.
masticate, v., bāmāmig'.
matter, n. (affair), batōn; (Th.), kamekik.
mattress, n., leph, rāzāi.
measles, n., khōtorō.
measures, n. (generally wooden, for corn, approximately as follows): solo', half ser; khań, three-quarters ser; nislo brē, one ser; tēg brē, one and a half sers; tāmāth, two to eight sers.
meat, n., sīya.
mediate, v., galōm shēnnig'.
mediator, n., galōm khetse.
medicine, n., shēl.
meet, v., chūkshimig', kyā-
skimig' ; go to meet superior on road, döskimig'.
memory, n., yad.
mend, n., sūārē'amiq'.
mercury, n., mūl chā.
message, n., pral ; — (bear), pral phēmig'.
messenger, v., pral phitsea.
mew, v. (cat), bashēn'mig', krammig (-bo).
mica, n., tsadkh rug', mērā ;
tsra rug' (tsa? for tsadkh).
midday, bārubār lai, dobār.
middle (in middle of), majōn, majōn ; adj., majōn.
midwife, n., apā.
mile, n., mēl.
milk, n., khērōn ; v., tsurmig' (object either 'cow' or 'milk'); give — to (mother to infant), stu'n'mig'.
mill, n. (house), gothōn kim ;
— hand-, has gothōn ;
— -stone, gothōn.
mine, n., chāvin.
minority, n., gatō ca.
mire, n., tsikār.
mirror, n., sisō, tsīsō, ashuts.
miser, n., banārēs (fem., banārē), kathōs, talk(h), hidāks, cūnt(h).
mist, n., dubōi.
mistake, n., gīlāi.
mistaken, adj., wāmōn.
mistress, n. (bad sense), zār.
mix, v., skōnnig', (z)blōmig', brōmig'.
mock, v., šātē lanmig'.
mole, n. (spot on body), rōkshyā.
Monday, n., sūārōn.
monkey, n., bandārōs ; fem., bandrāniq'.
month, n., gōl ; names as follows: April—May, beshāgōn ; May—June, jeshtōn ; June—July, askārōn ; July—August, shōnōn ; August—September, bādrōn ; September—October, indro-mōn ; October—November, kātiū ; November—December, mōkshirōn ; December—January, pōshōn ; January—February, mān ; February—March, phar-nōn ; March—April, cētrōn.
moon, n., gōlsōn.
more, adj., adv., hēd (other);
țyo (see majority); no —,
dē ma.
morning, n., sōm, nāsimi.
mortal, n. (for pounding), kāviū.
mosquito, n., gūzōr.
most, adv. (superlative), zō, thōtsi.
mother, n., amā, mānn ;
— -in-law, yume'; mother’s house and family, mapōn.
mould, n. (resulting from damp), nām nām.
mourn, v., krammig (-bo); together (s)krapshtimig'.
mouse, n., piũ(h).
moustache, n., mutshe.
mouth, n., khak ön; bodi
khak ön sea, great talker.
much, adj., adv., kyālokha, gōzāb, gob' tsorās, khwār,
bodi; how —, many, tetrā';
how many, tē; however
—, many, tetrīwā'.
mud, n., tsikār, lās; white
—, tshitsho.
mule, n., khō tsōr.
murder, n., khūnī; v., sannig'.
mushroom, n., limmō; —,
red, khōlākts.
music, n., bazgi; bukhriū is
the name of a brass or
coppermusical instrument.
musician, n. (caste), zümṛēa;
fem., zümṛōnik'.
musk-deer, n., rōts.
musk-rat, n., nyōlits.
my, adj., aũ, aũu.
nail, n., prēg.
naked, adj., salgi.
name, n., nāmōn.
narrow, adj., gatōs, gatō.
navel, n., nāits.
near, adj., adv., nērūn.
necessary, adj., zārūri; —
(be), v., gyāmig' (impers.).
neck, n. (back part), kak'its.
necklace, n., raino'; — of
god (silver in eighteen
rings), mūkhōn.
needle, n., keb'; pine—,
lanū; dry pine-needles,
pōsh.
needy, see poor, helpless.
neigh, v., bakhennig'.
neighbourhood, n., ādēshōs
pādēshōs.
nephew, n., brother's son,
chaū; sister's son, banzā,
banzāts.
nest, n., wā.
nettle, n., tsōya.
never, adv., tēröū ma, tsōnē
ma.
new, adj., nyūg. See young.
news, n., khōbār, kacya.
niece, n., brother's daughter,
cimēd'; sister's daughter,
bānu, bānūts.
night, n., rātūn; —, last,
mēshpā.
nine, zgūi, guā; ninth, zgūī,
guā'; nineteen, sozgūi;
nineteenthsogūī'; ninety,
pō nizō saī or pō nizō saī;
—, one, pō nizō sigid;
—, two, — sōnīsh; —
three, — sō rūm; —, four,
—, sapō; —, five, — sōnā;
—, six, — sōrūg'; —
seven, — sōstīsh; —
eight, — sō rāi; —, nine,
—, sozgūi; 900, guā rā;
900th, guā rā̄. For ordi-
nals add 5 to the last word.
nipple, n. (of breast), nānu
bālts (= little head? of breast).

no, ma, with verb; — one,
hāti ma.
nod, v. (bāl) zukyāmīg.
noise, n., skād'. See voice,
language.

noon, n., bārābār lai.
nose, n., tākūs.
nose-ring, n., khūndī(-ts),
bolū, gūlāb.

not, ma; with imp., tha.
nothing, thōtsī ma, thī ma.
nourish, v., yonmīg.

now, adv., hān, hānā; —
(up to —), hănokstōn.

nowhere, hamī ma.
nurse, n., tsūm pālānts.

oath, n., rēn', kōsh; — take,
rēn' lammīg' kōsh tānmīg';
—, administer, rēn' ran-
mīg' kōsh tān̄am shēmīg'.

obey, v., māchāmīg'.

obtain (be obtained), v., pē-
rēmīg'.

odour, see smell.

often, adv. (many times),
bodi bor(h) (or other word
for many instead of bodi).
oh! interj., aya lai, āchōchā.

oil, n., tē lōn, mar ti (Th.)
(= ghi water); v. tr.,
tēlōn shēlmīg'.
ointment, n., mēlām; —
apply, mō lam shēlmīg'.

old, adj., āshk, thālōs; only
of persons, rūzā' (men
only); yān̄zea, fem.
yān̄zē; — age, yān.

once, i jōb'; — on a time,
one day, īmya.

one, adj., id', ī; — who does
or is connected with,
-sea, fem. -sē; — -sea, fem.
-zē, tsea, fem. -tse; -dea,
fem. -dē.
onion, n., pīāz.

only, adv., ēkō.

open, v., tōmīg'; adj.,
tōn̄shēs.
onpium, n., phīm.
or, conj., koē, generally
omitted.
oracle, n. (man who gives),
 grokts, mālī; —, speak in,
(z)dōmīg'.
orange, n., narángī.
Orion's belt, n., hān̄ar pōn.
orphan, n., shokrōn.
other, adj., aid, āi, hēd', yar.
otherwise, adv., ma vimā
(lit. if it be not).

otter, n., sākho (?). See porcu-
pine.

our, adj. (see we), nishat,
kashōnū, nīnanū, kishōn-
anū.

out, adj., bērīn; go, come
out, dōmīg'.

owl, n., kūg' (kukh).

own, adj. (Hindi, āpnā),
ānu; plur., masc., anēy-
ānu; fem., anēwānū mō
(—, my own, like āpnā).

pain, n., rāshōn, akhā; —
feel, shēlēcimig'.
pair, n., nyoṭōn.
palace, n., bēr.
palate, n., talgōn.
pale, adj. (face), pūg'.
palm, n. (of hand), hastlōn.
palsy, n., zā.
paper, n., kagīlī.
paralyse, v. tr., pātē lanmig'.
paralysed, adj., pātē;
(be), v., pātē hacimig'.
paramour, n., zār, yarbaho
(male or female).
parents, n., mānn bōnū;
woman's parents' house,
mēṭinī.
parrot, n., tōlā.
part, n., kag', bagli, bānṭhō.
partridge, n., tig'.
patch, n., talōn; v., talōn
shēmig'.
path, n., om.
paw, n., baūn.
pay, n., ēṅkha, tēlōb.
pea, n., ceshten.
peacemaker, n., galōm shet-
sea.

peacock, n., mōrōs; f., mōri.
peak, n., bāl.
pearl, n., mōtōn.
peck, v. (peck at), tōktōk-
yāmig'; pick up (bird),
thōmig'.

peel, n., bod'; v. tr., bod'
pīnimig'; — wand, tree,
etc., bod' khōmig'.
pen, n., kēlōn.
enis, n., polite word, liṅ, līkā; less polite, kutī,
lēsh.
pepper, n. (red), piplī;
(black), mōrts.
perfume, see smell.
perhaps, adv., zaṅī [lit.
(who) knows?], a Kōci
word.
permit, v., shēmig'.
perspiration, n., dūstī.
perspire, v., dūstī dönmig'.
persuade, v., pērj(yāmig',
mōnāyamig'.
pestle, n., mōsīnū.
petition, v., ārgyāmig'.
pheasant, n., pantīg', daṅ.
picture, n., naksā; —, draw,
aksā tonmig'.
pierce, v. tr., kammig' (-bo);
pierced (be), intr., gammig'
(-bo).
pig, n., sūivrōs; —, wild,
bōnīnū sūivrōs.
piles, n. (ailment), māmēsī.
pilgrimage, n., tithōn; with
measuring length on
ground, zaṅchāg; —,
perform, zaṅchāg lan-
mig'.
pillar, n., wooden, thāmgoṅ.
pinch, v., cīnūs rānmig'.
pipe (huqqa), n., tśilīm.
pitch, n., nizār.
place, v., tāmīg; n., zāga.
The syllable tsō is often added, apparently without meaning, to words indicating place or location, as kim, house; šēnnōn, hut in fields; bōniṁ, jungle; rāṁ, mountain.
plain, n., drun, khonā; adj., kotsōn.
plaint, n., of hair, katsrī, bēshkōr, mōnōn, tshēshlā (Th.); v. tr. (hair), katsrī kermīg; (ropes), thakpa bōshīmīg.
plank, rō, rōts.
plant, n., dālōn.
plants, names of—
amonōn, wild pear, i.q. bēsrōs.
āson ū, wild geranium, columbine.
athal, Panjabi rethā, used as soap. See nakapani.
bālbāl shō, wild strawberry.
bālmōṭh, small plant with sweet-smelling root.
ban, oak, Quercus incana. bēnōn, Cotoneaster baccillaris.
bēsrōs, wild pear, i.q. amonōn.
bijā, kernel of apricot stone.
bōr, banyan, Ficus indica.
brass, Rhododendron arboreum.
brē, oak, Quercus ilex.
brēgūlīn, thorny shrub, Prunsepia utilis.
būcō, medicinal plant, used also for dyeing.
veshten, pea.
cimu, Morus serrata.
eāl(h), wild apricot, Prunus armeniaca.
dakhōn, vine, grape; bōn dakhōn, wild vine, wild grape.
dalmōn, pomegranate.
daū, asparagus.
daturō, thorn-apple.
dō, kind of fern.
drōmōn, kind of grass.
ēkur, a medicinal plant.
ēmēi, Viburnum stellulatum.
gūlāb, rose.
hōrkāā, yew, Taxus baccata, i.q. nyamdāl.
hōlāshōn, Rhus Panjabinensis.
horkā, Rhus Wallichii.
ka, walnut, Juglans regia.
kakshōz, Lonicera hypoleuca.
kālīshōn, Salix elegans.
kāsh, plant used in washing.
kūṭīń, Indigofera Gerardiana.
kātēa, peach.
katsbāl, Pyrus baccata.
khānnā, Ephedra vulgaris.
khatēbs, like wild fig.
Viburnum cotinifolium,
i.q. tāstās.
khlof', spruce fir, Abies
Webbiana or pindrau.
khūlū, a thorny shrub.
kof', wild fig.
kramāl, poplar, Populus
ciliata.
krān, bird cherry, Prunus
padus.
kū, Celtis australis.
kusht, kushtītis, Spiraea
bella.
kyalmōn, cedar, Cedrus
Libani deodara.
lā patrōn, ivy, Hedera
Helix.
ladrōn, Pieris oavitifolia.
lim, blue pine, Pinus
excelsa.
liū kat(h), an edible fern.
līts, medlar, Pyrus com-
munis, i.q. shēgūl(h).
mal, poplar, Populus alba.
marpol, Pyrus lanata.
meskhīn, Lonicera obovata.
mō, mushroom, toadstool.
moisnū, willow.
moldōn, elm, Ulmus Walli-
chiana.
morgōn, oak, Quercus
dilatata.
mōs, Desmodium flori-
bundum.
nakapanī, black stone of
athal, q.v.
nyamdāl, yew, Taxus
baccata, i.q. hārkāū.
nyamsō, Caragana brevi-
spina.
nyū, Ulmus nepalensis and
nitida.
pud, bark of Betula utilis,
for roofing.
palē, apple.
paprōn, Buxus sempervi-
renes.
phlrā, Deutzia corymbosa.
pipōlōn, peepul. Ficus
religiosa (H. pipāl).
prind, Buddleia panicu-
lata.
pū, horse-chestnut, Aescu-
lus indica.
pyāū baṅ (lit. bird’s foot),
maidenhair.
raṅ gyaū, Rosa macro-
phylla and Webbiana.
raṅ reg, Pyrus foliosa,
also Rhamnus dauricus
and purpureus and
triqueter.
rāpēa ci (lit. dove-grass),
anemone.
rāpēa shō (lit. dove-berry),
Daphneoleoides, i.q. ziko.
ratsō kanōn (lit. calf’s-
ear), a small plant.
reg, Prunus persica.
rī, edible pine, Pinus
Gerardiana.
rōg, Picea morinda.
rol(h), a tree with edible berries.
sapōs vi (lit. snake-grass), a small plant.
sapōsū dakhōn (lit. snake's grape), strawberry.
sēsōrpāl, shrub whose leaves are burned in religious rites.
shēgāl(h), medlar, Pyrus communis, i.q. lits.
shishvī, shisham.
shōk, Cornus macrophylla.
shīti, red pine, Pinus longifolia, i.q. tsīl.
shūr, Juniperus excelsa.
shyaq', Betula utilis.
surō, thorny plant with cone and poisonous seed.
surts, Hippophae rhamnoides and salicifolia.
tailū, Juniperus communis or Pseudo sabina.
ṭhōsh bōn, Desmodium floribundum or concinnum, i.q. mōs.
thum, Fraxinus xanthoxyloides.
tsābrea, a kind of rhododendron.
tsān, moss.
tsān bōn ṣā, everlasting.
tsīl, red pine, Pinus longifolia.
tsō, thorn.
tsō bōthōn, raspberry.

tsōshō (lit. thornberry), blackberry.
tsōtrūm, thorny plant, Berberis aristata.
tsōya, nettle.
ṭābāl(h), kind of very tall grass.
tūstās, like wild fig, Viburnum catinifolium, i.q. khatēbs.
wanda, climbing plant, with strongly scented flowers.
wasab, small plant.
yal, wild rose, Rosa moschata.
zhēkē, Lonicera angustifolia.
zhyyūr, camphor-scented plant.
zyyāl, mistletoe, Viscum album.
zhbaṅ, Abelia trilifora.
zhīko, Daphne oleoides, i.q. rapēsāhō.
zhūl(h), lichen.
plaster, v. (wall), chulmig', mlēumig'; floor, roof with leaves and mud, chāmig', marshēmig, lipēmig'.
play, v., yōcimig'; (music), bājēmig'.
pleiades, n., gwāños pōn.
plough, n., hālōn; v., hālōn limig'.
ploughshare, n., phālōn.
pluck, v. (flowers, vegetables),
preserve, see keep.
press, v., čēmmig'.
press down, used of demon
in nightmare, spanmig'.
pretence, n., amōliṅu.
price, n., mōlōn; rate, bao,
bēcōn.
prime minister, n., bisht; f.,
bishtānī.
prisoner, n., bāndāa, kēdì.
proceed, v., in spite of diffi-
culty, manage to get past
or in, tharmig'. See
walk, go.
proclaim, v., aū tshārēmig',
hak šēmmig'.
property, n., māya, māla.
pull, v., dammig' (-bo);
against one another, dop-
shimig'.
pulse, n. (in body), sā; —
feel, sā khyāmig'.
punish, v., dānēmig'.
puppy, n., kuchāṁts.
purchase, v., zoūmig', zō-
mig'.
purse, n., bētuṅ.
pus, n., stāṅ.
push, v., stūmig'.
put, v. (insert, H. ēlāṅā),
šēmmig'; put on, see
dress.

quadruple, adj., po dāṅga.
quarrel, n., zōthē, dashō; v.,
dāshimig'.
quarter more than, sawā;
sawā nish, 2½ (Hindi, sawā).
queen, n., gyalmo.
question, sawāl; —, ask, imig'.
quickly, adv., hōzo, hāsāl, hāl, shūrōs.
quietly, adv., tsūkōn.
rag, n., cīthra.
rain, n., tī, lāgēti, lāgēts tī; v., lagēnīníg'; stop rain-
ing, dakeimig'.
rainbow, n., brāmēts, tī lān-
mēts; —, lunar, dunērōn.
raise, v., sarmig'.
ram, n., kār(h); —, Tibetan, byān kār(h); —, breed-
ing, kultōs.
ravish, v. (bad sense), tsūm tsūm gōnimig'.
raw, adj., katsā, katsō.
ray, n. (of light), rāshīn.
razor, n., khūrōnts.
read, v., hushimig'.
ready, adj., ičār.
reap, v., chūa lammig' or gōnimig'.
rear, v. intr. (of horse, etc.), bauna den sarmig'; tr., yo'mig'.
reason, for this reason, hodo tēnēs, hodei sābābōs.
recognize, v., tsvini lammig', shēsimig'.
reconcile, v. tr., sōrtsayamig', galōm shēnimig', galshōm shēnimig'; be reconciled, galmig', galshimig'. See peace.
red, adj., shvikh' (g').
reel, v. (drunk), bralmig'.
reflect, v., tsalmig', sāncēn-
ning'.
regrettable, adj., bānth.
rein, n., gūlām.
relative, n., pērōn, ōnton.
remain, v., tōshimig'; be incomplete, dakeimig'.
remaining fruit, after first gathering (walnut, rī, etc.), dūn.
remove, v., phīmig'.
rent, n., bārā.
repair, v., sāārēmig'.
repent, v., rēn' lammig' (lit. take oath), bishārēmig'.
See grieve.
reply, n., zābāb.
request, v., ōryamig'.
require, v., gyāmig'.
resemble, v., rākshimig', rukshimig'.
resign, v., ōrzi rūnimig'.
resignation, n., ōrzi.
rest, v., nāshimig'.
return, v., pūlēamig'. See turn.
rib, n., rib'.
rice, n. (grains), rāl(h); cooked, bāt.
rich, adj., chākpo.
ride, v., shōkshimig'; —, cause to, sho'mig' (-go).
right, adj. (not left), zakôn; —, to the, zakôn kô, zakôn kacôn; (correct), tob.

rind, n., bôd', bod'.

ring, n., kujôna, mûndi.

ripe, adj., sho sho, lûm lûm.

ripen, v. (grain), lummig'; (fruit), shômig'.

rise, v., ançimig', sarshûmig'; (of sun), zôrömig'.

river, n., sômûdrôn.

rock, n., rag'.

roll up, v. (bedding), loûmig' (-go), thoûmig' (-go). See wrap.

roof, n., wood, stone, slate, tshabrôn, tshaprôn; flat, mud, mûnthôn, mânthôn, mûlthôn; of temple, chap-rôn.

room, n. (of house), wâso; (space), zâga.

root, n. (of tree), jîlôn.

rot, v., cûsmig'.

rotten, adj., cûs cûs, cis cis.

rough, adj. (not smooth), phresêkë.

round, adj., spherical, bâtlôs; circular, börbôr; make round, v., baltshâmig'.

rub, v., nêmîg' (ô between ô and au).

rudeness, n., kôzia, gûstûkhi.

run, v., dainmig', dörêmig'. See flee.

rupee, n., rupea.

rust, n., khoyôô; v., khoyôô lâgënmig' or tôpëmig'.

sack, n., phad'.

sackcloth, n., shôn.

sacrifice, v. (bread, etc., to evil spirit for recovery of sick child), thaûmig' (-go).

saddle, n., zhgâ; pad under saddle of beast of burden, dân.

salt, n., tshâ, sàmbûr tshâ; — merchant, tshâ pâ; — trough, chû, tshârôô.

salutation, n., sûlâm, râm râm; to Brahman, pâ-lânûgî; Brahman's reply, sûri bûcûn; lama's reply, chûgsûl; Kânét to man of lower caste, sûkhi rau.

sand, n., bâliû.

sap, n., tî.

Saturday, n., shôn shîrûs.

save, v., bûrëâmig', bûtsâmig'.

saw, n., rëtor.

say, v., loûmig'(-do), riûmig', rûmig'.

scabbard, n., dûph, tôôû shûb'.

scales, n. (balance), porë, tûråkûli.

scar, n., parôn.

scissors, n., kâtû.

scorpion, n., sôkô'.

scour, v. (metal vessel), mûzûmig'; (wood, etc.), vûmig'.
scratch, v., shölmiŋ'; — oneself, hölshimig', hölmiŋ'.
screw, n. (of watermill), chakrōn.
scrub, v., see scour.
second, adj., nishë.
secretly, adj., maitōs.
see, v. (see look); oneself in glass, lācimig'.
seed, n., biōn.
seek, v., pōcimig'.
self, myself, yourself, etc., emphasizing nom., änei;
I myself, gō gōi; thou thyself, ka kai; he himself, do änei; they themselves, dogo anegāsi or anegāi; — (objective), anī, an.
sell, v. tr., rēnnig' (-do).
send, v., shēnnig'.
separate, adj., khetsi; v., khetsi lanmiŋ'; one who
in anger has separated himself from his house, bagylōs.

servant, n., yokpō, rigrá,
bāndō; — female, chānpā; —
state, of not high rank, nēgi; fem., negānī; store-
keeper, i.e., watchman, bādāri; fem., bādārni.
set, v. tr., tāmiŋ'; intr. (sun),
rēnnig' (-do).
seven, tish, stish; seventh,
tish', stish'; seventeen,
sōstish; seventeenth, sōs-
tish'; seventy, shumnițə
sai; seventieth, shumnițə
saiǐ; seventy-one, shum-
ițə sigid; — two, —
sōnīsh; — three, — sō
rūm; — four, — supō;
— five, — sōnā; — six,
— sōrąy'; — seven,—
sōstish; — eight, — sō
rai; — nine, — sōgāi;
700, tishrā; 700th, tishrāă.
For ordinals add ő to the last word.

sew, v., pōnmiŋ', tsēnniŋ'.
sexual intercourse (have), v.,
goshimig', tsūkshimig'.
shade, n., chāyōn, sōnōn.
shadow, n., lāts.
shame, n., lēaz, sōrm; v., put
to shame, sērmēmig'.
share, n., baglı, bānθo.
sharp, adj., tskōs, rask.
shave, v., krā tsōnimig' (-go).
she, pron., jū, do, nā.
sheep, n., khās; Tibetan,
byān khās.
shell, n. (small, used as coin),
duńchān.

shepherd, n., pālōs.
shin, n., shāngār.
shoe, n., špōn; —, raja's, pēts;
European, bā(h); horse-
shoe, miŋ' pā; — horse
or put iron of horseshoe shape on man's shoe, mig pā shënmiŋ'.

shoemaker, n., cámōn; fem., cámarig'.

shoot, v., see fire.

shop, n., haṭi.

shopkeeper, n., banū. 

shoulder, n., bid'.

show, v., zānniŋ'.

shriek, v., skuṭ tōnmiŋ'.

shrine, n., Buddhist, gōnpā, chot kiŋ', labrón, chostēn.

sickle, n., zēthrōn.

sickness, n., tod'.

sieve, n., cēllōn.

sift, v. (in sieve), cēlēāmiŋ', cēlēāmiŋ'.

sight, v. (a gun), zgīmiŋ'.

silent (be), v., cām or cāmna tōshīmiŋ'; silently, tsūṭkōn.

silk, n., rēsām, jāŋū. 

silver, n., mōl(h) (almost mūl(h)).

sin, n., pāp.

sing, v., githōn lanmiŋ'.

sink, v. intr., dubēnmig'.

sister, n., rińz, rińze; full —, nūnnāziŋ'; plur., nūnnāziye; — in-law, husband's sister, bōre; wife's sister, bēśsa; man's brother's wife, bēśsa; woman's brother's wife, bōre.

sit, v., tōshīmiŋ'.

six, tūg'; sixth, tūg'; sixteenth, sērug'; sixty, shāmnīzā; — one, shāmnīzā id'; — two, — niš; — three, shūm; — four, — pō; — five, — nā; — six, — tūg'; — seven, — stīsh; — eight, — rāi; — nine, — zūī; 600, tūgrā; 600th, tūgrāḇ.

For ordinals add 寤 to last syllable. Nīzā changes, ǎ to ṭā.

skin, n., of cattle, talōn; of sheep, goats, birds, khūl(h); of man, dogs, cats, bōd'; v. tr., khōmig', with word for skin.

slant, v. intr., khērmig'.

slanting, adj., khēr.

slap, n., thapēro; v., thapēro cēlēāmiŋ'.

slate, n., sālēf.

slaughter, v. (animals), shānnmig' (-bo).

sleep, v., yaunmiŋ'; put to, shānnmig' (-mo).

sleeve, n., lag', man lag'; brass (Th.).

slip, v., blēmig'.

slowly, adv., mēsān, mēsānts.

slug, n. (animal), tīshām.

small, adj., dāṃrīts, itīts, jītīts, jītīts. See little.

smallpox, n., tē pirōn.

smart, adj. (bad sense), dīnōs, dīnīyāmēn.
smell, n., gañöm (generally sweet); — bad, már gañöm; v., stammig'(-mo).
smoke, n., dūbōn; v. (tobacco), tāñmīg'; (intoxicants), kyōsīmīg'.
smooth, adj., mashītōs, mashīts.
snail, n., gotãwīrū.
snake, n., sapōs.
snatch, v., (zōrīp) khañmīg'.
snow, n., pōm; — perpetual, stil(h), tshō, thāñōn; melting and falling into river, risūr.
snowy, adj., one of above words with -sea, fem. sē.
See one.
so, adv. (thus), hōdē, hōnē.
soap, n., kūsh (a root), samōn, athal (= rēthā; see plant).
sock, n., zārāt, bañ sab.
soft, adj., kōlōs.
sole, n. (of foot), pōltōn.
some, adj., idē; — — others, idē . . . idē.
sometimes, adv., tērōn tērōn, tēsterōn.
somewhat, adv., dēs, added to adj. or adv.
son, chañ; — in-law, chañ.'
song, n., githōn; one Thē-börskad' song is named acī lāmō.
soup, n., shachōb'.
sour, adj., surkh.
sow, v., pōskhīmīg'.
spade, n. (inverted head), mukōn.
spark, n., kyānīth.
sparrow, see bird.
speak, v., see say.
spectacles, n., mīy rā.
spend, v., khōrts tanmīg'.
spider, n. (small), butukts; dīl butukts; (large), bōtō; spider's web, butuktsā lānīn.
spin, v. tr. (turn round), phōrōrmīg'; v. intr., bōrōrmīg', bhōrōrmīg'; — thread, v. tr., panmīg', kātēmīg'.
spit, v., thupōn phīkēmīg'.
split, v.tr. (stones), pashmīg'; (wood), phāmīg' (-go); v. intr. (general), bōlmīg'.
spoil, v. tr., sūmīg'; get spoiled, suśhīmīg'.
spoon, n. (wood), dōmōn; (metal), thūmmū, kōrtshī.
spot, n., parōn. See scar.
sprained (be), v., kūlūphshimīg'.
spread, v. (bedding, pine needles), pōsh shēnnīg'; — carpet, sūtrānji pōsh shēnnīg', — grain, plāmīg'.
spring, n. (season), renām; v. (of plant), sūmīg'.
squeeze out, v., tāmīg', with object of thing squeezed or of thing squeezed out from it.
squint, v., mig' khērmig'; one who squints, khērmig' sea.

stack, n. (of grass, wood), kotō; thus ci kotō, — of grass; shin' kotō, — of wood.

stallion, n., zēb'.

stammerer, n., tātlā, phapi.

stand, v., dēn tōshimig'; — up, dēn sorshimig'.

standing, adj., dēn.

star, n. (s)kar(h), (s)karō; —, evening, roēn skar; —, morning, san skar; v., Pleiades, Orion's Belt; another constellation is called sūmprōn.

start, v., together on journey, donmig'.

steal, v., cōrōs lanmig', khūnnig'.

steep, adj. (ascent), jiko po ta'n; (descent), jiko chur.

stepfather, n., biāpa; stepmother, n., biāma.

stick, n., dēn; —, small, dēnats; — for oxen, jyāl'; — (long), for collecting walnuts, bergā; v. intr., tūpeimig'; v. tr., tummig' (-bo); with word for gum, glue, etc.

sticky, tūpecidea, tūpecitsea.

still, adv. (yet), ā.

sting, v. (bee, etc.), ciūmmig'; (nettle), poūmmig'; n., cūnc(h).

stink, see smell.

stirrup, n., yabeēn.

stocking, n., zārēb, baṇ sab.

stomach, n., pēttiū.

stone, n., rāg, kōlān; very small, shān; small, flat, pānts; large, flat for roofs, pān; of fruit, khūrsa; v. tr. (a house), tokhyāmig'.

stoop, v., khoušimig'.

story, n., of house, bubin.

straight, adj., sōlēs.

strange, adj., bisharōn.

stranger, n., pērdēshī.

straw, n. (chopped), tshatshī; finer, būsōn.

stream, n., nālōn, gāroń.

strength, n., zōr.

stretch, v. (extend), tsonmig' (-no), nōmig', ḏammig'.

strong, adj., zörseā.

stupid, adj., sādōn.

sucking, n. (noise of), chūb'.

sugar, n., mērī; (gur) gūrām; — -cane, n., gūrām shinā.

summer, n., shōl, zhān. See heat.

summit, n., bāl.

sun, n., yunēg'.

Sunday, n., ētwārōn.

surprised (be), bishārēnnig'.

surround, v. tr. (z)donmig' (-go).
swallow, v., *myūmig*;
swear, v. (oath), *rēn' lan-mig*;
sweep, v., *kucon lanmig*;
sweeper (mihtar), *khālēri*;
(house-cleaner), *māthi*.
sweet, adj., *thīg*; sweetmeat, n., *mithāi*; — seller, n., *kōlāi*.
swell, v., *tūmig* (tō-o).
swing, n., (for play) *wantoū*;
— bridge (rope), *thakpo torōū*, see rope; (wire),
*ronū tārū torōū*.
swing, v. intr. (play), *wantoū yoćimig*; (ordinary),
*zānīnu mig*; v. tr., *zūn-leāmig*.
suddenly, adv., *zērōp, zōtpō*.

table, n., *mēc(h)*.
tahsildar, n., *tōsīlār*; fem.,
*tōsīlārnī*.
tail, n., *poentsēnī*; —, bird's, n., *pakkōn*.
tailor, n., *swā*.
take, v., *āmig*; — away,
*phōmig*; — out, *tonmig*;
— down (bridge),
*loīmig* (-go), *thonmig* (-go);
— off (jewels on
death of husband), *lim-
mig* (-bo). See undress,
unload.
talkative, adj., *gōzāb batīn*
sea, *tsokōs le sea*.
tank, n., *kūldōn*; big, *sorōn*.
taste, v., *jemēāmig*; n.
(good), *ēm*; (bad), *me ēm*.
tea, n., *cā*; — water apart
from leaves, *cathīn, thēū ti*.
teach, v., *hūnnig* (-do).
tear, v., *tsērmig*, *pharmig*,
*zērmig*.
tear, n. (from eye), *mitti* (i.e. 
mig *ti*, eye-water).
teat, n., *pūdī* (cow's).
teetotum, n., *thēlāuts*.
temple, n., *shū kōthī, dūm-
gyār(h), lāgōn, tāngyār(h),
kaŋgyār(h) chatkōn,
dōrōn*.
ten, sai; tenth, *sāv*.
tent, n., *tombū*.
testicle, n., *kōtōl, kōtōlū pṑtō*;
animal born without —,
*rūndōn*; man with one
large and one small,
*shōndō*.
than, adv., *ku, nū, kēs*,
bāsēyōn*.
that, pron., *nā, do*; those two,
nūsōn, *dōsōn*; in that
direction, nāpā', *nēs*, *nēskō*,
nāppā', *napōn, nēkō*;
in that way, *hūne*.
thaw, v., *lēāmig*, *gōlēnāmig*.
thent, adv. (inferential),
tārmā, 
dema; (at that time),
hōdōrōn; (after that), *dōk*,
nīpī.
thence, adv., *dōnts, hōdōnts*,
nōnts, hōnōnts, *dōkēts*.
there, adv., dōn, hōdōn, nōn, hōnōn, dūa, nūā; thither, all above words, and nēskō, nēsnuši.

they, jūgo, jūgōa, jūgoga, dogo, dogoa, dogaga, nūgo, nūgōa, nūgoga; — two, see that.

thick, adj., bakhlos, motōs. See fat.

thief, n., cōrōs; fem., cōrē.

thigh, n., lumm.

thin, adj., bayits.

think, v., tsalmyiŋ, sūntsēn-

niŋ, sūntcheniŋ.

third, adj., shūmō.

thirst, n., skar; v., skarmig.

The desire to smoke is included in the meaning.

thirteen, sērūm; thirteenth, sērūmō; thirty, nizō sai; — one, — singi; — two, — sōnish; — three, —

sērūm; — four, — sapō; — five, — sōnā; — six, — sērug; — seven, —

sōtish; — eight, — sērai; — nine, — sózgui. For ordinals add ə to the latter word in each case.

this, pron., ju; these two, jūsōn; in this way, hōdē; on this side, near, lō lokō, jēkō. See direction.

thither, see there.

thorn, n., tsō(h).

thou, pron., ka; respectful, kā.

thousand, adj., hazār; 100,000, lākh.

thread, n., ridd; cotton for weaving, bāṭ(h).


three, adj., shūm; 300, shūm ra'; 300th, shūm ra.

threshing-floor, n., kholōn.

threshold, n., delā.

throat, n., gōlōn, shaño.

throw, v., shoṭhčamig'.

thumb, n., bonprats.

thunder, v., gārmig'; n.,

gārgur.

Thursday, braspāt.

thus, hōdē, hōnē.

thy, kan; respectful, kīn.

Tibet, n., nyam mułōk; Tibetan, n., nyam; fem., nyamēd; — character used in holy books, thaig, bumig'; — holy books, chōs pothi; read —, chōs tilmig', chōs pothi tilmig'; the reading of the books, — choga; names of holy books, —, (1) dōrje chōt—
pae, dōr chōd, (2) dēk chōs, (3) do bāns, (4) yūm(h),
(5) khām cū nakpo; Tibetan book of spells, un chōs; — letter (epistle), hige.

tie, v., tshānnig'.
tight, adj., gārpāth, talk.
time, n., bēyāt; in the phrase three times, etc., yōb' (jōb'), myā; in the meantime, do ma-jōno.
tinder, n., batshā; — with flint and iron, rūnkō; all these with leather and brass, mētanōn.
to, prep., pōn, dōn.
tobacco, n., tēmākū.
to-day, adv., torō.
toe, n., prats.
to-morrow, adv., nasūm.
tongs, n., tsimtā.
tongue, n., lē.
too, adv. (also), li.
tooth, n., gar'; man with double teeth, one behind other, bāgarša; fem., bāgarē.
torch, n., māsālō (accent on first and third); sān māsālō.
tortoise, n., rihoûnts.
touch, v., gud; shēnnīg', gudōskoyamig', thānnīg'
towards, prep., kacōn, kō.
See direction.
town, n., bāzār.
trade, n., tshōn, bēpār.
trader, n., tshōnpā, bēparā; —, salt, tshāpā; —, borax, tshalēpā.
transact, v., di̇nmig' (-go); be transacted, v., dik-shēnnīg'.
trap, n., for rats, shīm; for leopards, khārōnts, alth; for bear, jāshkhān.
tree, n., bōthōn; when about man's height, sōlt. Separate trees, see plant.
tree-frog, n., takasiōn.
triple, adj., shūm dūgna.
trot, v., tōktokēnnīg'.
trousers, n., suthān.
true, adj., sēts, sócli.
trumpet, n., curved, kōrnāl; straight, rānshīn.
trunk, n., of tree, goji, goji; leather - box, dōn(h); elephant's, sānd. tub, n., gūthā.
Tuesday, n., mōnlārvōn.
turban, n., pāg.
turn, v. tr., see prayer-wheel; v. intr., shūrēnnīg'.
tusk, n., gar'.
twelve, sōnīsh; twelfth, sōnīshō.
twenty, nizā; twentieth, nizō; twenty-one, nizō id'; — two, — nish; — three, — shūm; — four, pō; — five, — nā; — six, — tāg'; — seven, — stish; — eight, — rai; — nine, — zguī.
For ordinals add 6 to latter word in each case.
twice, adv., nish yōb', nī yōb'.
twilight, n., shupelōn.
twin, n., yōlin; two born same day in different families, bōlk(h).

twist, v. (ropes), thakpa bōshmig'

two, adj., nish, nī; see we, you, that, this, which; 200, nīrā'; 200th, nīrā'o.

udder, n. (cow, sheep, goat), ēniū.

ugly, adj., ma shyarō; fem., shyarē.

ulcer, n., bamsutroōn.

umbrella, n., chātrōli; —, of bark, padu chātrōli.

uncle, n., father's brother, apats, bōbats; father's sister's husband, momā; mother's brother, momā.

understand, v., sōmzēamig'; causative, sōmzayamig'.

undress, v., gusa salmig'.

union, n., būdd.

unite, v., ipōn lanmig'.

unload, v., bārōn thōnmig', bārōn limmig' (-bo).

unloved, adj., ma gyāshēs, ma gyāmig', ma gyāshid.

unlucky, adj. (bringing bad luck); — man, gomphō; — woman, alagin, dae.

unripe, adj., katsa, katsu, ma lunts, ma pakits, ma shōz.

untie, v., thōrmig', thōmig'.

up, adv., rin, riyēn, thūg, thōskō, thūd, rige'.

up to, prep., tōn, stōn.

upon, dēn.

upper, adj., thūcē.

urinate, v., skōlī or gōdrōn shēnmig'. See urine.

urine, n., of a man, horse, dog, bird, skōlī; of sheep, goats, cattle, gōdrōn.

useful, adj., phānza; — (be), phannig' (-no).

useless, adj., ma phānts; — (be), ma phanmig' (-no).

usury, v., bōās. See interest.

uterus, v., chān khāl.

vaccinate, v., thopēamig'.

vagina, n., shīkts; together with surrounding parts, phēts.

vapour, n., dūbōn.

varnish, n., hōlu tēlōn; v., hōlu tēlōn shēlmig'.

vegetable, n., skan bazī, chob.

vein, n., sīrōn.

verandah, n. (lower), bi, thānti.

very, adv., geōb, bōdi, muli, gor'.

vessel, n., banīn; (ghara) phōdgār(h); —, large earthen, kunōn; —, earthen cooking, khoū; lota, lotri; —, earthen lota, pātūts; —, brass, bōth; —, small, bātūts; —,
iron, cakthāl; —, large brass or iron, dō bra; house vessels, etc., brass, dikte, dig', lam thū, kunāl, nāū, bazān, thūmbū; —, iron, cimīrū (tongs), tōthī, hathū, lōzānūn, rōnpan', dūkhriūn, gōnāsā; —, earthen, choto; —, wooden, zoā, zom, dōmūn (spoon), zochog'.

village, n., dēshōn; —, division of, tōmūn.

vomit, v., phasmīg'.
vulture, n., golthōs.

waist, n., khō.

wait, v., toshimīg'; — for, lāumīg'.
waken, v.tr., saumīg'; v.intr., yarmīg'.
walk, v., yūmīg', pāmīg'.
wall, n., bitān; retaining — in field, doriūn; — on road, diwāl.

wanderer, n., rātūa; fem., rātie.

warm, adj., v. tr., armīg'; — oneself (at fire or in sun), arshimīg' (object being 'fire' or 'sun'); palshimīg'.
warp, n., rin'.
wart, n., tsōcōn.
wash, v., saumīg'; — oneself, sūshimīg'; — clothes, cimīg'; — with the feet, phūmīg'; — in wooden tub, called 'gūthū', mandēumīg'.
wasp, n., krūnūl.
water, n., tī; — flowing very gently, rōntī; — flowing violently, tshāl.
water-carrier (Hindu), zā-lūrā.
waterecourse, wooden, chū.
waterfall, chodūn, chozigūn.
wave, n., stōkōl tī.
wax, n., for candles, sitōn; in ear, kaṇūn khō; instrument for extracting wax from ear, kankōsh.

way, n., om.
we, he and I, nishī; thou and I, kaśhōn; all of us except thee, niṇā; —, including thee, kishōnā', nipōn, kishōnā' pōn.
weak, zōr mā tsea, ma zōr sea, nīntāi.
wean, v., khērōn shtaiumīg'.
wear out, v. intr., jiūmīg', boēumīg'.
weary, adj., yal yal; —, grow, v., yalmīg'.
weave, v., gas taiumīg'.
web, n., see warp, woof, spider.
wedge, n., koē, māl(h).
Wednesday, n., hūdārōnūn.
weigh, v., tolēumīg'.
weight, n., tol; — for weighing, bāt.
well, adv., dām, debāsh.
bônēts; adj., healthy, do.; — (get), v., brēnnig (-do); — -to-do (not very rich), gōrētsea; become —, gōrēnnig' (i.e. after having been poor).
well, n., khānā.
wet, adj., thiss; of vegetation, green, not dry, rag'; v., tiō šanmig'.
what? pron., the, thō; whatever, thēdīāna, thōdīāna.
wheel, n., gothōn, gaḏi gothōn.
wheelbarrow, n., gaḏi(h).
when? adv., tērōn; when, adv., tērōna.
where? adv., ham; whither, halekō', ham; where, hamīāna.
which? pron., hāt; — two? hātsōn.
whip, n., tsamāk(h).
whirlwind, n., phūsū lān.
whisker, n., dārī.
whisper, v., mēsāns lōnmig' (-do).
whistle, v., shūi lōnmig' (-do).
white, adj., thōg'; — of egg, kērōn.
whitewash, v., tshitsho shēn-
imig', chalmig'; n., chal tī.
whither, adv., see where.
who? pron., hāt; who, whoever, hatīāna; whoever wishes, hāt gyāma lī.
wick, n., tsīn drīn.
wide, adj., kānkō.
widow, n., rūndōlē.
widower, rūndōlōs.
wife, n., gōnē, nār, bōre.
win, v., gylmig', zitēnnig'.
wind, n., lān. See blow.
window, n., sīsān dūrōn; opening in roof, tīnīn; in wall, dūsrōn; opening above door, dar somōn; — in verandah, bōnī.
wing, n., pakhōn.
winter, n., gūnī.
wipe, v., kūshēmīg'.
wire, n., tār.
wish, v., gūmīg'.
with, prep., along with, rōn, nōn, lōn; beside, dā, dūā.
whither, v., sūashīmig'. See spoil.
within, prep., adv., kōmō.
witness, n., gūāh.
woman, n., tshēsmi, chēts (tshēts); as suffix, -mōts. See man.
wonder, v., bishārēnnig'.
wonderful, adj., namōnā, bishārōn.
wood, n., shīn; firewood, sānū.
woof, n., pyād'.
wool, n., tsamm; woollen thread, bīl(h).
work, n., kāmōn; v., kāmōn lanmig'.
worm, n., tūā sapōs.
worthy, adj., laik.

wound, n., tsôl(h).

wrap, v., mêtëmig, sprin-mig'.

wreath, n., mândêal(h), dörma.

wrestle, v., sprâshimig'.

wring out, v., mútâumig'.

wrinkle, n., supri; become wrinkled, supri thöûmig'.

write, v., cêmig'.

writer, n., dumig', cêtsea, See clerk.

wrong, adj. (see bad), wâmôn (lit. upside down).

yak, n., yag', f. brîmâ; —, hybrid zô, f. zomo.

yawn, n., hash; v., hash kamshimig'.

year, n., bôshôn; —, this, tôliû; —, last, nôliû; two years ago, rôliû; three —, ômliû; next year, hêd mâa; in two years, dô hêd mâa.

yellow, adj., pîg.

yes, adv., ni, ô.

yesterday, n., mê.

yoke, n., shkôl(h).

yolk, n. (of egg), kësrôn.

you, pron. (thou), ka; respectful, ki; — two, kîshî; plur., kînô, kina-pôû.

young, adj., nyûg.

youngest (son, etc.), kônsôn.

your, adj. (see you), kän (thy); kîn (thy, respectful); kîshu (of you two); kînanô, your.

(To be continued.)
THE PARAMARThASARA OF ABHINAVA-Gupta

By L. D. Barnett

I. Sanskrit Text

In my "Notes on the Śaiva Siddhāntam", published last year in Le Muséon, I called attention to the fact that the living faith of the majority of modern Tamils is in almost every respect, and certainly in all essentials, the same doctrine that was taught in Kashmir about the beginning of the eleventh century by Abhinava-gupta; and I endeavoured to indicate what, in my opinion, the links are which join the modern theology of the South to the ancient teachings of the North, and ultimately to the school which is represented by the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. In further illustration of this view I now present the Paramārthasāra of Abhinava-gupta.

The MSS. that I have used are as follows:

A. The codex Or. 6769 in the British Museum, written on paper in Śāradā character. It is of the nineteenth century, and belongs to a group of MSS. of which one (Or. 6769) is dated [Saptarsi] Samvat 13.

B. The codex Wilson 531 E in the Bodleian Library, to the officers of which institution I offer my sincere thanks for their courtesy. The MS. is a Nagari one, containing the text with the commentary of Yoga Muni. It is fully described in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 238.

The relationship between these MSS. is fairly close. The former, in addition to the text of the Paramārthasāra, contains also glosses excerpted from the commentary included in B; hence they are both based upon the same
recession. In details, however, they often differ. On the whole, B presents the text in a purer form. Often, however, its text is corrupt, and the true reading has to be sought either in its commentary or in A. For example, in v. 88 B gives only the unmetrical samvedanam; A shows that this is an intrusive gloss, for it gives the right word, vedanam, with the explanation samvedanam written as a scholion. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to decide on the merits of the variant readings given by the MSS., and in such cases I have preferred those of B.

As often happens in Śāradā MSS., A frequently wavers in the distinction between v and b, writing vrahma in vv. 43, 52, 70, vrahmani in v. 51, kamsvuka in vv. 56, 85, vuddhi in vv. 19, 20, vivuddhyeta in v. 66, śadvādau in v. 20, chvedah in v. 21.

Our Paramārthasāra must be distinguished from another little work of the same name, of which an edition was published in 1907 at Madras, with a Telugu paraphrase by Paṭṭisapu Venkaṭesvarudu. The latter consists of seventy-nine āryā verses; a considerable number of these are borrowed directly from our Paramārthasāra, and with them have been incorporated others, the whole work being painted over with Vaiṣṇava colours. Needless to say, it is valueless for the criticism of our book.

PARAMĀRTHASĀRA

Om om namah śivāya saśivāya sadāśivāya paramaśivāya
parām parastham gahanād anādim
ekaṃ nivistaṃ bahudhā guhāsu
sarvalayaṃ sarvacarācarastham
tvāṃ eva sambhum śaṇamahi prapadye

garbhādhivāsāpurvuvakamaranāntakadul khacakra-
vibhrāntah
ādhāram bhagavantaṃ āsiyāḥ papraccha paramārtham

1 This prelude is given in A only.
adhārakārikābhīs taṃ gurur abhibhāsatiḥ sma tatsāram | kathayaty abhinavaguptaḥ śivaśāsanadṛṣṭiyogena || 3
niṣaṣaktivaibhavabharād aṇḍacatūṣṭayam idaṃ vibhāgena | saktir māyā prakṛtīḥ prthvī ceti prabhāvitam 2 pra-
bhumā || 4
tatrāntar viśvam idaṃ viciratanukaranaṃbhuvanasantānam bhoktā ca tatra dehi śiva eva ghritapaśubhāvah || 5
nānāvidhavarnānāṃ rūpaṃ dhatte yathāmalaḥ sphaṭikāḥ suraṃnuspasupādaperūpātpavam tadvad ito 'pi || 6
gacchati gacchati jala iva himakarabimbaṃ sthite sthitīṃ yāti |
tanukaranaṃbhuvanavarge tathāyam ātmā maheśānāḥ || 7
rāhur adṛśyo 'pi yathā śaśibimbasthāḥ prakāśate tadvat | sarvagato 'py ayam ātmā viśayāśrayaṇena dhimakure7 || 8
ādarse malarahite yadvad vadanāṃ vibhāti tadvad ayam | śivaśaktipātavimale dhitattve bhāti bhārūpaḥ || 9
bhārūpaṃ paripūrṇaṃ svatman viśrāntito mahānandam | icchāsamvītkaraṇaṃ nirbharitam anantaśaktipari-
pūrṇam || 10
sarvavikalpavihīnaṃ suddham śaṃtaṃ vyayodayavihīnām| 11
yat paratattvaṃ tasmin vibhāti satṛtriṃśadātmā jagat | darpanābimbe yadvan nageragrāmādi citram9 avibhāgi | bhāti vibhāgenaiva ca parasparaṃ darpanād api ca || 12
vimalatamaparamabhairavabodhāt tadvad vibhāgasūnyam api |
anyonyaṃ ca10 tato 'pi ca vibhaktam ābhāti jagad11 etat || 13
śivaśaktisadāśivatām iśvaravidyāyāmayīṃ ca tattvadaśāṃ 12 |

1 So B; abhibhāsate A, perhaps rightly.
2 So B and its commentary; vibhāvitaṃ A, which may be a conjecture, and is unmetrical. This form of metre in the second half of the ārya verse appears again in vv. 10, 16, 17, 21, 32, 35, 47, 49, 53, 57, 65, 73, 76, 77 (?), 79, 80, 90, and 99.
3 The MSS. usually write vicitra, cittra.
4 Ghṛtīṭp B. 5 Śthīm A. 6 So B; adṛśo A.
7 So A; "manthare B and its commentary, corrected by a later hand to makure. The commentary explains by darpanे.
8 So B; layo A, which may possibly be right.
9 Thus B; "grāmadikāṃ vicitram A. 10 So B; anyonyaṃ api tato A.
śaktināṃ pañcānāṃ vibhaktabhāvena bhāsayati || 14
paramaṃ yat svātantryaṃ durghaṭasampādanan mahesāya |
devī māyā śaktīḥ svātmāvaraṇaṃ śivasyaśaitat || 15
māyāparigrahavaśād bodho malināḥ pumān paśur bhavati |
ālalakāniyatifalād rāgāvidyāvaśena sambandhaḥ || 16
dhunaiiva kiccid evedam eva sarvātmanaiva jānāmi |
ṇāyāsahitaṃ kaṇeukaśatkap anor antaraṅgam idam |
uktam || 17
kambukam iva tāndulakaṇavinivitaṃ bhinnam apy |
abhidā 3 |
bhajate tat tu visuddhiṃ śivamārgaumukhyayogena|| 18
sukhadūkhhamohamātraṃ nīcayasaūkalpanābhimānāḥ 4 ca |
prakṛtrir athāntaḥkaranaṃ buddhimanohāṅkṛtikramaśaḥ ||
19
śrotṛam tvagāksirasānaṃghṛaṇaṃ buddhindriyaṇi śabdādau |
vākpanipādaśāyupastham karmendriyaṇi 5 punah || 20
esāṃ grāhyo visayaḥ sūkṣmaḥ pravībhāgavarto yath syāt |
tanmātrapāṇeacakam tae chabdāḥ sparsā maho raso |
gandhaḥ || 21
etatsaṃsargavaśāt sthūlo visayas tu 6 bhūtapaṇeacakatām |
abhetyi nabhāḥ pavanas tejaḥ salilam ca prthvī ca || 22
tusa iva tāndulakaṇikām avṛnute prakṛtipūrvakaḥ sargaḥ |
prthviparyanto 'yaṃ caityanāṃ deabhāvāna || 23
param āvaraṇaṃ malaḥ iha 7 sūkṣmaṃ māyādikaṇeukaṃ |
sthūlam |
bāhyam vigrahamūpaṃ kośatraayaśeṣito hy ātmā || 24
ajñānatimirayogād ekam api svasvabhāvaṃ 8 ātmānam |
grāhyagrāhakaṇānāvaiścitryenāvabuddhyeta 9 ||
rasaphāṇitaśarkari kāgudalaṅkhaṇḍādyā yathēksuras eva |

1 Thus A ; "väsād B. A omits the second syllable of rāgā².

2 Antist" A.

3 The metre is defective; perhaps we should supply at the end of the line yathā from the commentary.

4 So A ; "mānaś B.

5 So B ; karmendriyaṇi A.

6 So B ; visayaḥ ca A. Either may be right.

7 So B ; iha ha A.

8 Svasā² A ; svasā svaba B.

9 A and B "buddhyeta. See Siddhānta-kaumudi, 54 f.
tadvad avasthābhedaḥ sarve paramātmanaḥ śambhoḥ || 26
vijñānāntaryāmiprāṇavirāḍdehajātipiṇḍāntaḥ 1 ||
vyaśahāramātram etat paramārthena tu na santy eva || 27
rajjvāṁ nāsti bhujāngas trāsāṁ kurute ca mṛtyuparyantam|
ḥṛanṭer mahati śaktir na vivektum śakyate nāma || 28
tadvad dharmādharmaśvarnirayotpattimaranāsukhaduh-  
kham ||
varṇāśramādi cātmanyasad api vibhramabalād bhavati|| 29
etat tad andhakāraṁ yad bhāveṣu prakāśamānatayā |
ātmānatirikteśv api bhavaty anātmābhīmāno 'yam ||
30
timirād api timirām idaṁ gāndasyopari mahān ayaṁ 
spohaḥ ||

yad anātmany api dehaprāṇādāv ātmaṁānitvam || 31
dehaprāṇavimarśanadhiśīnānaranabhaḥprapāṇcaiyogena |
ātmānaṁ veṣṭayate 2 citram jālena jālakāra iva || 32
svajñāṇaṁvibhavabhāsanayogendveṣṭayen nījātmānām |
iti bandhamokṣacitrāṁ kriḍāṁ pratanotī pramaśīvalaḥ|| 33
srṣṭisthitisamhārā jāgratś vapnau susuptam iti tasmīn |
bhānti turiye dhāmani tathāpi tair āvṛtaṁ 3 bhāti ||
34
jāgrad viśvaṁ bhedat svapnas tejāḥ prakāśamāhātmyāt |
prājñāha svapnāvasthā 4 jānagnahanavatī tataḥ param 
turyam || 35
jaladharadhumarajobhir 5 malinikriyate yathā na gagana-
talam ||
tadvan māyāvikṛtibhir aparāmṛśtāḥ paraḥ puruṣaḥ || 36
ekasmin ghaṭagagane rajasa vyāpte bhavanti nānyāni |
malināni tadvad ete jivāḥ sukhaduhkhabhedajuṣaḥ || 37
śānte śānta ivāyaṁ hrṣe hrṣo vimohavati mūḍhaḥ |
tattvagane sati bhagavan na punaḥ paramārthataḥ sa 
tathā || 38

yad anātmani 6 tadrūpāvabhāsanam tat purā nirākrtya 7 |

1 B "virāḍdeha"; A "virāḍātmat".
2 So B; veṣṭayante A.
3 So B and its commentary, with scholion of A; nāvṛtaṁ A.
4 So B and its commentary; suptāvasthā A, which seems the better 
reading, as it agrees more closely with the suśupta to which the text refers.
5 B perversely "rajabhīṣa".
6 So A; anātmany api B.
7 So B; nikṛtya A.
ātmany anātmaraṇaḥ bhrāntim 1 vidalayati paramātmā 2 ||

īdhāṃ vibhrāmayaṅgalakasamulavicchedane 3 kṛtārthasya kartavyāntarākalanā jātu na 4 parayogino bhavati ||

prthivi prakṛtir mayā tritayam idam vedyarūpatapatitam advaitabhāvanabalād 5 bhavati hi sanmātrapariśesam ||

raśanākundalakaṭakaṃ 6 bhedatīyāgena dṛṣṭyate [yathā] 7 hema |

tadvad bhedatīyāge sanmātraṇaṃ sarvam ābhāti ||

tad brahma param Śuddhaṃ śāntam abhedātmakam sāman sakalam |

amṛtaṃ satyāṃ saktau viśrāmyati bhāsvarūpāyaṃ ||

isyata iti vedyata iti sampādyata iti ca bhāsvarūpena āparaṃśṛtam yad 8 api tu nabhāpṛasūnataṃ abhyeti ||

śaktitiṛśulaparigamayogena samastam api pārameśvare 9 śivanāmanī paramārthe viṣṛjyate devadevena ||

punar api ca paṁcaśaktiprasaraṇakramaṇaṃ 10 bahir api tat anḍatrayam viṣṭṛtam sṛṣṭam bahirātmalabhenā ||

iti śaktiśakranyaṃ kriḍāyogena vāhayan devaḥ | aham eva sūddharūpaḥ śaktimahācakranaḥyakapadaśtaḥ ||

mavya eva bhāti viśvam darpaṇa iva nirmale ghaṭādīna | mattaḥ prasaratī viśvam 11 svapnavigetratvam iva suptāt 12 ||

aham eva viśvarūpaḥ karacaraṇādisvabhāva iva dehaḥ | sarvasmiṃ aham eva sphurāmi bhāvesu 13 bhāsvarūpaṃ iva ||

1 Bhrānti A. 2 So B and its commentary; paramāśivaḥ A.
3 B vibhrajyaḥ. 4 jātu na B; na jātu A.
5 So B; bhāvabalād A. 6 So B; kundakātakaṃ A.
7 Yathā A and B; but it spoils the metre, and is unnecessary.
8 So B; sat A.
9 Pārameśvare is a conjecture necessitated by the metre, and supported by the commentary of B; paramēśe A, paramam text in B.
10 So A; prasāraṇaḥ B. The line is unmetrical; perhaps we should read paṁcaśaktipraṭāpaḥprasāraṇaḥ.
11 So A and commentary of B; sarvam text of B.
12 So B and its commentary; viṣṭṛtram iva suptāt A.
13 So B; bhāvesu A.
draṣṭā śrotā āhātā dehendriyavarjito 'py akartāpi 1
siddhāntāgamatarkāṁś 2 citrān aham eva racayāmī  ||  50
itthām dvaitavikalpe galite pravilaṅghya mohinīm 3 māyām
salile salilam kṣire kṣiram iva brahmaṇi layi 4 syāt  ||  51
itthām tattvamāso bhāvanayā śivamayatvam abhiyāte
kaḥ śokaḥ ko mohah sarvam brahmaṇvalokayataḥ  ||  52
karmaphalaṁ śubham asubham mithyājñānena saṅgamād
eva
viṣamo hi saṅgadosas taskarayogo 'py ataskarasyeva  ||  53
lokavyavahārakṛtaṁ ya ihāvidyām 5 upāsate mūḍhāḥ
||
te yānti janmamṛtyū dharmādharmārgalabuddhāḥ 6  ||  54
ajñānakaḷaṇicitaṁ dharmādharmātmakam tu karmāpi
7
cirasāncitam iva tūlaṁ naśyati vijñānādīptivāsāt  ||  55
jñānaprāptau kṛtam api na phalaya tato 'syā janma katham
gatajanmabandhayoge bhāti śivārkaḥ svadiddhitibhiḥ 8  ||  56
tuṣakambukakimśārukamukṭaṁ bijaṁ yathāṅkurāṁ ku-
rute
naiva tathā malamāyākarmavimukto bhavāṅkurāṁ hy
ātmā  ||  57
ātmajno na kutāścana bibhethi sarvam hi tasya nijāraṁ
||
naiwa ca śocati 9 yasmāt paramārthe nāśita nāsti
||  58
atigūḍhahrdagāṅja-prarūḍhaparamārtharatnasanaeayataḥ
aham eveti maheśvarabhāve kā durgatih kasya
||  59
mokṣasya naiva kincid dhāmāsti na cāpi gamanam anayatra
ajñānagranthibhidā svaśaktibhir vyaktata mokṣaḥ  ||  60
bhinnajñānagranthir gatasandehaḥ parākrtaḥbrāntiḥ
prakśinapunyāpāpo vibrāhavyoge 'py asau muktah
||  61
agnyabhidagdham bijaṁ yathā praroḥāsamarthatāṁ eti 10

1 A and text of B 'pi kartāpi ; commentary of B akartāpi.
2 So B and its commentary, with scholication of A ; vedāntā. A.
3 So B and commentary ; mohaniṁ A.
4 Thus B and its commentary ; lāye A.
5 Thus B ; iha vidyām A. 6 B 'āgyalā'.
7 So A and commentary of B ; karmāpi text of B.
8 So B and commentary ; 'didhitih A. The preceding line is defective ;
perhaps we should read 'syā syāj, as the commentary suggests.
9 So B and its commentary ; śocayati A.
10 So A ; yathā na praroḥasam A, against metre.
jñānāgnidagdhā evaṁ karma na janmapradāṁ bhavati|| 62
parimitabuddhitvena hi 1 karmocitabhāvidehabhāvanayā |
sāṅkucitā citir etaddehadhvamse tathā bhāti 2 || 63
yadi punar amalaṁ bodham sarvasamuttirṇaboddhākartramayam 3 |
vitatām anastamitotabhrūparam satyasaṅkālpaṃ || 64
dikkālakalananavikālaṁ 4 dhruvam avyayam īśvaram suparīpūrṇam 5 |
bahutaraśaktivratapralayodayavicarānāikakartāram 6 || 65
sṛṣṭyādivīdhisuedasamānām śāvamayaṃ vibudhyeta 8 |
katham iva samsāri 9 syād vitatasya kutuh kva vā saraṇaṃ || 66
iti yuktibhir api siddham yat karma jñānino na tat 10
saphalam |
na mamedam api tu tasyeti dārḍhyato na hi phalam
loke || 67
ittham sakalavikalpān pratibuddho bhāvanāsamīraṇataḥ |
ātmajyotiṣi dipte juhvaj jyotirmayo bhavati || 68
āśnaṃ yad vā tad vā samvito yena kenaic chāntah |
yatra kvacana nivāsa vimucyate sarvabhūtātmā || 69
hayamedhaśatasahasrāny api kurute brahmagṛhātalaksāni 11 |
paramārthavin na punyair na ca pāpaiḥ śrṣyate
vimalah || 70
madaharsakopamannathavīśādabhayalobhamohaparivarjī |
nisstotravāsaṭkāro jaḍa iva vicared avādamatiḥ || 71
madahārṣaprabhṛtir ayaṃ vargaḥ prabhavati vibhedasammohat |
advaitātmavibodhas tena katham śrṣyatāṁ nāma || 72

1 Hi omitted in A. 2 So B and its commentary; bhavati A.
3 So B; sarvamuttirṇab A.
4 B dikkālakalana; A dikkālakalao; dikkālādikalana scholion.
5 Thus A and commentary of B; savy text of B. 6 B vicaranaik.
7 So B and its commentary; ṣvidhiṣu vedasam A.
8 Vibudhyeta the MSS.; see note on v. 25.
9 So B and commentary; sansāre A.
10 Tat, given in A, is omitted in text of B (which reads na saphalam iti), but apparently recognized by its commentary.
11 A gṛhātalaksāni; B gṛhātalakṣyāni.
stutyaṁ vā hotavyaṁ nāsyā व yatiṣṭhām asti kimcana
cā || 73
stotrādīnā sa tasyed uktaṣ tan nirnāmaskṛtivaṣatkaḥ || 74
ṣaṭṭrimsattattvavrī ṣarīṛantām vigraharnāca nāgaravākṣaparipūrṇam
nijm anyad apiśarīrāṁ ghaṭādi vā tasya devagṛham ||
tatra ca paramātmamahābhairavasaśivadave ṭatam
tvam || 75
śvaśakti-
yutam |
ātmāmarśanavimaladravyaṁ paripūjayann āste || 76
bhahirantarapariparikalanabhedamahābhijanicayam arpayataḥ |
tasyātīdīptasamāṃvijjavalane yatnād vinā bhavati homaḥ ||
dhyānam anastamītam punar esa hi bhagavān vicitrarūpāni |
sṛjati tad eva dhyānam saṅkalpanalikhitasatyarūpāta
vam ||
bhuvanāvalim samastam tattvakramakalpanām athākṣa-
 ganam |
antarbodhe parivartayati ca yat so 'syā japa uditāḥ || 78
sarvaṁ samayā dṛṣṭyā yat paśyati yac ca saṃvidam
manute |
viśvaṃsaśanāmīxaratam vigrahakhaṭtvāṅgakalpanākalitam
v || 79
viśvarasāsavapurīṇaṃ nijakaraṇaṃ vedyakhaṇḍakakapālaṃ |
rasyati ca yat tad etad vrataṃ asya sudurlabham ca
sulabham ca || 80
iti janmanāśāhinan-paramārthamahāheśvarākhyam upa-
labhyā |
upalabdhiyaprakāṣāt kṛtakṛtyas tīṣṭhate yateśṭaṃ ||

1 So A; na tasya B, against metre.
2 A yatiṣṭhām.
3 Kiśça ca A; B omits the first two syllables.
4 So A; B kṛtivasaṭkaḥ.
5 So A; atha B.
6 Paramām B, for which read paramātmā, which is supported by
   its commentary; A reads paramārtha, and inserts ca after the compound.
7 So B; 'dṛipti' A.
8 So A; esa hi B, against metre. The reading of the rest of the line
given above is uncertain, both A and B reading saṅkalpalikhitā. For
the form saṅkalpana cf. v. 19; and on the metre of the line see note
on v. 10.
9 Omitted in B.
10 So B; saṃāna A, which may be right.
11 So B; yat A.
12 So B and its commentary; asti A.
13 B spells the word here, and elsewhere often (e.g. v. 86), tiṣṭati.
vyāpinam abhihitam ittham sarvātmānam vidhūta-
nānātvam |
nirupamaparamānandam yo vetti sa tanmayo bhavati|| 82
tīrthe śvapacgṛhe vā naṣṭasmātrī api parityajan deham |
jñānasamakālāmuktaḥ kaivalyam yāti hataśokaḥ || 83
punyāya tīrthasevā nirayāya śvapacasadananidhanagatiḥ |
punyāpunyakalaṅkasparśābhāve tu kim tena || 84
tuṣakambukasupṛthakkṛtataṇḍulakanatusadalāntara-
kcēpaḥ 2 |
taṇḍulakanāṣya kurute na punas tadṛpapatādātmyam || 85
tadvat 4 kaṇcukapātalipṛthakkṛtā samvid atra samskārāt |
tiṣṭhanty api muktaṁ tattvārjanītā bhavati || 86
kuśalatamasālpīkālpitavimalibhāvah 5 samudgakopādeḥ |
malino 'pi manir upādher 6 vicchede svacchapa-
märthah || 87
evam sadguruśāsanavimalasthi vedanām 7 tanūpādheḥ |
muktam upādhyantarasaṁyam api samābhāti 8 śiva-
rūpam || 88
śastrādiṃśānīyād avicalitāsraṇḍhayaḥ hi tanmayatām |
prāptas 9 sa eva pūrvaṁ svargaṁ narakāṃ manusya-
tvam || 89
antyāḥ kṣaṇas tu tasmin punyaṁ pāpāṁ ca vā sthitīṁ 10
pusyan |
mūḍhānāṁ sahaκāribhāvam gacchati gatau tu na sa |
hetuḥ || 90
ye 'pi tadātmatvena viduh 11 paśupaksarṣisarpādayaḥ 12
svagatim |

1 Sarvatmānam A. 2 Nirupap A.
3 A "pekṣah instead of "kṣepah. 4 So A; tadvaḍatra B.
5 A "kalpika", the second k being erased. 6 Upādhe A.
6 So A; samvedanaṁ B, with the commentary; against metre.
8 Thus A; B reads muktām upādhyantarasaṁyam ivābhāti, and its com-
   mentary gives upādhyantarasaṁyam api and əbhāti.
9 Prāptāḥ A; both forms are good.
10 So B (which also writes tanmāṇa), while its commentary gives 
   pāpamayata vā sthitīṁ; A has pāpāṁ avasthitīam.
11 Vidāḥ B in text. The defective metre is perhaps to be corrected by
   omitting tadā.
12 A has "pakṣa".
te 'pi purātanasambodhasthānaṃśkṛtāṃ tāṁ gatiṃ yānti || 91
svargamayoṃ 2 nirayamayas tad ayaṃ dehaṃtarālagah
puruṣaḥ |
tadbhaṅge svaucityād dehaṃtarayogam abhyeti || 92
evaṃ jñānāvasare svātmā sakṛd asya yādṛg avabhātaḥ |
tādṛśa eva tadāsaṃ na dehāpā-te 'nyathā bhavati || 93
karanaganasampramoṣaḥ smṛtināsaḥ svāsakalilatā chedaḥs| marmasu rujāviṣeṣaḥ śarirasamśkārajo bhogah || 94 sa katham vigrahayoge sati na bhavet tena mohayoge 'pi | maraṇāvasare jñāni na cyavate svātmaparamārthāḥ || 95 paramārthamārgam enam jhag iti yadā gurumukhaḥ samabhyeti |
atitiṃraśaktipātāt tadaiva nirvighnam eva śivah || 96 sarvottirṇaṃ rūpaṃ sopānapadakramena samārayataḥ |
paratattvarūḍhilabhe paryante śivamayiḥbhāvah || 97 tasya tu paramārthamāyaṃ dhārāṃ agatasya madhyā- viśrāntelih |
tatpadalabhotsukacetaso 'pi maraṇaṃ kadācit syāt || 98 yogabhraṣṭaḥ sāstre kathito 'saṃ citrabhogabhuvanapatiḥ |
viśrāntisthānavaśād bhūtvā jamaṃtare śivibhavati || 99 paramārthamārgam enam hy abhyasyāprāpya 5 yogam api
nāma |
suralokabhogabhāgi 6 muditamanā modate suciram || 100 viśayesu sārvabhaumah sarva-janaiḥ pūjyate yathā rājā |
bhuvanesu sarvavedair yogabhraṣṭas tathā pūjyah || 101 mahatā kālena punar mānusyaṃ prāpya yogam abhyasya |
prāpnoti divyam amṛtam yasmaīd āvartate na punah || 102 tasmāt samārge 'smin nirato yaḥ kaścid eti sa śivavam |
itī matvā paramārte yathā tathāpi praya-taniyam || 103 idam abhinavaguptoditasaṃkṣepaṃ dhīyayataḥ paraṃ brahma |

1 So B; "sāṃskṛtāṃ A.
2 So A; "maya text of B.
3 So A; "śvetāk B. Both A and B give chedaḥ.
4 So B; "lābhotsuka A.
5 So rightly A, supported by commentary of B; paramārtham enam hy abhyasyāprāpya text of B.
6 Surloko A.
II. TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES PARAPHRASED FROM THE COMMENTARY OF YOGA MUNI

1. To Thee, Śambhu, the Supreme, who art exalted above the Abyss, without beginning, the One, in manifold wise dwelling in dark covert, the seat of all things, abiding in all that moves and all that moves not, to Thee I come for refuge.

Śiva or Śambhu (the “Blest One”) is the universal subject of thought, entirely composed of Thought (cit) and Bliss (ānanda), the divine Self in all modes of existence, supreme Joy, essential Being. He is “supreme”, i.e. superior to his “Powers” (śakti), which are Thought (cit), Bliss (ānanda), Will (icchā), Knowledge (jñāna), and Action (kriyā); He is “exalted above the Abyss”, i.e. higher in order of being than Māyā; and He exists in His absolute nature throughout the “Order of Śiva” (śivādhvam), viz. from the transcendent sphere of the Śiva-tattva to that of Knowledge [namely, the five conditions styled Śiva or Nāḍa, the 36th element, Śakti, the 35th, Sadāśiva or Sādākhya, the 34th, Īśvara or 33rd, and Pure Knowledge, Śuddha-vidyā, or 32nd]. He enters into diverse modes of existence; though Himself pure Thought, He conjures up the semblance of a world of animate and inanimate beings, in which He is disguised like an actor, and thus becomes a subject of finite Thought. He is at once the universal subject and object of all perception, the supreme Unity; His essential nature is the rapture of supreme egoity (parāhāyatā-camatkāra, opposed to the factitious ahaṅkāra or egoism of physical personality). To this Supreme Being our author “comes for refuge”, i.e. merges in Him his own Self.

2. Wandering lost through the round of sorrows that begins with the dwelling in the womb and ends with

1 Nihāra A.
2 This colophon is given in A only. The latter MS. adds the following verse:

   abhinavarūpā śaktis tadgupto yo mahaśvaro devah
   tadubhayaśāmalarūpam abhinavaguptaṁ śivam vande

To scan this we must read ṛūpaṁ as two long syllables, as sometimes occurs in Buddhist works.
death, a disciple prayed the Lord who is the Foundation to tell him the Supreme Verity.

The "Lord" is the holy Śeṣa, who, perceiving that the inquirer was inspired by an insight consisting in remembrance of his former births, taught him the knowledge of attaining Brahma according to the method of instruction of the Sāṁkhya school, drawing a distinction between Nature (prakṛti) and Individual Soul (puruṣā), whence our author rises to the conception of a supreme unity in Śiva.

3. The Master answered him with the "Foundation-Epitome"; the essence thereof Abhinava-gupta narrates, in mystic vision of Śiva's law.

When a person is seized with disgust for the flesh, smitten by the Supreme Lord's Power of Grace (pārameśvara-anugraha-śakti), and inspired with true knowledge, and then, finding a teacher who is the embodiment of the Lord on earth, desires of him the knowledge of the Supreme Unity, such a person is a fit vessel for the master's teaching.

4. These four Spheres in their severality—to wit, Power (śakti), Māyā, Nature (prakṛti), and Earth—have been brought into being by the Lord in the wealth of effluence of His native Powers.

The Lord, i.e. Maheśvara, who is solely compact of Thought (cit) and Bliss (ājñānta), evolves by means of His Powers of Will, etc. [see above, v. 1], the primal universe as a real entity (vastu-pāṇḍita), styled "sphere" (anuḍa, literally "egg", because in it the universe is concealed). The first sphere, or "Sphere of Power", consists of His Power as Supreme Lord (pārameśvarī śaktīḥ), which takes the form of non-intuition (akhyāti), i.e. negation of His own essential nature as the universal subject-object of Thought and the rapture of supreme egoity. This sphere extends down to the tattvas of Sādāśiva, Īśvara, and Knowledge [see above, v. 1], and has for its ruling deities Sādāśiva and Īśvara. It potentially contains the next three spheres.¹

¹ Viranāchārya in the Śiva-jñāna-pradipike, Bhoja-deva in the Tattvaprakāśikā, and other Āgamic writers thus explain the cosmic process. The Supreme Śiva in His highest sphere of being exists as Śiva-tattva with his Śaktis or Powers in suspension, as in the periods of cosmic dissolution. Among these Powers is the Bindu, also called Great Māyā, Pure Māyā, Vāg-Īśvari, Para-vidyā, Kuṇḍalini, Kuṭilā, Speech-element, (Śabda-tattva), Speech-Brahma (Śabda-brahma), etc. The Bindu (literally the nasal sign upon the mystic syllable Om) is the germinal source of cosmic differentiation; it is abstract inanimate matter (ānāmottmākā), mechanically associated with Śiva (carmāṇa-parīgraha), whereas the Parā Śaktiḥ or combination of the Powers of Thought, Bliss, Will,
The second is the Sphere of Māyā,¹ the realm of illusion. It consists of the three Defilements [see below, v. 24], and fetters all subjects of thought by imposing upon them the conception of differentiation in being. It contains within itself the next two Spheres, and extends as far down as the "Male Element", purusa-tattva [the 25th element, with the pañca-kāṇcika or Body of Five Sheaths consisting of the Elements Niṣṭati, Time, and Kalā, the 28th, 29th, and 30th respectively; see below, on v. 17]; its regent is Rudra, or Gahana, the "Abbyss" [above, v. 1].

The third is the Sphere of Nature (prakṛty-anda), consisting of the three material modes (guna), sc. sattva, rajas, and tamas. By its evolution as causes and effects it supplies objects of thought to the individualized subjects of thought and fetters them in conceptions of pleasure, sorrow, and delusion. Its regent is Viṣṇu.

Fourth is the Earth-Sphere, which constitutes each subject of thought, from man down to immovable beings [see below, vv. 8, 38], in its special gross form; its regent is Brahma.

5. Within these [spheres] lies this universe, with its series of diverse and wondrous bodies, organs, and worlds; and therein the apprehender is Śiva Himself, dwelling in the body and assuming the condition of the Herd.

Beings in the Sphere of Māyā possess instantaneous and omniscient cognition and corresponding power over nature. Souls in our sphere of Earth have normally only very limited finite knowledge and power;

Knowledge, and Action is essentially related to Him (svamavetā). The other Powers of the Supreme Śiva stir the Bindu into the potentiality of cosmic existence, as the presence of the sun causes the lotus to open; this state of being constitutes the Śakti-tattva. Next emanates from the Bindu the Sadāśiva-tattva, without any change in the equipoise of the Powers of Knowledge and Action in the Supreme; then follows the Iśvāra-tattva, when the Power of Action predominates over that of Knowledge; then that of Pure Knowledge, in which the condition of the Powers is reversed. See below on v. 14. The Bindu is thus the material cause whence arise the six adhevans or formless material beings, i.e. the varṇādhevan or elemental syllables from ग्य to ओ, the padādhevan or eighty-one mystic words framed of them, the mātrādhevan or spells, the bhuvedan or worlds, the kalādhevan, and the Tattvas mentioned above. The first three adhevans form the Vedas and Āgamas or scriptures. To the Hindus, as to the Greeks, spoken thought and intelligence are the same, logos; hence ideas and their names are identified, and ideas themselves are imagined to be centres of thought-activity; cf. v. 11. The five kalās are forces which by their presence cause the thirty-six Tattvas to assume their specific characters; cf. the Kalā of gross Māyā mentioned on v. 17.

¹ Māyā is matter in the true sense, distinct from the "Pure Māyā" or Bindu, from which it is derived.
Yogis, however, can extend their knowledge and power to distant objects, and penetrate the minds of others. Beasts have some higher physical powers than man. Thus, oxen can see their home from a very great distance; horses discern their road by night; vultures descry their prey from a distance of 100 yojanas; birds and winged insects fly; reptiles crawl on their bellies; camels perceive sounds by the power of sight, etc. The worlds are of various shapes, being round, square, triangular, and of the form of crescents and umbrellas.

Within the gross body dwells the individualized Thought (dehi, pramātr), which is the percipient of pleasure and grief (bhoktr). This is no other than Siva, who conceals His real being and of His own free will enters the stage of bodily sense-perception like an actor, in order to cognize the joys and sorrows created by Himself to be His objects. Nothing is distinct from Him. In the Self (svātmā), of all subjects of thought He reveals Himself as the percipient (anubhāvity).

6. As the limpid crystal assumes a semblance of divers colours, so likewise the Lord assumes the semblance of gods, men, cattle, and trees.

The transparent surface of the crystal becomes marked with figures, which are transferred to it from the surrounding media (upādhis). So too the Lord, though really one and composed of independent pure Thought, assumes in the clear mirror of the Self the forms of individual beings created by Himself, which are indistinguishable from the Self; but when the Self is conceived in its transcendent nature as absolute rapture of egoity, the distinctions of finitude disappear from it; it is now identical with Maheśvara, pure Thought.

7. As in moving water the moon's image moves, and in still water is still, so it is with the Self, the Great Lord, in the series of bodies, organs, and worlds.

The Self, which is the "Great Lord" (mahēśāna), is the supreme, universal intuition of selfhood. While active as subject of finite perception in all intelligences, it still remains throughout all modes of experience self-identical, the one universal Consciousness (samvid).

8. As Rāhu, though invisible, becomes manifest when he comes upon the moon's orb, so likewise this Self, though present everywhere, is revealed in the mirror of the intelligence by lodging in the spheres of sense-perception.

Rāhu [the demon imagined to be the cause of eclipses] is visible only in times of eclipse, when he is seen upon the orb of the moon. So the universally present Self manifests its presence only when embodied
subjects of thought envisage in their intelligence an object of egoity in relation to concepts such as "I hear"; for then it reveals its presence in all of them as subject, even in such things as clods. For consciousness is in some degree present in all things; even clods, etc., possess it, though only to an imperceptible degree, owing to the predominance of the Guna of tamas in them. From the aggregate of modes (bhūva-varga: see on v. 30), which are as it were the Lord's own person, He converts some corporeal morsels of the matter of thought into subjects of thought by infusing finite egoity into them by His Power of Māyā, making others into the objects of thought; thus He produces the conventional conception of a world of differentiated animate and inanimate beings.

9. As a face is revealed in a mirror free of impurity, so it (the Self) shines in its radiance in the element of Intelligence purified by the visitation of Śiva's Power.

The "Supreme Lord's Power" (pārmeśvarī saktī) in its operation is subject to no external limitation. A foul mirror presents a distorted reflection, a clean mirror a true image. When the mirror of the Intelligence is cleansed and illuminated by Śiva's Power of Grace (anugraha-sakti) falling upon it and dissipating the influences of the three Deformities, the Self is revealed in its radiance, as possessing omniscience, etc. Some who are thus illuminated become, as it were, already released from the life of the flesh (muktā), and enjoy miraculous powers. In others the intelligence is darkened by the three Deformities, because the Lord's "Obscurative Power" (tirodhāna-sakti) lies upon them; in them, therefore, the radiance of the Self, though present, is imperceptible, and they are bound to embodied life; they are called the "Herds" (paśūn). Others, on whom these two Powers are operating together, are on the upward path (ādṛtrukṣy).

10, 11. In the Supreme Element, radiant, perfect, mightily blissful from its being merged in the Self, fully stored with will, consciousness, and organism, replete with endless Powers, void of all imagination, pure, still, without dissolution or origination, shines the Universe of the thirty-six Elements.

The universe, composed of the thirty-six Tattvas, from that of Śiva (the 36th) to that of Earth (the first), is really absorbed in the transcendental Śiva-element, and reveals itself as identical with Him. It is "mightily blissful" because it is merged in the Self, i.e., in the rapture of absolute egoity. It consists of the Powers of Will, Knowledge, and Action, yet it seems as though it were inanimate and void of them. It is "replete with endless Powers", i.e., with names and forms of
objects [ideas], potencies such as that called Brähmi, which are offshoots of the Powers of Will, Knowledge, and Action, and arise from the aggregate of Speech.¹ This rapture of supreme egoity in the supreme subject of thought, though it is a Logos (nāg-rūpa, rational thought), is "void of all imagination", for imagination (vikālpa) consists in cognition of an object as characterized by differentiation from another (anayādāpoḥa).

12. As in the orb of a mirror pictures such as those of a town or village shine which are inseparable from it, and yet are distinct from one another and from it,

13. So from the perfectly pure vision of the supreme Bhairava² this universe, though void of distinction, appears distinct part from part and distinct from that vision.

The images seen in a clear mirror are distinct from one another and from the mirror, for the latter has an independent existence of its own, and its essential character is not lost by variations of time and space. So it is with the universe. Like images in the mirror, it is in essence void of distinction, and is not distinct from the Light (prākāśa, power of envisaging the universe) in which it is revealed; nevertheless, it appears as a manifold of experience, an internally differentiated complex of subjects and objects. And it appears as though it issued from this power of cosmic "vision" (bodha), which seems to be something higher, as the mirror is higher than its reflections. Thus this Light, in which are reflected the modes of universal being, is higher than they, and reveals itself as the sole subject of perception of all being. As regards Paramēśvara, the absolute Supreme in Himself, the aggregate of modes constituted of His person is not differentiated; but from the standpoint of the subject of thought who is in the realm of Māyā, they are differentiated in his apparent "vision" of the universe, which constitutes really an illusion, viz. a non-intuition (akhyātī) of the Supreme Being's absoluteness; and from this illusion arises the conception of imperfection and duality in Him, hence that of cosmic differentiation.

14. He reveals the states of Śiva, of the Power, and of Sadāśiva, and the elemental condition composed of Īśvara and Knowledge, by the several natures of the five Powers.

¹ Creative ideas and mystic forces of intellection, such as the varnas, padas, and mantras, arising from the Bindu or Sabda-tattva; see note on v. 4, above.
² See on v. 74.
"He" is Parama-siva. His "five Powers" are the saktis Thought, Bliss, Will, Knowledge, and Action, which are the sources of countless others. The "state of Siva", or Siva-tattva, consists in Thought (caitanya), bodied of a great Light, the rapture of absolute egoity within all sentient beings, which is the highest elemental phase. In it the five Powers are in equilibrium. When the Lord as Thought has the blissful inspiration to become the universe, and His consciousness (sajñā) of the non-existence of the universe develops so as to be a site for the germination of all modes of being, this condition is that of "the Power" (śakti-avasthā). While this potential seat for the origination of the universe is utterly void, Mahāśiva's rapture of supreme egoity, taking the form of a complete identification of subject with object, constitutes the "state of Sadaśiva"; here the Power of Knowledge is predominant, and Action is dissolved in egoity. The subjects of thought in it are the spirits called māutra-maheśvaras. When again there is complete identification of subject with object in the rapture of the Self, but the ideas of subjecthood and objecthood are in perfect equipoise, this is the "state of Īśvara", in which the subjects of thought are the maunreśvaras spirits. When the rapture takes the form of the conception that "I am I, and this is this", the idea of subjecthood being subordinated to that of objecthood, this is the state of Pure Knowledge in the Lord; in it the subjects of thought are spirits called vidyesvaras. They, together with the māutra-maheśvaras and maunreśvaras, are styled vijñānakulas, and are subject to only one kind of defilement, the āvarta-mala, the congenital error of finitude which causes the illusion of differentiation in being. [Compare this with note on v. 4, pp. 719-20.]

Thus it is a single omnipotent Creator that reveals Himself; His Light, i.e. the intuition of the identity of subject and object in the states of Sadaśiva and Īśvara, is the cause of the physical creation in all its evolutions, from the element of Māyā to that of Earth. Self and Mahāśiva are one, the supreme subject of thought, in which are included creator, cause, and action.

15. Māyā, goddess - Power, is Mahāśiva's supreme dominion, which compasses ends hard of attainment, and casts a veil over Śiva's self-consciousness.

Māyā is derived from mā, "to define," because it differentiates the physical universe into a complex of subjects and objects of thought, or is so called because it is a principle of universal illusion [from mā]. It is styled "goddess", devī, as belonging to the God, deva, i.e. "the one who sports" [from die], and is not an entity distinct from Him, as the Brahma-vādis assert. It "compasses ends hard of attainment" by bringing into being a universe of subjects and objects. It veils Śiva's real nature when He of His own free will enters into the condition of a finite soul (pāśu), by imposing thereupon the three Defilements.
16. When the Vision becomes defiled by the assumption of Māyā, and so is fettered, it becomes a Soul. The union takes place by the power of Time, Determination, and Necessity, and under the influence of Passion and Ignorance.

By coming under the influence of Māyā, the universal “vision” (bhūtha) loses its omniscience and omnipotence, and becomes anu, i.e. it assumes the ānava defilement, viz. non-intuition of its own real nature (akhyāti); it becomes limited by being cut off from the infinite Thought, as the ether confined in a jar is limited by being cut off from the universal ether; and in this state it is styled the “Male” (puruṣa). It thus becomes a finite soul, pāṇu, subject to the “fetter” (pāśa), viz. the three Defilements.

17. “Now this is something I know fully”: this, united with Māyā, is the series of the Six Cloaks, which is called the inward organ of the finite soul.

When Vision (bhūtha) becomes a finite soul (anu), its former powers of omniscience and omnipotence are contracted respectively into finite knowledge (vidyā) and finite determination (kalā) by the ānava defilement. The conception “Now I know” implies a present or future knowledge of something previously unknown, a present or future doing of something not yet done; this distinction in the apprehension (kalayati) of the modes of being constitutes Time (kalā) in the soul. By conceiving its object as “something”, a certain thing, the soul distinguishes it from others; it can form the idea of only e.g. a jar, not of a piece of cloth. This limitation of its power constitutes Determination (kalā). The conception “this” [implying a necessary relation between subject and object] presupposes an unvarying result from an unvarying cause, as smoke from fire or enjoyment of paradise from performance of rites like the aśva-metha; for the Self is restricted by the merit or demerit accruing to it from the works (karma) done in accordance with its own will. This restriction constitutes Necessity (nigati). The idea expressed in “fully” (sarvātmanāiva) implies a sense of incompleteness, a feeling that everything ought to be in the possession of the subject, and a desire for continued existence which constitute the principle of Passion (vīgā). The conception expressed in “I know” is that of finite knowledge (vidyā), i.e. intellection applied to a present object. These five principles, “united with Māyā,” i.e. joined to the conception of differentiation in the universe, are the “Six Cloaks”.

1 It should be noted that Time, Determination, Necessity, Passion, and Knowledge, forming Nos. 30–26 of the Tattvas, are successively evolved from Māyā (see on v. 4). The Āgamik writers derive kalā from kal in the sense that it “sweeps away” in part the defilement attaching
8. As the bran that is fixed upon the rice-grain, seemingly inseparable yet really distinct from it, is cleansed away from it, so this is cleansed away by absorption in the fervent contemplation of Śiva’s way.

The “Six Cloaks”, which seem to be an integral part of the soul and conceal its real nature of absolute Consciousness (pūrṇa-samvid), are stripped from it by the fervent intuition of the glory of Maheśvara in the Self, which is expressed in the conception “I am composed of the Thought and Bliss of the supreme Unity; mine is this universe, which is merely the evolution of the Powers of my Self”. Paramēśvara’s Power of Grace cleanses the heart, and makes the soul realize that it is itself Paramēśvara; with this intuition the “Six Cloaks” fall away from it.

19. Nature, consisting purely of Pleasure, Pain, and Delusion, [forms] the inner organ, consisting of resolution, will, and conceit, [which form] the elements respectively of Intelligence, Mind, and Egoism.

We now come to describe the physical universe that forms the object of the finite soul or ātma. Nature, or Prakṛti, the prime cause of it, is the next emanation from Māyā; it consists of the three Guṇas, viz. Sattva (the principle of pleasure), Rajas (that of pain), and Tamas (that of gloom or delusion). The “inner organ” (antarākṣara), evolved from Nature, consists of Buddhi, i.e. the faculty of discerning unlikeness between objects, Manas or faculty of will, and Ahaṃkāra or egoism, i.e. the illusion that objects belong to the subject [in opposition to the transcendental egoity or infinite subjecthood of the absolute Self].

20. The ears, skin, eyes, tongue, and nostrils are organs of intelligence in respect of sound and the other [materials of sense]; speech, hands, feet, podex, and genitals, on the other hand, are organs of action.

These ten senses are all products of Ahaṃkāra, for every conception such as “I hear” has an ego for its subject.¹

21. The material of sense cognized by these [organs], impalpable and incapable of subdivision, consists of the

to souls, and thus enables them to exercise their natural powers of knowledge and action so as to undergo finite experience and thus consume their karma. In this function Determination is the primary factor, and Time and Necessity subordinate to it. It lastly begets Knowledge, which reveals to the soul the materials of perception, viśaya.

¹ On this classification cf. the commentators on Śāṅkhya-sūtra, I, 67, and Śaṅkara on Brahma-sūtra, II, iv, 6; iii, 22.
five Tanmātras, which are sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell.

These are the subtle vīśayās, and are likewise products of Ahamkāra.

22. From the commixture of these [Tanmātras] arises the gross material of sense, which forms the five physical elements, viz. ether, wind, light, water, and earth.

From the Tanmātra of sound arises ether, the vehicle of finite sounds; from those of sound and touch, wind; from the same two joined to that of colour, light; from these three joined to that of taste, water; from these four joined to that of smell, earth.

23. As the involucre covers the rice-grain, this physical series, beginning with Nature and ending at Earth, covers the Thought with embodied being.¹

Unembodied Thought (caitanya), already covered by the "Six Cloaks" of Māyā [v. 17], which may be compared to the awn on the rice-grain, is now likewise overlaid by material body, as by an involucre. Souls thus associated with matter are called sakala [and are influenced by ānava, kārma, and māyiya defilements]. Those which are not thus individualized and embodied [i.e. those associated only with the elements Necessity, Time, Determination, Passion, and Knowledge, which with Māyā form the "Six Cloaks"] are styled pralayākala [and are subject only to the ānava and kārma defilements]. The universe thus contains seven classes of subjects of thought, [viz. the five orders described in v. 14, the pralayākala, and the sakalas].

24. Defilement here forms a highest covering, a subtle one—to wit, the cloak beginning with Māyā—and a gross outward one in the form of body; for the Self is enwrapped in three sheaths.

The ānava defilement of Thought, consisting in non-intuition of its real nature, forms the highest of the influences obscuring it. Next is the subtle māyiya defilement, consisting of the "Six Cloaks" of Māyā, etc., which causes the conception of differentiation in the subject of thought and action. Last is the defilement of Karma, which takes the form of the gross material body, by which the soul suffers the fruits of its works of merit or demerit.

¹ According to this enumeration Puruṣa (the soul in the "Five Cloaks") is the 25th tattva; Nature (prakṛti), 24th; Buddhi, 23rd; Ahamkāra, 22nd; Manas, 21st; the organs of intelligence, 20th-16th; the organs of action, 15th-11th; the Tanmātras, 10th-6th; the gross elements from ether to earth, 5th-1st.
25. From its association with the darkness of ignorance, [the Self] conceives itself in manifold diversity as objects and subjects, whereas it is one and self-identical.

The soul falsely imagines that the world is separate from itself, and looks for separate fruits for its works; hence it goes through the cycle of birth in paradise, hell, etc., experiencing these fruits.

26. As syrup, molasses, jaggery, sugar-balls, candy, etc., are all alike juice of the sugar-cane, so the divers conditions are all of Śambhu, the Supreme Self.

The "conditions" of the finite soul are waking, dream-sleep, dreamless sleep, and the Fourth [see v. 34 ff.]. In all these the Lord (Self or Thought-Mahēśvara) appears, determined as subjects and objects; nothing is separate from Him, for consciousness is present throughout.

27. The definitions [of the Supreme Being] as "comprehension", "inward controller", "breath", "Virāj-body", "generic existence", and "individual" are merely conventional terms; in the higher sense they are not true.

The Vijñāna-vādīs say that it is pure Thought (bodha), absolute and unqualified, which through the force of everlastingly pre-existent influences from works (vismās) appears as a manifold of experience expressed in terms such as "blue", "pleasant". The Brahma-vādis, following the texts, purusa evedany sarvaṃ (Rg-Veda, X, xc, 2, etc.), neha vināśita kītca (Sat.-Brāhma, XIV, vii, 2, 21, etc.), hold that the "inward controller" of the universe is the transcendental Brahma, who by the influence of beginningless Ignorance appears as a manifold. The Prāṇa-brahma-vādīs call it "the reasoning Word-Brahma", as the universe, like the breathing, expresses itself in holy words (āgūrya varata), for Brahma has no other form but breath. Others say that the true form of Brahma is Virāj, according to the text "homage to the World-Soul, of whom fire is the mouth, heaven the head, air the navel, earth the feet, the sun the eye, space the ears!" Others (the Vaśesikas, etc.) say it is "generic existence" (jātī) of the most extensive kind, which is the site of all qualities. Others say that only individuals are real. All these various modes of definition are merely provisional, samvṛti-satya; in reality the Supreme Being or Light is one, the omnipotent Thought-Mahēśvara.

28. Though there is no snake in the rope, it causes terror which may end in death; truly the mighty power of delusion cannot be pierced.
The sight of a long coiled rope makes a man think it a snake, and
frightens him to death. "Delusion" is the conception of finitude in
the universe.

29. Thus merit, demerit, paradise, hell, birth, death, joy,
sorrow, caste-life and its stages, etc., which really do not
exist, arise in the Self by the power of delusion.

As a rope, falsely imagined to be a snake, has the same deadly effect
as a snake, so merit, etc., really figments of imagination, arise in the
mind of those who confound the body with the Self under the illusive
influence of Māyā, and lead them through endless sufferings in the cycle
of bodily birth. "Merit" means acts such as the āśva-medha rite,
"demerit" the murder of brahmans, etc.

30. It is a blindness when there arises the error that
modes of being which from the presence of the Light in
them ought not to be distinguished from the Self are not
the Self.

"Modes of being" (bhāvās) are the subjects and objects forming the
finite universe, which really are not in essence distinct from the Self
or Thought-Mahēśvara, being embodied of its Light. In the manifesta-
tion of these modes it is the Self, the ego of essential Thought, that
reveals itself in concepts such as "blue", "pleasant"; only the
differentiation into subjects and objects in them is unreal.

31. It is a darkness from darkness, a great "pustule
upon a boil", when that which is not the Self, such as
body and breath, is imagined to be the Self.

It is a bad mistake to imagine that the modes of being which are
constituted by the Self are other than the Self, and absolutely inanimate;
but it is the worst of errors to single out from these an inanimate object,
a mere fragment of the material of cognition, such as the body or the
breath, and to regard it as the one and only Self, by forming conceptions
such as "I am lean", "I am hungry", when in truth it is only the
body that is lean or hungry, not the subject of the thought.

32. Strange it is, how [the finite soul] envelops the
Self with the combination of the conceptions of body and
breath, the cognition of intelligence, and the expanse of
ether, as a spider covers itself with its web.

Children, women, and illiterate persons identify the Self with the
body, forming conceptions such as "I am lean, stout", etc. Some,
again, think it is the breath, as the ego conscious of hunger and thirst.
Others say that it is the principle which apprehends pleasure and pain,
the *pury-asrūka* [or subtle body passing from one incarnation to another].

Others identify it with the void, i.e. the absence of body, breath, and the concepts of finite intelligence, or the residue left after sublation of all data of experience; our author calls this "the expanse of ether".

33. Through envisagement of the revelation of the splendour of the knowledge of the Self He uncloaks His native Self; thus the Supreme Śiva carries on His sport, consisting in the miracles of bondage and release.

When one has made continuously efforts to realize that the universe lies in his own Self, and that this his Self is supreme, composed purely of Thought and Bliss, the Lord strips off from the Self the false conceptions usually attached to it—viz. the identification with body, breath, finite intelligence, or void—and reveals it as pure Thought, supreme egoity; and thus the fettered soul, the *pati*, which hitherto imagined itself to be inanimate, subject to Karma, defiled, and dependent, realizes that it is not so, and becomes one with the Supreme, the *pati*, the universe being its body and Thought its soul. The Supreme Śiva, who is solely composed of infinite Thought and Bliss, carries on this "sport", viz. concealing His own nature by converting it into divers subjects of finite thought, so as to imprison it, and again of His own free will releasing it. It is His nature that He cannot rest alone [Bṛhad-ār.-Upan., I, iv, 3]; hence He constantly passes from one condition to another, and without losing His self-identity manifests Himself everywhere as the subject of perception.

34. Creation, maintenance, and dissolution, waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep, appear in Him in the Fourth Abode; but He reveals Himself under their covering.

The above conditions are present as phenomena in the consciousness of the Lord in the "Fourth" stage [i.e. the state of Sadāśiva], in which He is pure Bliss, the state of infinite egoity, from which the phenomena of the three lower states of consciousness derive their character. Their presence does not suppress His real nature, for He reveals Himself everywhere as higher than they, as the universal subject of perception, under all conditions infinite in essence.

35. The waking state is the "Universe", because of differentiation; dreaming sleep is "Illumination", because of the greatness of the light; the state of dreamless

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1 This is defined as consisting of Buddha, Manas, Ahaṃkāra, and the five Tanmātrās; the Tattva-prakāśikā adds the five gross elements and the organs of intelligence and action (see Parvateśa's Kannada translation, v. 12).
slumber is that of “Understanding”, for it is compact of knowledge; above these is the Fourth.

The three states, waking, etc., are described in Vedantic terms.1 (1) The waking state is called Viśvam, “Universe,” i.e. the Virāj-form of Brahma, “because of differentiation,” that is, because in it the one Brahma appears as divers subjects and objects of perception. As Scripture [Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā, xviii, 2] says, yo viśvavakṣur uta viśvatōmukho, etc. (2) Dreaming sleep is tejas, “Illumination,” i.e. the tattava form of Brahma, “because of the greatness of the light,” that is, because then the outer organs do not operate upon the materials of sense (viśayas), which thus cease to be really existent, and leave nothing in their place to be determined by the Buddha. The universe then reveals itself (prakāśate) in dreams; the Lord, i.e. Brahma, assuming the condition of divers subjects of thought, and by His illuminative power presenting the Self in the form of manifold concepts such as towns, villages, etc., reveals to each dreamer a common universe. Thus the text says: “Dividing the self by the self, beholding different modes of being, the Subject, lord of all and composed of all, is revealed in dreaming.” (3) Dreamless sleep is prajñā, “Understanding,” i.e. the prajñā form of Brahma, that is to say, in it the universe as a complex of subjects and objects vanishes, and a great void reigns, a state of pure potentiality (svaṃkāra-bhūmi) out of which there shall again emerge the vision of a universe qualified by conceptions such as “blue”, “pleasant”. It is “compact of knowledge”, as is also the Fourth state; that is, it is essentially a state of Light (prakāśa-mūrti), but its brilliance is darkened by the potentialities remaining from the vanished universe, which is not the case with the Fourth, which consists of pure Thought. (4) The “Fourth” state is the highest. All the influences and potentialities of finite differentiation having vanished from the soul, it is now in a state of absolute bliss and knowledge, into which the three previous conditions are merged (viśrūma).

36. As the expanse of the sky is not defiled by clouds or smoke or dust, so the Supreme Soul is unaffected by the changes of Māyā.

Whatever be the passing obscurations that appear on its surface, the sky maintains its character, and is recognized as the sky in every condition. So the Lord does not lose His self-identity in all the changes arising in finite souls as a result of their non-intuition of their and His nature (akhyāti), though they are all in Him.

1 These three Vedantic conditions are equated with the Nos. 31-3 of the Śaiva Tattvas. The “waking state” corresponds to the condition of Impure Māyā (No. 31), “dreaming sleep” to that of “Pure Knowledge” (No. 32), “dreamless sleep” to that of Īśvara (No. 33), and the Fourth to that of Sadāśiva (No. 34); see above, v. 14.
37. When the ether in one jar is full of dust, that in other jars is not thereby defiled. So it is with these souls that undergo differentiation in joy and sorrow.

Souls (jīvas, puruṣas) are really absolute Thought, which by Paramēśvara's Power of Māyā is covered over by the three cloaks of ānava, màrga, and kārma defilement, whereby it loses its character of transcendental Knowledge and Bliss and becomes differentiated into diverse souls, which undergo diverse experiences without affecting one another.

38. The Lord is, as it were, still when the various elements are still, glad when they are glad, gloomy when they are gloomy; but in verity He is not so.

The various conditions of finite souls do not really belong to the Supreme, but are metonymically ascribed to Him; they affect only the "Six Cloaks" surrounding the transcendental Thought which is the Lord. The "various elements" here mentioned are the bodily organism, which varies in its condition according to the predominance of the ānava of Nature [see on v. 19].

39. Having first overthrown the semblance of Selfhood in what is not-Self, the Supreme Śiva shatters the delusion that sees not-Self in Self.

"The semblance of Selfhood in what is not-Self" means conceptions such as "I am lean", "I am fat", in which the subject of thought is falsely identified with the non-Self, body. After removing this delusion, the Supreme destroys the erroneous idea that the ego or Self is finite and differentiated.

40. When thus these two illusions have been cut out by the roots, the exalted Adept has fulfilled his end, and has in sooth no further duty to occupy him.

By "further duty" is meant pilgrimage, residence in a fixed spot, offices of initiation (dikṣā), prayer, meditation, giving or receiving lectures, etc.

41. For by the power of the conception of Unity the trinity of Earth, Nature, and Māyā, that revealed itself in objective semblance, becomes reduced to simple Being.

42. As a girdle, a ring, or a bracelet may be regarded merely as gold, without regard to their several differences, so the universe appears as simple Being without regard to differentiation.
43. This is Brahma, the supreme, pure, still, undifferentiated, equal, complete, deathless, real, that is merged in the Power of essential Light.

The universe is "Brahma", from bhvati, "great"; cf. the Upanishadic saying, sa veva somyadeva agna asi [Chānd. Up., VI, ii, 1]. It is "real" (satya), i.e. composed of pure Being (sattā). It is "merged" (viśrāmyati) in the Supreme Power, Parā Śakti or condition of equilibrium of the Powers of Will, Knowledge, and Action, i.e. it becomes identical with the Supreme Power. It is now [in the mind of the Yogi envisaging it as simple Being] resolved back from the state of Sadāsiva into that of Śakti [v. 14].

44. On the other hand, what is untouched by the [Power] of essential Light expressed as Will, Knowledge, and Action passes into the condition of a sky-flower.

Everything that exists is merged into the "Vision" (bodha) consisting of manifestation of this Supreme Power.

45. The whole of this is by the God of gods resolved, by means of the attainment of the trinity of Powers, into the Supreme Lord named Śiva, the Supreme Verity.

The sum of being now passes [in the mind of the Yogi envisaging it] from the condition of Parā Śakti into the absolute state called Śiva [the Śiva-tattva or Nāda, No. 36, the Śāmbhava-pada], composed of unqualified Thought and Bliss. The agent of this transformation is Supreme Śiva Himself, the "God of gods", i.e. the highest of all the divine manifestations in being, from Brahma to Śiva, and of the corporeal agencies.

46. Inversely, by the course of emanation of the Five Powers is externally created this wondrous triad of Spheres by the assumption of outward selfhood.

[See v. 14 above.]

47. Thus the God who by the force of His sport makes to revolve the mechanical wheel of the Powers is the I, pure of nature, present in the place of the leader of the great circle of Powers.

The use of the pronoun of the first person shows that Śiva is the essential ego or subject of thought in all forms of consciousness. He keeps in motion the cycle of creation, dissolution, etc., in which operate the countless Powers springing from His five principal Powers of Thought, etc. He is "God", deva, because He thus exercises His sport
48. It is in Me that the universe reveals itself, as jars and the like in a mirror; from Me emanates the universe, as the varied forms of dreams from slumber.

The universe is the subjective phenomenon of the absolute Ego of unqualified Thought and Bliss; it emerges thence without any external cause, its material being only the self-consciousness (sva-saṃvid) of the Ego.

49. It is I who take form as the universe, like a single body composed of hands, feet, etc. In the whole it is I who am revealed, as a radiant thing in its modes.

The one absolute Ego becomes a manifold of subjects and objects of Thought which compose the universe. In the latter the Ego reveals itself as the subject of all perception, as a luminous body casts its light on various dark objects.

50. Though without bodily organs, I see, hear, smell; though unworking, I fashion the manifold doctrines, traditional lore, and reasoning.

The absolute Thought or Supreme Being, present in the consciousness of all, is the subject of all phenomenal perception, and establishes all standards of knowledge.

51. When thus the imagination of duality has vanished, and he has surmounted the illusive Māyā, he is merged in Brahma, as water in water, as milk in milk.

The Yogi who has thus realized the universe as the phenomenon of his own self-consciousness becomes merged in absolute Thought and Bliss [the Śiva-tattva, No. 36], i.e. the Supreme Unity.

52. When thus through contemplation the group of elements has been resolved into the substance of Siva, what grief, what delusion can befall him who surveys the universe as Brahma?

The "group of elements" consists of the physical objects and the organs of perception.
53. Fruit of works, whether fair or foul, comes from attachment to false ideas. For harmful is the defeiture of association, like the union of a thief with one who is no thief.

Influences on man's destiny arise from meritorious works, such as the āśva-medha rite, and wrongful works, such as murder of brahmans, both of which are due to false ideas such as "I am a bodily being", "I shall obtain happiness by means of this rite", in which things which are not the Self are imagined to be the Self, and vice versa. By association with such ideas the soul performs works and becomes liable to their consequences, thus suffering the miseries of the cycle of birth.

54. The besotted beings who worship here an Ignorance framed of worldly concepts pass on to birth and death, bound in the fetters of merit and demerit.

The foolish identify body with the Self, and desire carnal benefits; they devote themselves to "Ignorance", i.e. Māyā, the principle of differentiation, in the form of worldly conventions or standards of merit and demerit, which they follow in order to attain paradise, etc. Thus they are imprisoned in the cycle of birth and death.

55. But the works of merit and demerit accumulated during the time of ignorance vanish through the power of the flame of understanding, like down long gathered.

The Yogi's knowledge that he is the Supreme Brahma immediately destroys all the influence of the works previously done by him in the days of ignorance; he becomes no longer liable to pleasant or painful experiences of the body.

56. When knowledge is once gained, works performed thereafter can bear no fruit; how, then, can he be reborn? The union with the bond of birth has left him, and he is revealed in the lustre of the Self, a sun consisting of Śiva.

[See v. 60 foll.]

57. As the seed stripped of involucræ, bran, and awn puts forth no sprout, so the Self stripped of [āṇava] defeiture, Māyā, and Karma puts forth no sprout of physical life.

The āṇava defeiture may be compared to the bran of the rice-grain, the māyīya defeiture to its involucræ, and the kūrma defeiture to its awn. The Self cleansed of these cannot pass into incarnation, but becomes again one with Maheśvara.
58. He that knows the Self fears naught, for the whole universe is his native form; nor does he grieve, for in the Supreme Verity there is no perishing.

59. When, by reason of the store of gems of the Supreme Verity arising in the treasure-house of the mystic heart, the state of Mahēśvara is reached with the consciousness that "I am [all]", what misfortune can betide, and whom?

The "state of Mahēśvara" is that in which the light of Self reigns supreme and all is merged into transcendental egoity [i.e. the Siva-tattva; see on v. 14]. The Yogi in this condition recognizes all objects as being phenomenal (ābhāsana-sūra) as such, and noumenally one with his Self; hence they cannot really change, and so he has nothing to fear from them.

60. For Redemption there is no fixed site nor passage elsewhere; Redemption is the revelation of the powers of Self when the bond of ignorance is burst.

Redemption or release (mokṣa, kaivalya) consists in the rapture of absolute egoity. It is not limited to a particular place or time, nor does it consist in any particular passage from one place to another. The "bond of ignorance", i.e. the illusion that the real Self is not Self and that the body, etc., are Self, is destroyed by knowledge, and then the Self is revealed in its supreme native powers, as omnipresent, etc.; this revelation constitutes Redemption. No change is thereby introduced into the nature of Consciousness.

61. He that has burst the bond of ignorance, whose doubts have passed away, who has overcome delusion, from whom merit and guilt alike have vanished, is redeemed, though he be still united to the body.

This refers to the "redemption-in-life" (jīvan-mukti); the Yogi thus redeemed still lives on in the flesh, for the benefit of fellow-creatures, until his final redemption on death.

62. As the seed scorched by fire becomes incapable of sprouting, so works burned in the flame of knowledge are unable to cause rebirth.

The Yogi, being in this state of redemption, no longer conceives phenomena as desirable or undesirable; hence the exercise of physical functions causes no influence of Karma for him, so that he will never be born again.
63. Owing to the conception of a future body corresponding to [present] works, [a conception] arising from limitation of intelligence, the Thought becomes accordingly contracted on the dissolution of the present body.

Owing to "limitation of intelligence", i.e. improper desires, which arise from non-intuition of the real nature of the Self and are associated with mental dispositions (vásanās) by which things such as the body are regarded as the Self, a man may do works, e.g. he may perform the aśva-medha rite in order to become happy in this and the next world, or to obtain the seat of Indra. He will therefore be reborn in a body suitable for the enjoyment of fruits corresponding to these works. Owing to his present imagination of such a future body, the absolute Thought within Him becomes stained by the kārma defilement based upon the āvāra and māṃśya defilement, and is qualified and conditioned by his conception of this future body, as the ether in a jar is spatially conditioned by the walls of the jar; and when the present body, in which he is experiencing the fruits of previous Karma now in progress, comes to dissolution, the Thought has become so conditioned by this conception of a future body that it evolves the latter, and in company with it undergoes the phenomena of paradise, hell, etc.

64-6. But if one should behold the Self as being of the substance of Śiva, undefiled Vision exalted in the highest, having the substance of percipient and agent, omnipresent, framed of radiance that neither sets nor rises, realizing its will void of conceptions of space and time, constant, unfailing, absolutely perfect, monarch, sole agent in the contemplation of the dissolution and rise of the multitudinous band of Powers, cunning creator of the laws of creation and other conditions, how should he be in the cycle of rebirth? since he is all-extensive, whence should he have to wander, and whither?

The Self is "of the substance of Śiva", i.e. composed solely of Thought and Bliss. Only the subtle body, pury-aśṭaka [see v. 32], which is compounded of Thought and Non-Thought, is liable to wander through the cycle of birth, owing to its union with kārma defilement; but he who has become one with Śiva, i.e. pure Thought, has thereby cast off the investiture of the defilements, and is for ever freed from that doom. The "band of Powers" are the various potentialities of objects of thought arising from the aggregate of Speech [see above, v. 11].

67. Thus by reasonings likewise it is proved that the work done by the enlightened man bears no fruit; for
owing to the intense conviction that "this is not mine but his" no fruit accrues in the world.

Priests (yajakāh) perform a sacrifice (yajanti, active voice) on behalf of one who gets them to perform it (yajate yajamānāh, middle voice), in order that he may thence derive a future benefit, e.g. paradise. The priest knows that he has no such future gain to expect; he is only hired with a present fee. The sacrifice is not his, i.e. it will not profit him in time to come; it is to the credit only of the celebrant, the yajamāna, though the latter does not actually perform it himself. From this knowledge the priest saves himself from sharing in the future fruits of the rite, which fall entirely to the yajamāna, who gets them by reason of his belief in their value. The present works of the enlightened Yogi, between the moment of his enlightenment and the time of his death, are like those of the priest; as he expects no fruit thence for himself, they bear him none.

68. Stirred up thus by the wind of conception, he sacrifices all imaginations in the kindled radiance of the Self, and becomes of the substance of Light.

The Yogi is inspired by the "conception" that he is one with the Thought-Mahēśvara, in perfect and eternal self-revelation, as fire hidden under ashes is stirred up by the wind. He therefore renounces such "imaginations" (vikātāpāh) as "I am a fettered soul, embodied and bound by Karma, these children and wife are mine, by this work I shall obtain paradise or hell". Being inspired by the absolute Consciousness, he casts such ideas away into the "radiance of the Self", i.e. surrenders them for the rapture of supreme egoity, and "becomes of the substance of Light", i.e. renders himself one with the transcendental subject of Thought, in which finite ideas vanish.

69. Feeding on whatsoever may come, wearing raiment of anything, still of spirit, dwelling wherever he chance to come, he finds redemption, being the self of all beings.

Living thus in utter indifference to external conditions, the Yogi finds his redemption in being one with the Supreme Śiva, because he thereby becomes the self of all beings and they become his Self, so that nothing can hinder him from realizing his Self.

70. Though he cause hundreds of thousands of aśva-medhas to be offered, or hundreds of thousands of brahmans to be slain, he that knows the Supreme Verity is not affected by merit or by guilt, but remains stainless.

Whatever works the Yogi may do, whether meritorious or the reverse, so long as he performs them without any idea of being personally
concerned in them as subject or beneficiary, and with the consciousness of being merely the instrument of the Supreme Being's will, they bear no fruit for him, they cause no subsequent incarnation; the three defilements, which are the causes of rebirth, have no power to affect him.

71. Removing from himself conceit, joy of gain, wrath, lust, misery of loss, dread, avarice, and delusion, without hymn of praise or hallelujah, he will walk like a senseless creature, without speech or perception.

72. Conceit, joy, and the rest of these passions arise from the illusion of differentiation: how should he be affected thereby who has the vision of the Self in unity?

Defilement implies a distinction between the thing defiling and the object defiled. With the Yogi there is no such distinction, for the emotions, realized as being aspects of Brahma, become homogeneous with the Yogi who has become Brahma, and views all things as neither desirable nor undesirable.

73. There is naught distinct from himself to which he should offer praise or oblation; will he rejoice in praise and the like who is said to have passed beyond worship and hallelujah?

Worship in liturgical forms (hymns and sacrifice) implies a distinction between the worshipper and the god worshipped, which for the Yogi does not exist. [See Deussen, Philosophy of the Upanishads, English translation, p. 61 foll.]

74. His temple is his own body and that which is other, built of the thirty-six elements, and fully set with windows consisting of the bodily organism, or composed of jars, etc.

As a temple in which to worship the Self, the Yogi has his own body and any external structure as well. For the latter he knows to be formed of the same elements as his own body, and as its indwelling spirit is composed of Thought like his own, he is one with it. His own body, again, is a temple, i.e. the seat of Consciousness (jñānān), the home of the divine Self. As a temple has windows, so the body has its organs of sense. The external materials of sense (viṣayās)—e.g. the objects of sight, such as jars—are informed by consciousness through the agency of the appropriate organs—e.g. the eye—so that the whole phenomenal world is to the thinker a temple of His own indwelling Consciousness, of the absolute Self-Mahēśvara in His sport, as is his own body.
75. Therein he sits, worshipping with the pure substances of reflection on the Self the blessed Deity who is the Supreme Reality, great Bhairava, in company with His native Powers.

In the temple of his body the Yogi offers the worship of the spirit to the Supreme Siva, or Bhairava (from bhṛ, "to bear," and rū, "to destroy," because He makes to vanish all consciousness of sense-perception¹), and to Siva's Powers, i.e. the "functional goddesses" (kāraya-devyaḥ) or deities presiding over the function of each bodily organ, who are evolved from the five main Powers of Siva. The Yogi, no longer conscious of a distinction between desirable and undesirable things, meditates upon the data of phenomenal experience as they present themselves, and identifies them with his own Self. This may be compared to worship proper (pūjā), which is regularly followed by a fire-oblation (homa).

76. When in the blazing flame of Consciousness he offers the pile of the great seed which consists in the manifoldness of outward and inward figments of thought, this is his fire-oblation, done without labour.

By "outward and inward figments of thought" are meant respectively objective concepts (e.g. blue) and subjective concepts (e.g. pleasant) predicated by the ego of himself and other egos. The innumerable variety of these concepts forms a "pile of the great seed" from which arises the differentiation of the various subjects and objects of thought. The Yogi's "oblation" consists in effacing from his mind this distinction.

77. His meditation is without cessation; for the Lord creates diverse figures, and these are his meditation, wherein the forms of verity are depicted by the mind.

As in ritual the fire-oblation is followed by the meditation (dhyāna), so it is with the Yogi. He no longer thinks in positive terms of thought. But he is incessantly pondering upon the modes of "imagination" (vikalpa) which the Supreme causes to appear in the mirror of his intelligence (buddhi), i.e. the data of phenomenal experience. He realizes that all activity of the manas or sanskārā [v. 19] is evolved from the Supreme Power or Parā Śakti [v. 43], and that the universe is really absolute being identical with Paramēśvara. This true conception is figured on his consciousness by the action of the manas, and he sees that the universe revealed to him in modes of "imagination"

¹ Properly the word is a derivative from bhīru, root bhi, "to fear." Siva is styled Bhairava in His aspect as cause of dissolution of the universe.
as an operation of the manus is real and identical with the Light, for
Consciousness is present in it throughout.

78. And as he revolves in inward vision the whole
series of worlds, the conception of the order of elements,
and the various organs, this is called his prayer.

There are 240 worlds existing in the thirty-six tatvas. The Yogi's
"prayer" is the intuition of supreme egoity constantly applied to
the whole universe. Prayer (japa) consists in the utterance of a spell
denoting a deity, counted by turning the beads of a rosary that is
pervaded by the Power of Breath, prāṇa-sakti. The Yogi's rosary is
his consciousness, samvid, which is pervaded, as by a thread, by the
Power of the "Central Breath" [i.e. the prāṇa-sakti or kundali, a mystic
cosmic force which sleeps on the kanda, an imaginary knob over the
pubendum at the bottom of the suṣumnā, the central artery connected
with the trachea, through which the kundali when awakened passes up
the body and emerges at the brahma-randhra, an imaginary suture in
the skull between the brows through which the soul enters the body].
As the Yogi repeats the syllables of the nāda-bindu [the sacred om, etc.],
at each breath he conceives the universe as turning round in the series
of creation and dissolution, like the buckets on a pulley. His "prayer"
thus consists in being merged in absolute egoity. The universe is based
upon the Power of Breath; and at each breath of the Yogi the Supreme
Power, parā sakti, taking the form of physical breath, makes his
meditation a true prayer.

79–80. His holy-day, right hard to find, yet easy, is
when he views the totality of being in a vision of unity,
and beholds his Consciousness wholly resting in the
cemetery of the universe and marked by the token of
the skeleton of the body, and he drinks from the skull,
the morsel of finite cognition, that lies in his hand full
of the draught of the universe's essence.

The Yogi's "holy-day", i.e. his enjoyment of his illumination, is
"hard to find", for it is obtained only by Divine grace after ridding
himself of his non-intuition of the Self, akhyāti; yet in itself it is
"easy" to perform, for it needs no laborious offering of external goods,
etc. The universe as a manifold of subjects and objects of cognition is
as such inanimate, the Consciousness tenaunting it is animate; so the
former is compared to a cemetery, the latter to a votary haunting it in
his mystic rites. The Yogi in the realization of his omnipresent and
absolute spirituality sports like a mad devotee in the universe amidst
the lifeless company of fettered souls and objects of finite thought. As
the votary in the cemetery is marked by his khaṭvāṅga-mudrā, [a mystic

JRAS. 1910.
posture in which the right hand is uplifted with its five fingers clasped together], so the Consciousness is seen by the Yogi as bearing the token-mark of his body, which he has reduced to a mere skeleton (khatėśīṅga) by realizing the supremacy of his spiritual Self; i.e., he perceives that the Consciousness, in pursuance of the universal Will, assumes the phenomenal form of body, which as such is different from it. The votary drinks his magic draught from the fragment of a skull; the Yogi contemplates the noumenal reality underlying the phenomenal universe, which is a solid "morsel", i.e. a manifold divided into objects of knowledge and of action. As the cup lies in the hand (kara) of the votary, so the phenomenal universe presents itself as object in the rays (kara) of the Consciousness, i.e. through the functions of the divers bodily organs.

81. Thus conceiving the being that is without birth and dissolution, called the Supreme Reality and Maheśvara, he abides as he lists, his part fulfilled, because of the light of his estate as concipient.

As the potter's wheel continues to revolve for a short time after his hand has been withdrawn, so the Yogi for a while continues to live on in the flesh, in a state of absolute bliss, because he is conscious of being the subject of universal thought in all conditions.

82. He who knows the omnipresent Self of all beings, thus declared, from which manifoldness has been cast off, and which is of supreme Bliss beyond comparison, comes to be of its substance.

All classes of mortals, and even lower animals, may by recognition of the Self-Maheśvara become consubstantial with Him.

83. No matter whether he depart from the body in a holy place or in an outcast's hovel, even though his memory be gone, he passes into absolute being, overcoming sorrow, for he has been redeemed at the hour when he found knowledge.

It matters not for the future of the Yogi under what conditions he may die; his knowledge of the Self carries him immediately after his death into kaivalya, the condition composed of Being, Thought, and Bliss which lies beyond the Fourth [see on v. 35 foll.]. As the word api in the text implies, he may retain the memory of his knowledge at the moment of death, and if so, he will proceed at once to kaivalya. But even if he has lost it in the decay of his faculties, etc., the result is the same: for his passage into kaivalya really took place previously, when he learned the great mystery, and his subsequent life in the flesh has
been merely mechanical. The vestment of the body arises only from the soul's association with the ādava and māyiya vestments which are created by ignorance; this ignorance is destroyed when the Yogi gets his enlightenment, and his progress towards kauśalya henceforth cannot be checked. Moreover, we have no direct evidence to show that his memory ever fails him at the moment of dissolution. As he has lived so long in the state of grace, the Supreme Lord present in his Self must inspire him at the last moment, although he may seem to be unconscious [cf. v. 89].

84. Visiting holy places makes for merit, meeting one's death in an outcast's hovel leads to hell; but what signifies this when there is no influence of either merit or demerit?

Some learned men labour under the illusion that such things as the body are the subject of thought; accordingly they set themselves to acquire merit by sacrifices and good works, and visit sanctuaries and die there, in order to be reborn in a happier condition. The rebirth of such men is determined by the spot in which they happen to die. But in any case they still remain in the cycle of birth and death. To the truly enlightened Yogi, however, it matters not where he dies. All Karma arising from ādava and māyiya defilements departed from him when he attained enlightenment, and so after his death his Self cannot sprout again into bodily life.

85. The insertion of a rice-grain which has been completely severed from its involucre and bran into another involucre does not make for the rice-grain permanence in that form afterwards.

86. In like manner the Consciousness which by purification has been severed here from surrounding vestures, though it last on for a while, is free from the influence thereof, and is in a state of release.

A grain and an involucre, if united in a merely mechanical manner, cannot organically co-operate so as to germinate. Similarly, the consciousness of the Yogi, being severed by the intuition of its native universality from the cloaks of Māyā, though it may for a time linger on in bodily form, is henceforth distinct for ever from the body and unaffected by its influences tending to produce rebirth, which arise from meritorious works or the reverse. The Yogi's knowledge raises him for the rest of his bodily life into the Fourth condition, and on death into the stage above the Fourth [see v. 43].

87. A gem which has been brought into a state of translucence by a very skilful jeweller may nevertheless
become darkened from the box which is the surrounding medium; but it regains its true limpidity when this medium is broken up.

88. Thus the Consciousness, lastingly purified by the instruction of the good teacher, reveals itself in the form of Śiva when it is released from the surrounding medium of the body, and is for ever freed from other surrounding media.

89. For through unwavering faith on the authority of books of instruction and the like previously, one becomes consubstantial [with the object of faith], and passes to heaven, hell, or human estate.

According as a man's mind is moulded by faith, by knowledge of the Self, by practice of meritorious works, etc., it develops corresponding "conformations" (saṃskāras) by which it is assimilated to the objects to which it is devoted. The state of imagination thus produced in the mind becomes most vivid at the moment of death [cf. v. 83], and thereby the nature of the ensuing life is predetermined [see v. 63]. Thus the new life is only a continuation and development of the mental state previous to death. The Yogi ever since his enlightenment has been in a state of unqualified spirituality; hence after death he cannot return to bodily birth.

90. But the last moment, which, serving to produce a condition of "merit" or "demerit", becomes for the besotted a cause, is not in his case that which determines the course of destiny.

Disorders of the humours or violence of his malady may bring the Yogi at the moment of his death into a condition which persons around him judge to be "meritorious" or the reverse, i.e. capable of making more or less agreeable his lot in a future birth. But they err, for he cannot be reborn. Such a condition can determine the nature of the future birth only of "the besotted", viz. those who imagine the Self to be the body or like things, and are therefore bound in the cycle of birth.

91. They who at that hour realize their state to be that of Self, even though they be cattle, birds, creeping things, or the like, are nevertheless purified by the insight that they had in time past, and now go on that course.

1 Sahakārtibhāvan kāraṇavām, says the Comm. A "cause", kāraṇa, is that which necessarily precedes its effect (Tarka-samgraha, 38).
It sometimes happens that when beings who because of their desires or a curse upon them have become incarnated as beasts, etc., and degraded in intelligence, are about to die, the instincts aroused in them by knowledge of the Self obtained in former births now revive by a special grace, so that they realize their nature to be really Self, and by entering it find redemption. Thus the elephant which, as is narrated in the legend [Bhāgavata-purāṇa, VIII, i, 30–iv, 26], was rescued by Viṣṇu from the crocodile, was inspired to praise Him by an instinct arising from devotion in a former life, and hence was able to cast off the flesh and enter into his true essence.

92. Thus the fettered soul is enclosed within a body so as to be its own heaven and hell, and when this one is dissolved the soul enters into union with another body in accordance with its own fitness.

93. Thus also the Self is then with him in the same guise as when at the hour of enlightenment it once for all was revealed to him, and it changes not on the dissolution of the body.

Whatever be the physical condition in which the Yogi expires, the enlightenment in which he has lived is not thereby affected; he proceeds to eternal release from the flesh.

94. Utter palsy of the organs, failure of memory, disturbance of the breathing, breaking down of the joints, various sorts of malady, the sufferings arising from bodily conformation,

95. How shall this not befall, whilst the union with body lasts? But although he is united with illusion, the Enlightened does not on that account fall away from the Supreme Verity of the Self at the hour of death.

The weaknesses and sufferings of the failing body befall everybody, the Sage not excepted; but they do not affect the Sage’s state of enlightenment and his redemption from the flesh after death, despite his union with “illusion”, i.e. the [apparent] temporary obscuration of his knowledge at the hour of death. Thus Vasudeva, though in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa he was mortally wounded by a hunter’s arrow, still retained the same essentially divine nature as before.

96. When one finds this Path of Supreme Verity from the Master’s utterance, straightway the Power falls upon him with exceeding intensity, and without hindrance he becomes Śiva.
Some persons who in their last birth learn this doctrine from their teachers are at once visited by the free grace of the Lord, the anugraha-sakti [see v. 9], in such measure that they immediately become identical with Him.

97. Some become consubstantial with Śiva after rising at length to the height of the Supreme Principle, reaching the all-transcending Form by gradual ascent of the steps of the ladder.

On some the Power of Grace falls with a gradually increasing degree of intensity. They accordingly practise Yogic exercises, so that the mystic force within them gradually rises upwards from the kanda to the navel, the heart, etc. [see on v. 78]. Thus they progress towards perfect enlightenment, until at the hour of death they become consubstantial with Śiva. This is gradual redemption, krama-mukti.

98. But if one from the mid-course of his absorption comes not to the estate of Supreme Verity, and though his soul yearns to reach that condition, death one day befalls him—

99. He that thus lapses from his Yoga, as the books of instruction tell, becomes a lord in worlds of wondrous enjoyments, and by the influence of the place of his absorption he passes into a second birth, and there becomes Śiva.

Some persons, although they attain the state of grace and practise Yoga, are not sufficiently advanced to reach redemption on their death, or some obstacle comes in their way. They on dying pass at once into worlds of paradisiac enjoyments, e.g. women, food, drink, garlands, garments, unguents, and music, corresponding to the degree of absorption in the universal Spirit which they have attained previous to death. When their term of enjoyment there ends, they are reborn with a body suitable for the exercise of Yoga, by the power of the “conformations” (sāṃskāras) now operating in them in consequence of their previous Yogic absorption in this or that part of their body, e.g. the kanda [see v. 78].¹ In this new body they readily obtain the spiritual fruits of the Yoga formerly practised by them; they thus arrive easily at the condition of Śiva before death, and after death pass at once into complete redemption, never again to be born.

100. He who, though labouring in this path of Supreme Verity, attains not to the Yoga, finds a share in the

¹ Cf. Yoga-sūtra, ii, 53; iii, 1; Deussen, Allg. Geschichte d. Philosophie, I, iii, p. 568.
delights of the gods' world, where he long rejoices in gladness of spirit.

This refers to the votaries who perform Yogic exercises with faith and devotion, but owing to their weakness of will fail to reach even a partial degree of spiritual absorption.

\[101\text{. As a world-emperor is adored by all the people in his domains, so he, though lapsed from the Yoga, is adored in the worlds by all the gods.}\]

\[102\text{. After long time he comes again into human estate, practises the Yoga, and comes to the divine deathless condition from which he returns nevermore.}\]

After long enjoyment of paradisiac pleasures and the adoration of the gods, he is reborn as a man with a body fitted for Yoga, which he practises with ease and success; on his death he attains redemption for ever.

\[103\text{. Therefore whosoever is devoted to this Good Way comes to the estate of Śiva; thinking upon this, one should by all means strive for the Supreme Verity.}\]

By "whosoever" is meant that the elect are limited to no particular class. It is conceivable that anybody may attain supreme bliss in one birth.

\[104\text{. The being of Śiva speedily comes to penetrate the very heart of him who meditates upon this Supreme Brahma, of which the sense has been briefly told by Abhinava-gupta.}\]

\[105\text{. This most profound essence of doctrine has been summed up in a hundred āryā-verses by me, Abhinava-gupta, who am inspired by remembrance of Śiva's feet.}\]
THE SOURCE OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

By G. R. KAYE

I

MANY writers have enlarged upon the subject of our indebtedness to India in matters intellectual, and in particular have drawn attention to ancient Hindu mathematics, which they consider exhibit in a marked degree the intellectual superiority of the Hindus in early times. They not only inform us that a system of mathematics was developed in India in early times, but imply that in this direction the Hindus were the benefactors of the rest of mankind. The latest authoritative statement of this kind is as follows: "In the mathematical sciences the achievements of the Indians have been very considerable. As the inventors of the numerical figures with which the whole world reckons, and of the decimal system connected with the use of these figures, they naturally became the greatest calculators of antiquity, just as the Greeks were the greatest geometricians. . . . The later mathematicians made more progress in trigonometry, especially by the invention of the sine table. The greatness of the Indian mathematical writers who belong to the fifth century and later lies in their arithmetical and algebraical investigations. . . . The raising of numbers to various powers and the extraction of the square or cube root were but elementary operations to these mathematicians. They also calculated arithmetical progressions, perhaps first suggested by the chess-board of sixty-four squares, which was known in India before the beginning of our era. They attained the greatest
eminence in algebra, which they developed to a degree beyond anything ever achieved by the Greeks.”

Such ideas have been so generally advertised by such renowned scholars that it seems almost impertinent to cast any doubt upon them. Nevertheless, such is the object of the present essay, which, while briefly examining the available evidence in any way indicative of the source of the Hindu mathematical ideas, shows, at least, that the generally accepted view on the subject is quite erroneous. But fully to set forth the evidence and to state the arguments necessary for this purpose would occupy a bulky volume, and what here follows must be looked upon as an epitome of the case only.

In such an examination it would be well to formulate, if we could do so satisfactorily, some criteria for reference; and without hoping to reach a satisfactory ideal, we may tentatively postulate the following: (1) The evolution of mathematical ideas cannot proceed per saltum, but must proceed in an orderly manner. (2) While mathematical systems of independent growth will naturally have many points of similarity, yet differences are certain to occur; it is, indeed, impossible for two systems to grow up independently in exactly the same manner. (3) Priority of statement of a proposition does not necessarily imply its discovery.

With regard to orderly growth, we may simply state that the absence of such order in mathematical development is impossible to conceive. In particular, any complicated theorem connotes the existence of previous orderly processes of development. Of course, gaps in the evidence of such development do not prove the lack of

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1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, vol. ii, p. 265.
orderly procedure; but illogical order of statement and inconsistencies of any kind are generally incompatible with any sound mathematical system. To illustrate the second criterion we may refer to the markedly different development of mathematical ideas in what may be termed the earlier Greek and Egyptian schools, which in later times became more or less amalgamated. Even in modern times, when intercommunication is so intimate, we find marked differences of detail in different mathematical schools. To illustrate the third postulate we have a very pertinent case. Elphinstone tells us\(^1\) that the rule for expressing the area of a triangle in terms of its sides, given by Brahmagupta, "was unknown in Europe till published by Clavius in the sixteenth century," and implies that the rule was discovered by the Hindus. That the rule was known to Heron\(^2\) (B.C. 120), and that Heron's work was translated (into French\(^3\)) soon after Elphinstone wrote his history, emphasizes the danger of relying on such evidence.

How far the Hindu system of mathematics satisfies such criteria remains to be seen. Possibly in a matter like this any definite conclusion that may be formed will depend upon accumulative evidence. This is difficult to deal with rigorously, and we can formulate no criterion that will help us here; but we may point out that in this respect the opinions of experts are particularly valuable.

Before proceeding to our particular theme we may state that purely astronomical questions will not be referred to even though they would prove powerful supports to our arguments. The question of the source of Hindu astronomy has already been pretty fully dealt with, and the conclusions arrived at are by no means indefinite.

\(^1\) History of India, p. 142.
\(^2\) See the Metrica, viii, p. 18 f., and the Dioeptra, xxx, p. 280 f., ed. Schöne.
\(^3\) By A. H. Vincent in Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Biblioth. Impér., 1858, p. 157 f.
II

Briefly stated the case for the indigenous development of Hindu mathematics depends upon the fact that certain very important propositions are either recorded earlier, or are supposed to be recorded earlier, in Hindu writings than in any other writings. The propositions are here summarized:

1. The "theorem of Pythagoras" is said to occur in a general form in the Śulvasūtras.¹

2. At the period of the Śulvasūtras the Hindus, according to Bürk, were acquainted with the irrational.²

3. Āryabhaṭa gives a value for the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of the circle more accurate than any value known to be recorded before his time.³

4. Āryabhaṭa gives a table of so-called sines and a rule for the construction of this table.⁴

5. Āryabhaṭa gives a method for obtaining integral solutions of indeterminate equations of the first degree.⁵

6. Brahmagupta gives a method for obtaining integral solutions of $Du^2 - 1 = t^2$, and this is considered the most important development of ancient Hindu mathematics.⁶

In the seventeenth century Fermat solved this equation, and thought it a matter of such considerable difficulty that he proposed it as a kind of defiance to Dr. Wallis, who, however, solved the problem: but it was left to Euler to make any further advance, and he employed practically the same method of solution as was given some centuries before by the Hindu mathematicians.⁷

¹ A. Bürk, "Das Āpastamba-Śulba-Sūtra": Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1901, p. 543 f.; 1902, p. 327 f.
² Ibid.
³ L. Rodet, Leçons de Calcul d’Āryabhaṭa, p. 22; Kaye, JASB., 1908, p. 122.
⁴ Ibid., p. 123.
⁵ Ibid., p. 135.
⁶ Colebrooke, Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanscrit, p. 363 f.
⁷ See H. Konen’s Geschichte der Gleichung, $t^2 - Du^2 = 1$. 
7. Brahmagupta gives the area of the cyclic quadrilateral \(^1\) as \(\sqrt{(s-a) (s-b) (s-c) (s-d)}\), which is an extension of the well-known theorem of Heron for triangles.

8. The invention of our modern "place-value" system of arithmetical notation has been attributed to the Hindus.

We will consider the individual cases here enumerated.

1. It is by no means certain that the Śulvasūtras are of the period usually attributed to them,\(^2\) and any arguments based upon a supposed date must be accepted with great caution. Secondly, the different recensions of the Śulvasūtras are not altogether in agreement, and while it is next to impossible to fix their date accurately, it is just as impossible to say what were their actual contents in detail at any period.\(^3\) But neither of these points affects the present argument; for an examination of the Sūtras themselves clearly shows that complete generality of the theorem of Pythagoras was not attained, and that it was not even striven after.\(^4\) The proposition in its practical form was known ages before the Śulvasūtra period to the Egyptians and the Babylonians.

2. Bürk's claim that the Hindus had discovered the irrational at this early period need not be taken very seriously. It depends upon the approximate value of \(\sqrt{2}\) given in the Śulvasūtras; but to quote Heath \(^5\): "It is a far cry from this calculation of an approximate value to the discovery of the irrational."

\(^1\) Colebrooke, p. 296.
\(^2\) See Bühler's introduction to Āpastamba in the Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii.
\(^3\) e.g. compare the sets of rational right-angled triangles given by Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.
3. Āryabhaṭa gives the value of $\pi$ as 62832/20000, which in decimal notation is 3.1416. According to Gow\(^1\) this value was obtained from Ptolemy's formula for finding a chord of an arc in terms of the chord of double the arc, which is said to give exactly 3.1416 for the side of a 384-gon of unit radius. This particular value, however, was given by Pulisa,\(^2\) who was possibly one of the first to introduce some of the elements of Greek astronomy into India. No early Hindu writer quotes Āryabhaṭa's value of $\pi$, and, moreover, Āryabhaṭa himself never uses this value.

4. Āryabhaṭa's table of "sines" was reduced from Pulisa's table of "sines", which was adapted from Ptolemy's table of chords. The rule given by Āryabhaṭa does not lead to the values of the sines as given in his own table.\(^3\)

5, 6. Indeterminate equations play an important part in Hindu mathematics, and the discovery of solutions of $Du^2 - 1 = t^2$ in Hindu works of a fairly early date was considered very remarkable. Possibly the fact that Fermat, Wallis, Brouncker, Euler, Lagrange, and others paid considerable attention to the problem, gave the discovery of it in Hindu works a somewhat fictitious value.

It has been stated that the Chinese dealt with indeterminate equations at an earlier date than the Hindus,\(^4\) and that the Greeks developed this branch of mathematics to a high degree at a period earlier than the Hindus is well known, as is the fact that some of their works on this subject are lost. The Greek treatment of indeterminates appears to have culminated in Diophantus or his successors, while the first occurrence in Hindu

\(^{1}\) A Short History of Greek Mathematics, p. 299.
\(^{2}\) Albruni, India, i, p. 168.
\(^{3}\) See the Pañcachādāntika, ed. Thibaut, ch. iv; J. Burgess, Indian Antiquary, 1891, p. 228; Kaye, JASB., 1908, p. 125.
works is about a century later. Āryabhāta gives a single, obscurely worded rule for indeterminates of the first degree without either proof or examples. This rule is given more explicitly by Brahmagupta without proof or explanation, but with numerous examples. Āryabhāta makes no reference to indeterminates of the second degree, which first occur in Brahmagupta's work and later in a somewhat more polished form in Bhāskara's Vīja-Gaṇita.

A close examination of Brahmagupta's rules and examples establishes beyond all doubt that he was not their discoverer. He does not understand all the rules he gives. Some rules are followed by inappropriate examples. In one case he partially solves an example, and says: "The meaning of the rest will be shown further on." The example is solved further on, but the previous working is not utilized. Another rule and accompanying example are regular, but Brahmagupta gives a second similar example with a change of sign which the rule does not account for; and while correctly explaining this second example, refers to the incompleteness of the text and criticizes the rule given. In another case he finds fault with the rule, and says: "With the exception of a selected unknown put arbitrary values for the rest ... thus the solution is effected without an equation of the second degree. What occasion is there for it?"

Bhāskara gives some alternative methods for the solution of the Pellian equation, but in no essential does he improve on Brahmagupta. He even reproduces Brahmagupta's one example of "fudging", and frequently in this section refers to "ancient" authorities, and none of the cases so referred to can be traced to Hindu mathematicians.

1 Colebrooke, p. 366, § 72.  
2 Ibid., § 70.  
3 Ibid., § 77.  
4 Ibid., § 73.  
5 Vīja-Gaṇita, § 208.
8. It has been claimed for the Hindus that they invented our modern "place-value" system of arithmetical notation. This claim is based principally upon evidence which may be classified under the following heads:—

(a) The use of the notation in very early inscriptions.
(b) The testimony of Arab writers.
(c) The use of the abacus in ancient times in India.

The epigraphical evidence is the most important, but modern research has led to the discovery that in India it is not so reliable as at first seemed. "The task of the student of Indian antiquity is nowadays complicated by the existence of the most ingenious forgeries in every branch of research,"¹ and the chief period of fabrication appears to have been about the end of the eleventh century A.D. Of some twenty inscriptions dated before 900 A.D. which have been cited as evidence of the use of our modern notation in ancient India, all but one have been shown to be either forgeries or untrustworthy as evidence. The remaining one is dated 813 A.D., and has not been yet proved to be unreliable; there is no other sound example until a century later.²

The testimony of the Arabs has been grossly misrepresented, and the misrepresentation has become current through writers like Strachey,³ Burgess,⁴ and Taylor,⁵ who are most unreliable. That the abacus was in use in ancient India is very uncertain. Indeed, as far as the evidence shows, it is quite a modern introduction into India; and all arguments based upon its supposed use in India in ancient times are worthless.⁶

² For details see my previous paper in the JASB., 1907, p. 481 f.
³ Bija Ganita: or the Algebra of the Hindus, p. 17.
⁴ Sūrya siddhānta, p. 335.
⁵ Lilāwati: or a Treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry by Bhāscara Acharya, p. 11.
⁶ Kaye, "The Use of the Abacus in Ancient India": JASB., 1908, p. 293 f.
III

The above very brief examination of the evidence that can be adduced in favour of an indigenous development indicates in many places a connexion between Hindu and Greek mathematics. Now if we took every known early Hindu proposition in mathematics we should find that each one exists either in identically the same form or with minor variations in Greek works; while the Greek works themselves cover a much more extensive field. It is, of course, impossible here to refer to every case, but we may cite a few that naturally have not been quoted in favour of the indigenous origin hypothesis. Even in the Śulvasūtras we find the Hindus building up squares by successive additions of gnomons.¹ In Āryabhaṭa’s work we may note particularly the parallel trapezium problems which might be traced to Heron; a Ptolemaic formula and table²; shadow problems which might be traced through Heron back to Thales; progressions which occur in Greek writings from Hypsicles to Diophantus; a problem known as the epanthem copied possibly from Thyimaridas or Iamblichus; etc. The works of Brahmagupta and his successors are the work of Āryabhaṭa amplified. The former in addition treats of rational solutions of the right-angled triangle after Greek methods; of cyclic quadrilaterals after Ptolemy; of surds after Euclid and others; of indeterminate equations of the second degree after Diophantus, or possibly the successors of Diophantus, whose works have been lost. Bhāskara, the most renowned of Brahmagupta’s successors, adds nothing of importance except certain propositions that were well known to the Arabs before his time and some variants of Brahmagupta’s methods of solving the Pellian equation, while in some

¹ Thibaut, JASB., 1875, p. 261.
² Possibly these did not come from Ptolemy, but indirectly from Hipparchus.

JRAS. 1910.
respects he exhibits a very marked deterioration. For Mahāvīra, Śridhara, and others who come between Brahmagupta and Bhāskara no sound claim to originality has been made, while the only problems of importance in the Bakhshāli MS. are peculiarly Greek.¹

There are also numerous inconsistencies in the Hindu works that are unexplainable if the hypothesis of an indigenous origin and independent development is accepted. For example, Brahmagupta gives² a grossly inaccurate rule for the area of a triangle side by side with the correct rule with the discovery of which he has been credited. The incorrect rule was also given by Boethius and others more than a century before, but no one ever thought Boethius anything more than a compiler where mathematics are concerned. Brahmagupta also gives a correct rule for the area of a cyclic quadrilateral, but none of the early Hindu mathematicians appears to have understood the rule, judging by the examples they give,³ and Bhāskara said⁴ he was a "blundering devil" for giving such a rule. Āryabhata is credited with obtaining an extremely accurate value of \( \pi \), viz. 3.1416, but in practice he never used it, and later Hindu mathematicians were content with such values as \( \pi = 3 \) and \( \pi = \sqrt{10} \).

He also gives a correct rule for a pile with triangular base, but says that the volume of a triangular pyramid is half the product of the base into the height; and his formula for the volume of the sphere is as wrong as it can be, etc.

IV

Except in the very doubtful case of the Śulvasūtras, no one disputes the fact that the Greek development of

¹ These problems may be compared with those in the Palatine Anthology.
² Colebrooke, p. 295.
³ e.g. a square and an isosceles-parallel-trapezium.
⁴ Lilāvati, § 172.
mathematics preceded that of the Hindus by some centuries, while Egyptian mathematics go back much further still. If the later Hindu mathematicians were acquainted with the mathematical contents of the Śulva-sūtras they ignored them entirely.

The period when mathematics flourished in India commenced about 400 A.D. and ended about 650 A.D., after which deterioration set in. This period is characterized by quite an extraordinary amount of intercourse between India and foreign countries.¹

Early Hindu works deal with no section of mathematics that were not dealt with by the Alexandrians, and the contents of the Hindu works correspond pretty closely to certain sections of the works of Heron, Sextus Julius Africanus, Diophantus, and others. Allowing for the period that had elapsed since the time of Diophantus, and taking into consideration the general intellectual degeneration that was taking place in the West, the Hindu works, as represented by Aryabhata and Brahmagupta, are what we might have expected to find in Alexandria about 450 or 500 A.D.

Further, it may be pointed out that none of the Hindu mathematicians makes any claim to originality, this claim having been first made on their behalf by certain very zealous Orientalists of the last century. On the other hand, while it was altogether against the custom for Hindu writers to acknowledge indebtedness to foreign sources, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara distinctly indicate that they were compilers only, and frequent references are made by them to the "text" and to "ancient writers". Colebrooke was misled into supposing that these ancient authorities were Hindus, but an examination of the references shows that the cases so referred to

¹ At least three embassies to the Roman Emperors and a large number to China are recorded. C. Mabel Duff, The Chronology of India.
are just the cases that do not occur in earlier Hindu writings.

In conclusion, it is submitted that an examination of the evidence, such as is here given in outline only, shows that the views regarding the independent development of ancient Hindu mathematics referred to at the beginning of this paper do not rest upon a secure foundation; and further that a foreign source or a strong foreign influence is definitely indicated.
IN the following pages an attempt is made to present the substance of Māwardi's chapter on the office of ḫādi in his Aḥkām Sultāniyya, ed. Enger, Bonn, 1853, pp. 107–28, together with some illustrations of how the rules and requirements there laid down were conformed to in practice. The "crux" of the chapter, 'Omar's instructions to the ḫādi, pp. 119–20, has been removed by Professor D. S. Margoliouth (see ante, pp. 307–26), and his help has been forthcoming in the case of other difficulties. Māwardi's entire treatise on Moslem political law is in course of translation by Count Léon Ostrorog, and the merits of the earlier of the two published instalments of the work have been pointed out in the Journal, 1901, p. 906. The later instalment covers chapter v of the treatise, the one immediately preceding that on the office of ḫādi. That chapter may be taken to represent the Moslem ideal, and it is of interest to consider to what extent the ideal was transmuted into fact. The task is not easy. Of Moslem legal procedure we know but little, the nearest approach to law reports being the notices of judicial proceedings in works dealing with the lives of judges. Such a work is the history of the ḫādis of Egypt by Abu 'Omar al-Kindi (ob. A.H. 350; B.M. Add. 23,226), now being edited in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series by Mr. A. R. Guest, and the edition will include extracts from a ninth century work on the same subject—the Rafi 'al-Ŷsr of Ibn Hajar

Askalāni, Paris Ar. 2149, in which are preserved large portions of the work composed in continuation of that of al-Kindi by Ibn Zūlāk, ob. A.H. 387, of which no copy is known to exist. Mr. Guest's edition will thus carry the judicial record into the Fatimide period, and will include the Kādis of the Nu'mān family. To his copy I have had access, together with the benefit of his explanations, and something has been gathered from obituary notices in Moslem histories and from legal anecdotes of Adab writers. To collect the material facts is laborious; to record them may be held meritorious; and whilst Māwardi's code of rules may serve as a framework for bringing the facts into some sort of order, they may in a measure illustrate the practical working and effect of those rules.

The chapter on the office of Kādi [p. 107] opens with an enumeration of the requisites for a valid appointment: such as will render the appointee's judgments effective. He must be—(1) Adult and a male: the former, so as to be responsible for his actions and able to incur legal responsibility; the latter, because females are unfit for the difficulties of high office, and for judgments being made dependent upon them. And the view of Abu Ḥanīfa that a female may act as Kādi in cases where her evidence can be acted on, as also that of Ṭabarī that she can act generally, are both of them repugnant to Kur. iv, 38 [p. 108].

(2) Intelligent: an all-important requisite, implying not merely possession of the ordinary five senses, but

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1 This MS. has been courteously sent for use at the British Museum by the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Museum possesses an abridgment of the work by Ibn Shāhin, Add. 23,360.

2 The text of the passages derived from this source has not been set out, as Mr. Guest's edition will indicate the folios in the case of both the MSS.

3 i.e. except in cases involving fixed penalties (ḥudūd) or retaliation (khāṣṣ); see Hidāya, ed. Calcutta, 1831, iii, 321, Hamilton's trans., ed. Grady, p. 341.
a sound and discriminating judgment enabling a man to cope with doubtful and difficult points.

(3) Free: for a slave, not master even of himself, is disqualified from holding office over others, as also by reason of his inability to act as a witness; the same of those partially emancipated. Yet a slave can give legal opinions, just as he may hand down traditions. Once emancipated he is qualified, and the fact of his having a patron (wulā') is no bar.

(4) A Moslem: a requisite too for the office of 'Ādil, and enjoined by Kur. iv, 140. An infidel is qualified to act over his fellows with due notice to the ruling power, but, in fact, he is merely their head (za'īm), and that because they choose to recognize him, not because they are bound to do so [p. 109]; the Caliph does not treat his decisions as binding; and his people are at liberty to decline his jurisdiction, in which case the Moslem Court acts.

(5) 'Adāla, i.e. the qualification of being an approved witness, is an essential for all high office. Its requisites may be said to amount to having a spotless character and reputation; any falling short of this standard disqualifies for the office of either Kādi or 'Ādil; it renders statements of no weight, and legal decisions invalid.

(6) Sound sight and hearing: the first is not by Mālik held essential; as regards the second, the same difference of opinion prevails as in the case of a Caliph having this defect ¹; beyond this, physical fitness, although desirable, is not essential.

(7) Knowledge of the Law—of its sources and developments, including therein the Kurān rightly expounded, and its precepts, whether abrogating or abrogated, whether clear or dubious, whether general in their scope or limited, and whether unexplained or clearly interpreted [p. 110]. Further, the ordinances of the Prophet as established by

¹ Some holding that the defect can be remedied by signs or by writing (Enger, p. 28).
his words and deeds, and how transmitted, whether by a number of persons or by only a few, whether genuine or doubtful, accidental or of general application; further, the interpretation placed thereon by early Moslems, whether unanimously or not, thus conforming to the consensus of opinion and arriving at a right opinion on points of difference; and last, the power of deciding by analogy (kiyās), and of deducing from the stated principles of law their unexpressed but admitted consequences, so as to attain the knowledge of dealing with urgent matters (nawāzil) and the distinguishing of truth from falsehood. These legal qualifications combined constitute a practised jurist (one of the ijtihād class), and entitle their possessor to be asked, and to deliver, judicial decisions and legal opinions. Any deficiency in these requirements disqualifies both for the practice of law and the acting as Kādi, and renders judgments, whether sound or not, invalid and of no authority, with the result of discrediting (jarh) both the judgments and the power which appointed the judge. Abu Ḥanīfa, indeed, allows the appointment of an unqualified person, as he can get his judgments settled for him, but the general opinion of jurists is that above stated. Besides, as regards the law’s developments submission to authority is indispensable, and this is the more ensured when such submission is the act of those subject to precedents than when it is the act of those who have created them. This is illustrated by the Prophet’s approval that his nominee over Yaman should be guided by, first, the Kurān, secondly the Sunna of the Prophet.

and, failing those, by *ijtihād*, viz. the exercise of his judgment.

[p. 111] A man who refuses to follow a tradition transmitted by isolated individuals must not be appointed Kādi, for he is rejecting a principle assented to by the Prophet’s Companions, the source whence most rules of law proceed: it is as though he rejected the consensus of authority, which clearly disqualifies. To reject analogy (*kiyās*) may imply the acceptance of any clear text as supplemented by the dicta of early Moslems, whilst refraining from the use of analogy and avoiding consequential deductions: to act thus is a disqualification; or, it may imply the evolving of legal conclusions whilst cleaving to the intent of the text and to the sense thereby conveyed, which is the Zahirite practice:\(^1\) on this the Shafeite school is not unanimous; some hold that this disqualifies; some that it does not, inasmuch as it is adhering to the clear meaning of the notion (i.e. of analogy), whilst disregarding the hidden analogy therein contained.

A combination of all the above qualifications, verified either by repute or by inquiry, are requisite for the valid appointment of a Kādi. ‘Ali was indeed sent by the Prophet as Kādi over Yaman without previous inquiry, this not being deemed necessary in his case, but he was given full instructions how to perform his duties.\(^2\)

[p. 112] A ruler may appoint a Kādi holding the legal tenets of a school other than his own; such a one will use his legal faculties; nor need he follow in special cases the ruling of the head of the school to which he is attached,\(^3\) for he is not bound to limit himself to

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1 On this sect cf. Shahhrastānī, p. 160, and their position on these questions, *Zahirīn*, 31-5.
2 He was told by the Prophet to refrain from deciding in favour of a litigant before hearing his opponent’s case. The Prophet’s words are differently given by Shahhrastānī, p. 155, l. 5 a.f.
3 p. 112, l. 3, for یقِلد read یقِلت
its tenets unless his judgment leads him so to do; he may adopt the tenets he holds applicable. Some jurists refuse to allow an adherent of a given school to decide by the tenets of another, as likely to lead to a suspicion of favouritism: they hold that a judge should adhere to the tenets of one school. But this, although administratively desirable, is not required by law, for a judge must not merely follow a school's authority (taklīd), he must exercise his judicial faculties (ijtihād). After executing a judgment, when a similar case presents itself he ought to study the matter afresh and decide accordingly, and if he should arrive at a different result, and thus not follow his former decision, he has the example of 'Omar in a case of joint ownership to justify him.

A stipulation by the ruler that a Kādī shall follow the tenets of a given school may be general in scope or restricted. The former [p. 113] is bad, whether both ruler and Kādī be of one school or not, but it will not invalidate the appointment, provided it amount only to an injunction and not to an essential condition: it will merely be disregarded whether it be mandatory in form or prohibitive, and the Kādī will act on his own view (ijtihād) irrespective of the stipulation. This, if bad to the ruler's knowledge, will result to his discredit (kādh); otherwise it will merely show his incompetency as a ruler; but if it be an essential condition it is bad, and the appointment is invalid. [In 'Irāk the condition alone is held bad.]

A restricted stipulation, confined to certain definite forms of judgment, may be mandatory, e.g. to decree a freeman's death for the killing of a slave, or a Moslem's for that of an infidel, or to visit homicide by fine only, not punishment; these stipulations are unlawful, and either invalidate the appointment or not, on the alternative above stated. A prohibitive stipulation [p. 114], e.g. against hearing the above cases and against decreeeing
retaliation, or not, as the case may be, is valid, the effect
being merely to restrict the jurisdiction and to exclude
such cases therefrom; but if the prohibition be not
against hearing, but against decreeing, retaliation, our
school (i.e. the Shafeite) are divided as to whether this
excludes the jurisdiction, some holding that the Kādi
can neither hear a case involving retaliation nor decree
it; others, that he remains competent to deal with the
case, the prohibition not being a condition of the
appointment. He will accordingly decide these cases
as he deems right.

A Kādi may be appointed either by words, de praesenti,
or by a message or writing from a distance, but with the
latter there must coexist evidence sufficient to identify
both the appointee and the district over which he is
appointed. The words may express the appointment or
imply it; [of the former four formulæ are given, which
are adequate, provided the appointment be absolute and
not conditional; seven formulæ of implication follow
[p. 115] less precise, and therefore less strong, unless
put beyond doubt by additional words, some of which
are suggested]. Immediate acceptance is necessary to
a verbal appointment, but not to one by implication, and
some delay is allowable even in the first case. Whether
entering on the duties of office amount to acceptance is
doubtful, for some hold it incident to the appointment
and therefore insufficient. To make an appointment
valid it is further requisite that the appointee acquaint
the appointor of his fitness, and that he do this before
his appointment, or it must be made afresh; and the
appointor must possess the knowledge that his appointee
is duly qualified and has accepted, so as to entitle him
to be his representative as dispenser of justice; but this
is a condition of his acting only, not of his appointment,
[p. 116] and the knowledge is to be derived, not from
performance of the duties, but from common repute.
The extent of the appointment must be specified, whether it be that of Kādi, or of Governor, or of administrator of land-tax; likewise its locality; and to make it binding it must be promulgated so that people may submit to the jurisdiction; but, independently of this, judgments are effective.

An appointment thus perfected is valid. It resembles agency (wakāla), for both involve delegation,¹ and it is revocable at the will of either party, by dismissal, or by resignation, as the case may be (yet not without good cause, seeing the office is due of right to the Moslem body), and not without promulgation [p. 117] so as to hinder any act by, or application to, an outgoing Kādi. Judgment pronounced after knowledge of dismissal is invalid, but if it be pronounced in ignorance the case admits of two views similar to those which present themselves in the case of constituting an agent.

A Kādi’s jurisdiction may, as to subject-matter, be general or restricted. If general, it includes the following matters: deciding disputes either on agreement between the parties, if lawful, or on a hearing followed by judgment on the merits; enforcing liabilities on the recalcitrant in favour of persons entitled, on proof by admission or evidence (whether the judge may proceed on his own knowledge is disputed, as also whether such knowledge may precede his appointment); enforcing rights and obligations in the case of those incapacitated by lunacy, or infancy, or interdicted for weakness of intellect or insolvency, so as to safeguard property and the dealings therewith; [p. 118] pious foundations (wakf), their preservation and increase and administration, with due regard for the appointed manager (mutawalli), if any, but failing such the Kādi must administer himself, for if it be a public foundation he is not restricted to its special

¹ p. 116, l. 13, for لامثاء read, as Cairo, 67, l. 3, لامثاء.
aspect, and if it be not public he is entitled to treat it as such; giving effect to testamentary dispositions, if legal; in the case of persons ascertained by giving possession, and in the case of persons described, after judicially ascertaining them, with due regard for the executor (waṣī), if any; acting on behalf of single women by giving them in marriage to their peers,¹ where they have no kin (auliyā) and desire to be married, a case excluded by Abu Ḥanifa, as he holds that women can act for themselves in the matter of marriage; the infliction of fixed penalties (ḥudūd) and in respect of divine matters where the liability is established by admission or proof, without any claim, but in respect of human, only after claim made (Abu Hanifa requires a claim in both cases); protecting the district under his jurisdiction by checking encroachments on roadways and public areas by additions to buildings, and this without previous complaint (in spite of Abu Ḥanifa’s contrary view, for this being a divinely appointed right a complaint is immaterial, and is a matter peculiarly fit for the executive to deal with); [p. 119] inquiring into the character of any approved witness (shāhid) or official of the court (amīn), and the choice of proper deputies to act herein, relying on them if trustworthy, and dismissing or changing them if otherwise: [in place of anyone proving incompetent a substitute or an assistant may be provided]²; last, to deal equal justice to both the weak and the strong, and to the high and the low.

A Kādī must not follow his own preferences by doing less than justice to one in the right, nor by inclining to one in the wrong, as shown by Kur. xxxviii, 25, and by

¹ p. 118, l. 9, for باللاكفاء read, as Cairo, 67 ult., باللاكفاء باللاكفاء.

² p. 119, l. 4, for كان موليه من خيارين بایئ اصلمهما Cairo, 68, l. 12, reads كان موليه بالخيار في اصلم الامراء.
the terms (pp. 119–20) of ‘Omar’s letter (see text with translation, ante, p. 307).

[p. 121] Two alleged imperfections in this letter are stated and explained: the omission of the formula of appointment—this is explained as having preceded the letter, or as implied in its terms; and, as regards the approved witnesses, that the scrutiny into their characters is superficial only—this, however, may have been ‘Omar’s own view of the duty, and he may have stated it as such only, and not by way of monition; or it may be that the term he used, ‘udāl, implies that such a scrutiny has already taken place.

The collection of the land-tax is not included in the Kādi’s jurisdiction, even when general, for its application rests with the military governor, nor is the poor rate (sadaka) included if this be under separate superintendence, although some hold that the Kādi should collect it and see to its application as being a matter of divine ordinance, whilst others hold not, [p. 122] its collection being a financial duty left to the discretion of the sovereign; excluded also is the right of presiding at the mosque prayers, and at festivals.

Instances of a restricted jurisdiction are the right of deciding cases on admission only, not on proof, or in matters of debt, but not of marriage, or in valuations for the purposes of the poor-tax (nisāb): in such cases the Kādi must not exceed the limit, for, like an agent, his office is a deputed one with limited powers.

Again, the jurisdiction may be general in scope, but restricted as to place, e.g. one bank of the river or one quarter of a town: in such a case the Kādi may decide between residents, but not between those coming in from outside, nor strangers. If the appointment be to an entire district the powers cannot be restricted to a part, and if this be held a condition the appointment is invalid. But jurisdiction over such only as attend at a house or
at a mosque is valid and binding, as sufficiently specific. [p. 123] At Basra it was long the custom for a Kādi to decide in the Friday mosque cases up to 200 dirhams or 20 dinars, and also questions of maintenance (nafaka), but nothing beyond this.

Two Kādis may be appointed to one place, either with distinct districts or distinct branches of business, e.g. to the one debts and to the other marriages; or the jurisdiction of both may be unrestricted. Some Shafeite jurists hold this invalid as likely to cause disputes between litigants, seeing that if the two meet, their powers abate, and when they part the powers of the first appointed revive. But by most it is held to be valid, as in the case of agency, and that in the event of the litigants differing the view of the claimant should prevail; if the parties stand on the same footing (i.e. by reason of claim and counterclaim), in that case the nearer judge should act, and if the two judges be equidistant the parties must draw lots or be forced to agree before getting a hearing.¹

[p. 124] The jurisdiction may be limited to specified litigants, in which case it abates with the litigation, and fresh litigation can be dealt with only under a fresh appointment. If limited to specific days it ceases at sundown. In all cases the name of the person to act must be specified. [This is exemplified by sundry instances of indefinite appointments.²]

[p. 125] To solicit the office of Kādi is not permissible to anyone not a practised jurist, and to do this reflects discredit. In the case of one who is qualified the object may be to oust an unqualified or unworthy occupant in favour of one more worthy, and this is allowable as preventing a moral wrong; but the applicant must be

¹ p. 124, l. 1, for من من الخصام Cairo, 70, l. 3 a.f., reads من التحاكم.
² p. 124, l. 2 a.f., for ولا لأنه يصير قصير Cairo, 71, l. 10, reads ولا لأنه يصير.
on his guard against self-seeking, which is not allowable. To seek to supplant a fit and competent person from personal enmity, or with a view to personal success, is forbidden and discreditable. [p. 126] Again, the post may be vacant; here the motive will decide, according as it be a desire for the stipend from the treasury,¹ or a desire to uphold justice, and a fear of some unworthy applicant, which is meritorious. If the object be vanity and worldly dignity, this, whilst admittedly lawful, is held by some not to be commendable, as shown by Kur. xxviii, 13. But others hold the text to show that to seek dignity is permissible, for Joseph sought office from Pharaoh and stated his qualifications (two interpretations of his words being mentioned). Nor did his words exceed the limit of self-praise, [p. 127] for they were due to a special cause and were necessary. Hence proceeds the doubt whether or not it be lawful to take office under an unjust ruler, some holding it lawful provided the office-holder act justly, and that Joseph's motive was to check Pharaoh's wrongdoing: but others hold it wrong as a furtherance and abetting of bad rule by carrying out its commands, and account for the case of Joseph by supposing his Pharaoh a just ruler and not the one connected with Moses, or by supposing that he administered not Pharaoh's provinces² but his territorial property alone. To seek the post by a money payment is bribery and is forbidden, and it throws discredit both on giver and receiver, for the Prophet condemned all those engaged in such a transaction.

A Kādi must not accept a gift from a litigant nor from a non-litigant within his jurisdiction, for he may be invoking his aid on occasion. The Prophet described

¹ p. 126, 1, 4, جاريه omitted, Cairo, 72, 1, 1.
² p. 127, 1, 9, for عماله Cairo, 72, 1, 18, reads عماله.
such gifts as fetters: if he take and requite them, that is acceptance; if he do not requite them the treasury has the better claim thereto, failing the possibility of returning them to the giver, who has the best right. A Kādi must not delay justice to litigants, [p. 128] except for good cause, nor be inaccessible to them except when taking rest. He may decide against, but not in favour of, a parent or child, as in the first case no suspicion attaches; similarly, as regards evidence, whether for or against them; he may give evidence in favour of, but not against, a personal enemy, but he may give a decision either for or against him,¹ for a decision proceeds on open grounds, whereas the motives of evidence are hidden, which makes suspicion attach to the latter, but not to the former.

The death of a Kādi annuls the appointment of his deputies, but his own appointment survives the death of the Caliph who has appointed him. Where the office is vacant, if there be an existing Caliph the people cannot validly make an appointment; otherwise they can, and the judgments of their appointee are valid. If, however, during his tenure of office a Caliph come into being, his sanction is needed for its continuance, but the judgments already pronounced hold good.

From the outset of Islam and for some two centuries the office of Kādi was accepted with fear and reluctance. The Prophet's utterances on the matter were ominous.² "Kādi," he said, spelt "victim," and that without the need of a knife; intentions, although good intrinsically, if ineffective did not avert the Fire; and one who did his best, but erred, was nevertheless doomed, on the ground that he need not have acted. A more merciful

¹ The sense requires that لا جمعك (p. 128, l. 5) should be read جمك.

² These traditions are collected in various forms by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, ob. A.H. 257, (B.M. Stowe Or. 6, 88²).

JEAAS. 1910. 50
tradition differentiated a Kādi’s success and failure by the quantum of reward alone, without mention of punish-
ment; and the Prophet, according to Anas b. Mālik, declared that whilst he who solicited office was left to his own efforts, he to whom it came unsought received guidance from above (for the latter Hidāya, iii, 309, has “he who is compelled to act”; and the tradition is cited also by Ostrorog, op. cit., i, 114, note). Cases of refusal or of reluctant acceptance abounded. Abu ‘Ubaida answered an invitation to act by telling the envoy to put his hand in the fire, and on his declining exclaimed: “Yet you wish my whole body to burn hereafter.”

‘Omar’s son recommended his brother for office: when the brother asked his advice he dissuaded him, and explained to the ruler that in each case his advice had been of the best. ‘Omar’s own nominee to the post in Egypt said that he had acted before Islam, and would not act after. Later, a father declared his son’s appointment to be the undoing of them both. In a.h. 144 the office in Egypt was pressed on two persons: the one refused, and when threatened with death calmly surrendered the keys of his house, saying that he was ready to meet Allah; the other, less firm, yielded, but his scrupulous integrity, which made him refuse his salary for the days when he did not sit, prompted the other to declare him the worthier of them, as having been tried as well as not found wanting. Under Ma’mūn a proposed Kādi asked indignantly whether his fellow-jurists were to appear before Allah in that capacity and he as a judge? Rather would he be cut in pieces. That Caliph, when in Egypt

2 Ib. 47, l. 7.
3 Kindi, 135b.
4 Ib. 142b.
5 Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam, 93b, l. 10; Kindi, 163b.
6 Kindi, 188a. Another version of the saying is that the former would then appear with the prophets, but the Kādis with the rulers (Ibn Khalil, i, 312; Sl. Eng. ii, 16. It is the contemplative as against the active ideal of life.
in A.H. 215, offered the post of Kādi to al-Hārith b. Maskin, who was then intent on impeaching official misconduct there, and he refused it. Later, after years of imprisonment at Baghdad on the question of the Kurān's creation and of subsequent obscurity, he accepted the post under Muta-wakkil, and showed his character in daring the Court's displeasure by bringing its agent to justice, and in anticipating its effect by resigning when a decision of his was overruled by the jurists at Baghdad.\(^1\) His successor, too, Bakkār b. Qutaiba, was content to undergo outrage and imprisonment from Ahmad b. Tūlān rather than act, as he held, illegally in declaring the deposition of Muwaffaq, heir-designate to the Caliphate, yet when he admitted to a trusted friend and legal adviser that his acceptance of office was due neither to the pressure of debts, nor to family claims, nor to his Sovereign's constraint, he was told by his friend that they must henceforth be strangers.\(^2\) The moral of these stories would seem to be that to undertake and properly discharge the duties of an office essential to the community and assumed necessary by 'Omar himself\(^3\) was to decline from some superior standard of conduct. Such a counsel of perfection was obviously out of place in actual life, and henceforth in Egypt no reluctance to act as Kādi is apparent.\(^4\) Indeed, after the Tūlānid period, when the country had been recovered by

\(^1\) Ibn Hajar, 275.
\(^2\) Ib. 280, and Ibn Khall, ii, 553, Sl. Eng. iv, 593.
\(^3\) See the opening words of his "Instructions", ante, p. 311.
\(^4\) A late instance at Baghdad was that of the Shafeite jurist Abu 'Ali b. Khairān. On his refusal, A.H. 310, the vizier 'Ali b. 'Issa, himself a man of great piety, blocked and set a guard on his door, and Ibn Zulāk relates that an envoy from Egypt saw children brought to see the sight. After some twenty days popular comment made the vizier relent. Abu 'Ali had a reason for his refusal, for he objected to his school acting as Kādi, holding the Hanafite to be the more fit—perhaps because of their broader views on Ijtīhād. His words were:

``
\(\text{هذَا الامَّر لم يَكِن في اسْتَحْابَة اِنْيَا كَانَ في اسْتَحْابُ اَبِي حَنِيْنَة}
``

(\(\text{Dhahabi, Or. 48^o, 125^o}\)).
the central power at Baghdad, there was strong competition for the office, and the "exequatur" of the local ruler, as well as the nomination by the Chief Kādi at the capital, commanded, on occasion, a substantial price.\(^1\) Moreover, a third intermediate authority came into being. During the early years of the fourth century one al-Hasan b. Isa b. Harawān,\(^2\) devoid of legal qualifications, but wealthy and greedy of rank, procured the appointment of Kādi for Egypt and Syria. He resided habitually in Syria, but he was jealous of his post in Egypt, for when there, hearing that his deputy was intriguing for a direct appointment from the Chief Kādi, he declared himself ready to expend in the ruin of the schemer a whole trough full of gold (\textit{jurn}).\(^3\) He does not seem to have

\(^1\) Ibn Hajar, 53\(^a\), 98\(^b\), 106\(^a\), and 114\(^a\).

\(^2\) Ib. 41\(^b\).

\(^3\) Nevertheless the deputy, Ibn Walīd (\textit{A.H.} 334–6), having procured an appointment from Mustakfi, disclosed it during his absence, and bribed al-Ikhshid's vizier, Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Mukātīl, to get it confirmed. Ibn Harawān's fury at this news was cut short by death (Ibn Hajar, 52\(^b\)). An earlier deputy, Ibn Zabr, did even worse. His second term of office, \textit{A.H.} 320, is noticed in \textit{Arib}, 186, where his name is misspelled. Both he and the above-mentioned Ibn Walīd bore similar names, 'Abd Allah b. Ahmad; the latter had procured a nomination as Kādi, and being on bad terms with Ibn Badr, then in office, he handed this to Ibn Zabr to use as he pleased. He got it confirmed, and then entered on a fourth term of office, terminated a month later by his death (ib. 51\(^a\)). Ibn Zabr was indeed a man of resource, as appears from an earlier passage about him. As Kādi of Damascus he was attending the vizier 'Ali b. 'Iṣa on his visit there during his second term of office (\textit{A.H.} 314–16), and having to explain the people's outcries against himself on their passage through the town he said the cause was high prices. But the vizier dismissed him, and refused to appoint him to Egypt. Thereupon he at Baghdad, in the pretended character of a Khurāsān pilgrim, disclosed a dream in which the Caliph's ancestor 'Abbās had appeared engaged in erecting a structure which the vizier, as 'Abbās complained, persistently demolished. This he procured a friend to hand in as a Majālim matter; it thus came to the knowledge of Muḥtadīr, who dismissed the vizier, and Ibn Zabr's appointment to Egypt followed forthwith. Hilāl al-Ṣāḥī, either from ignorance or impertinence, makes no mention of this story in his account of the vizier's fall from office (\textit{Wuzarā}, 314–16), but it was no unlikely ground for the Caliph to have acted on having regard to the nature of the story on which he had previously been induced to dismiss Ibn al-Furāt (ib. 265–7).
had a successor in his post, but the Acting Kâdi in Egypt continued to be a deputy for the Chief Kâdi—or for his direct nominee, who in two cases was the Chief's brother—until the approach of the Fatimide Conquest.

Of the requirements demanded in a Kâdi, those relating to sex, freedom, religion, and physical fitness were all susceptible of proof, and probably complied with. Jealousy at the success of Ibn Badr, who was of humble parentage, prompted a hostile Kâdi in A.H. 314 to impeach his free status; he gained a powerful protector and the attempt failed, but as late as A.H. 329 the suspicion clung, for Ibn Zabr, who had ousted him, called him 'Ulj, and said he thought of selling him. And earlier, under Mu'tasim, a Kâdi of bad repute had silenced a critic of the 'Udul class by procuring witnesses, whom he accepted ad hoc as 'Udul, to bear testimony to his slavery, and a friendly purchaser had to buy his freedom. The first "Maula" to be appointed Kâdi in Egypt was Ishâk b. al-Furât, A.H. 184. In his service was Sa'id b. 'Ufair (an often quoted authority in the Khita of Makrizi), who, being required to pay over money in his hands, made reflections on the Kâdi's status. He replied by inquiring what Sa'id supposed himself to be beside Mu'awia b. Hudajj, famous from Farama to Spain, and yet a Maula, whereupon Sa'id paid without further demur. Eyesight was dispensed with by the Chief Kâdi Ahmad b. Abu Du'âd in the case of a blind man whom he allowed to act by deputy, and he met Wâthik's objection by explaining that his leniency was due to his having ascertained that the Kâdi's sight had failed from weeping at the loss of Mu'tasim—a story which the teller of it regards as an illustration of Ahmad's readiness in excuse. Five centuries later a Kâdi of great

1 Ibn Ḥajar, 165 and 51.
2 Kindi, 206.
3 Engaged in the conquest of Egypt and named governor A.H. 47 (Tab. i, 3404; ii, 84).
4 Ibn Ḥajar, 22.
5 Ib. 12.
repute, Badr al-Dīn b. Jamāʾ (ob. A.H. 733), finding himself late in life threatened with the like infirmity, yet reluctant to give up his post, employed his respite in composing a work to vindicate the holding of office by the blind.¹

As regards Moslem courts acting between infidels, it is told of Khair b. Nuʿaim, Kādi in Egypt A.H. 120–8, that he used to act on their evidence after making inquiry into them of their co-believers, and that he heard their cases sitting outside the mosque, at its gate.² He understood Coptic and Hebrew, and addressed the witnesses in those tongues.³

A knowledge of the Kurānic rules of law with the traditions of the Prophet and of his Companions, and of the right interpretation to be placed thereon, supplemented by the ability to deduce from these materials principles capable of determining any question that presented itself for decision—the process termed ḫitḥād—constituted a muḥtahid, or qualified jurist. The process is elaborately explained by Count Ostrorog in his Introduction (op. cit. i, 36 ff.), with an illustration how, from the tradition that the cat is not a subject of impurity, the conclusion may be reached, practically, that necessity knows no law. A similar process takes place in other fields, and unconsciously. In Scott's Kenilworth, before the murdered body of Amy Robsart, the second murderer exclaims to his principal: "If there be a judgment in Heaven thou hast deserved it and will meet it. Thou hast destroyed her by means of her best affections: it is a seething of the kid in the mother's milk." The concluding words are the nass; the rest is ḫitḥād.

The remaining qualification, ʿadāla, or membership of

 Sandbox ولاية الامة

(Ibn Hajar, 104⁴, and Ibn Shāhīn, 81⁴, l. 5)

¹ Kindi, 158⁵.
² Ibn Hajar, 44⁴.
³ Ibn Hajar, 44⁴.
the 'Udūl class, is clear and definite; less so Māwardi's requirements for membership, which amount, indeed, to moral perfection. We must therefore seek for the principles on which the Kādis exercised their power of selection. Whatever may have been the precise duties of the 'Udūl, which is far from clear, being a limited class one would anticipate that, as in the case of notaries in France, to whom they are assimilated by de Slane,¹ their number would bear some reference to a district or population. But I have found no trace of this factor being taken into account. In Rashīd's time the nomination by the Kādi at Cairo of ten 'Udūl was deemed large; his successor restricted their number and this caused dissatisfaction; and later in the reign a Kādi selected one hundred, drawn from the "Maula" class.² Under Ma‘mūn legal business was impeded at Cairo by the neglect of his Kādi, Yahya b. Aktham, to supply 'Udūl, and in answer to complaints he named seventy forthwith.³ Ibn Walīd (A.H. 334) increased the staff by forty,⁴ and the Kādi under Badr al-Jamāli (A.H. 521) made, we are told, so many appointments that the number rose from thirty to 120.⁵ But a recent famine had reduced the population. Baghdad was larger, and there, under the Kādi 'Umār b. Abī 'Umār (ob. A.H. 328), the 'Udūl numbered 1800,⁶ but twice tenfold this figure is the number of those appointed, according to al-Tanūkhi, at

¹ Proleg. Not. et Extr., xix, 456 n. In a note to his translation of Ibn Khallikān, iv, 50, he says, speaking of the 'Udūl class: "According to the Moslem law of testimony none but persons noted for integrity and piety can be received either as witnesses in a court of justice or as witnesses to bonds and deeds." By the former class must be intended witnesses to matters of fact, an aspect of the matter which I hope in the future to consider.

² Kindl, 174⁵, 175⁵, and 178⁵.


⁴ Ibn Hajjar, 50⁶.

⁵ Ib. 130⁶; Ibn Shāhin, 102⁶, L. I.

 Başra by the Kādi al-Tamīmi during his tenure of office

1 Nishwār, Paris Ar. 3482, 85e. In Tab. iii, 1534 is recorded the death in A.H. 250 of a Kādi of Başra, Ibrāhīm al-Taimī, perhaps al-Tamīmi, and probably identical with the Ibrāhīm summoned by Mutawakkil from Başra for the post of Kādi as stated in the following extract from the Tadhkīra of Ibn Ḥamdūn. In that text, which is far from accurate, the nisba also reads al-Taimī.

We have here another commendation of the solo judicari; nevertheless, Ibn Abī-l-Shawārīsh must have accepted office, and from Mutawakkil, for on his death, A.H. 244 (Athīr, vii, 55), he was succeeded as Chief Kādi of Baghdad by his son Ḥusayn (called Ḥusayn, ib. 118; ob. A.H. 261, ib. 192; and cf. Tab. iii, 1684), and he again by another son, ‘Alī, first at Samarra and then at Baghdad; ob. 283 (Ibn Shāhīn, 39, 64; Irshād al-Arab, ii, 260-1). ‘Alī’s son ‘Abd Allah was a Kādi at Baghdad (Dhahabi, Or. 43e, 280b), and his son Muhammad al-Hašar acted as his deputy, both dying in 301 (ib. 16e), and another son, Ḥusayn, was Kādi there in 317 (‘Arib, 139). Ḥusayn’s son Muhammad, who was removed by Mu’izz al-Daula on an Alide’s advice (see infra), is noticed by Ibn Ḥajar, 107e, and Ibn Shāhīn, 84e, where the advice is attributed to a dream on the authority of Ibn al-Ṣābi. He died in 347 (Athīr, viii, 393), so that the date 352 given for Mu’izz al-Daula’s action (ib. 407) is too late. The last-mentioned Abu-l-Ḥasan Ahmad succeeded al-Akhfānī as Chief Kādi in A.H. 405. Some of the two dozen judicial issue are thus accounted for.
(the duration of which is uncertain), his principle being that by the tenets of the Ḥanīfī school, to which he belonged, all persons were eligible. Of his appointees 20,000, after qualifying, never acted again.\(^1\) The requirements of Baghdad were indeed relatively moderate, for in A.H. 383, when all appointments since a given date were revoked as having been made on solicitation, we are told that the total number amounted to 303, which was evidently deemed excessive.\(^2\)

This uncertainty in the total of the 'Udūl class is equally noticeable in the qualities demanded of the individual members. The motives which governed their selection or rejection seem strange and arbitrary. The refusal to accept the evidence of a member of one tribe against that of another may have proceeded on the principle laid down by 'Omar, that they were suspected (ante, p. 322), and the admission by the succeeding Kādī of the evidence of kin in each other's favour, where they were persons of proved integrity, was doubtless a relaxation of the stringency of the rule.\(^3\) Again, the permanent disqualification of persons who had by false evidence supported a baseless claim to an Arab pedigree was a not undeserved form of "infamy".\(^4\) But to our ideas many a recorded ground of rejection is indefensible, e.g. the fact of holding "Kādari" doctrines, in spite of overwhelming testimony to character;\(^5\) unsoundness on the question of the creation of the Kurān;\(^6\) to have acted even as Shāhid, before a Kādī thus tainted, was alleged as an objection;\(^7\) and a Shāhid who stated that he had given evidence, perhaps of necessity, before a previous Kādī, was by his hostile successor disqualified.

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\(^1\) The process of qualifying is described in the case of Ibn Badr: a document (māktūb) was produced to which the new Shāhid bore witness (Ibn Hajar, 106\(^a\), and cf. Adhkīyā, 54).

\(^2\) Dhahabi, Or. 48, 19\(^a\).

\(^3\) Kindi, 150\(^a\), 158\(^a\).

\(^4\) Ib. 185\(^a\).

\(^5\) Ib. 190\(^a\).

\(^6\) Ib. 201\(^b\).

\(^7\) Ib. 193\(^b\).
from again appearing before him. One Kādi refused a man's evidence on the ground that he had previously resisted his advice to provide a mut'a for a divorced wife. Compulsion he had not ventured on, for the liability was, in law, open to grave doubt; and thus, having failed to bring about what he held to be a "great right", he consoled himself by doing a "little wrong". At times the objections were fantastic. Sawwār, Kādi of Baṣra, a.h. 138 (Tab. iii, 124), rejected a teacher on the ground that his profession involved teaching the Kurān for a price: he retorted that the Kādi dispensed justice for hire, and was then accepted. At Hamadhān a man of repute, who attended by invitation for the purpose of qualifying, found himself to his surprise rejected. And the Kādi explained that having noticed the number of the steps he took in approaching him to be somewhat in excess of what he had before seen, he held him guilty of affectation, and therefore unfit. And Bakkār rejected a man for having years before made an accident at table the occasion of quoting the Kurān.

The office of Shāhid was in request, as appears from another anecdote in Ibn Hajar's notice of Bakkār. Overheard reproaching an Amin, whom he had sent to superintend a woman's marriage (this being one of a Kādi's duties), for having married her himself, he bought the hearer's silence. Thereupon the man went and sold his information to a leading personage whom he knew aspired to the office, and the story, to Bakkār's surprise and annoyance, obtained full circulation. The office, indeed, had a money value. In Rashid's time the official commissioned by the Kādi in Egypt to inquire into the fitness of a Shāhid—the Sāhib Masā'il—was said to be

1 Kindi, 214⁴.  
2 Ib. 155⁵.  
3 Ib. 158⁶.  
4 Uyun al-Akhbār, i, 91, and fuller, Bahā'ī, Majāsīn wa Masā'ī, 621.  
5 Nishawir, 80⁴, and, on that authority, Adhkiyyā, 54.  
6 Ibn Ḥajar, 28⁺.
selling his sanction, and, later, the appointment to that office, produced a price to the Kādi's son, who was brought to account by the next Kādi. Ibn Zabr took a thousand dinars for accepting as Shāhid, Muḥammad b. Badr, who was already a jurist of repute, and whose appointment was intended to redress an injustice suffered at the hands of a preceding Kādi. This justifies the surmise that the office of Shāhid may have been one of profit as well as of dignity. Apart from cases of bribes given for gross perjury, as to the 'Udūl punished by Muʿtaḍid for giving false evidence of a pretended marriage, there were evidently opportunities of profit. One Shāhid retained a sum of 500 dinars on the sale of a h̄ubs property by way of poundage (ḥakk al-ʿ'amal), which the more scrupulous Kādi taxed down to 30 dinars on the footing at 10 dinars for each day's work, and raised on persuasion and reluctantly to 50 dinars. The same Kādi, cīrēd a.h. 320, when checking the too constant attendance of his Shāhids, told them that they would get no livelihood out of him, and that they were to come only when necessary. It appears, indeed, from a story told by Ibn al-Jauzi that they accepted offices of trust outside their legal duties, for we find a Shāhid who had been entrusted with a bag of money, presuming on the owner's long absence to substitute dirhams for dinars, a fraud detected by the dates on the dirhams being too recent. Mutawakkil, again, when making a free gift, unconnected with litigation, of a house to Ḥunain, adduces evidence before 'Udūl as to its value. And the matter of shahāda presents itself yet more unexpectedly in the account of Muʿtaḍid's proceedings when resolved, against his vizier's advice, to have the name of Muʿāwia cursed from the pulpits. As a preliminary he ordered the populace to attend to their

1 Kindi, 174.  
2 Ib. 192.  
3 Ibn Ḥajar, 50.  
4 Ib. 106.  
6 Ibn Ḥajar, 128.  
7 Adhkiyya, 51.  
8 Ibn Abi Uṣaibī, i, 196, l. 7 a.f.
business and to refrain from all concourse and concerted action, "and not to tender evidence to their ruler except when required to testify to something within their knowledge." It may be doubted whether *shahāda* be here used in its technical sense, for the 'Udūl were not recruited from the populace, and possibly the restraint was rather on the liberty of petitioning the sovereign than of providing him with actual facts.

It was perhaps these lower aspects of the office of Shāhid which led to its duties being regarded as unworthy of eminent persons. This appears both from the anecdote below from the *Nathr al-Durar* of the Vizier al-Ābi (ob. 421; Brockelmann, i, 351), the actor in which, Iyās, was Ẓādi of Baṣra a.h. 199 (Ṭab. ii, 1347), and from Yākūt’s life of Abu Sa‘īd al-Sīrāfī (ob. a.h. 368), in the *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, iii, 86, 89, where we are told that on his attending to qualify, the Ẓādi, Ibn Ma‘rūf, protested against a man of his eminence descending to be second even to himself. And, be it observed, as we had been told previously that Abu Sa‘īd had acted as deputy for Ibn Ma‘rūf in East Baghdad, his

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*Ṭab*, iii, 2165, l. 1.

خ Positions رجلًا إلى إياض بن معوية وهو قاضٍ في البصرة فطلب منه البينة فلم يَثنَى به نفع وقيل له: استخرج ولم يَثنَى به نفع وقيل له: استخرج لوكِع بن إياض حتى يَثنَى ذلك، فقال فناص وَكِعُ: والله لا يَثنِي ذلك، فَدَرَى شاهدته لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. وَلِن عبد القادر فتَُّجَد فناء هذا، فتَُّجَد فناء هذا. قال: إذا والله لا يَثنِي ذلك. W. M. Or. 5769, 150, and differently, ib. 134*).
qualifying must have formed a necessary preliminary to his acting.

That a Kādi's tenets should differ from those to whom he owes his appointment would appear, a priori, of less importance than that they should coincide with those of his litigants. In Egypt, where until the rise of the Shafeite school the Malekite code prevailed, the first appointment of a Kādi of the Ḥanīfite sect, A.H. 164, led to difficulties (he refused to enforce charitable settlements—ḥubs), and to his dismissal,¹ but appointments from the same school followed in A.H. 184 and 205,² and Bakkār, appointed in A.H. 245, was also of that school, at a time when all the leading jurists of the country were Shafeite. Under his immediate predecessor a long contested suit, turning on the question whether persons claiming through a female were capable of inheriting as against those claiming through a male (Kur. xix, 59), was brought to a close by a judgment at Baghdad, after a series of conflicting decisions had been given in the case by successive Kādis in Egypt, each of whom followed the tenets of his own school—as, indeed, did the Baghdad jurists in their ultimate judgments.³ Again, the tenets of a deputy Kādi might be at variance with those of his chief. Thus we find Ibn Badr, a Ḥanīfī, stipulating that his deputy, Abu-l-Dhikr, should abide by the rule of decreeing an abode and maintenance to a divorced wife.⁴ And one of the items of complaint in a petition for the removal of a deputy for al-Fārīkī (A.H. 398–405) was that his decision had not been in accordance with the tenets held by the Kādi.⁵

It was doubtless to obviate these difficulties that in later times the Sultan Baibars gave his Kādi, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn bint al-ʿazz, deputies for each of the four sects, but

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¹ Kiādi, 167
² Ib., 185 and 192
³ Ib. 214, and more fully, Ibn Ḥajar, 33⁸–34³
⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, 107
⁵ Ib., 41

Ibn Hajar records also, on the authority of Ibn Muyassir, a similar arrangement by Ahmad b. al-Afdal b. Badr al-Jamali, in A.H. 525, which was discontinued on his fall in the following year. Under this earlier experiment the Hanafite school was not represented.

Mawardi’s denial that a judge is bound by his own previous decisions in similar cases may be held to imply equal liberty as regards decisions by his learned brethren, and, indeed, the proceedings in the above-mentioned case of inheritance do not suggest the existence of any Moslem doctrine of *res judicata*. Yet Bakkar, when the above case had been authoritatively adjudicated on at Baghdad under the Mazailim jurisdiction, and that in accordance with his own Hanafite tenets, was very reluctant to overrule his predecessor’s decision on the ground that it was in accordance with the tenets of the school which that predecessor held by, and he did so only on the persuasion of an eminent jurist, Yunus b. ‘Abd al-A’la. On the other hand, a century earlier a Kadi who showed a disinclination to give effect to his predecessors’ decisions in the matter of a *hubs* was warned that a similar fate might await his own decisions, and thereupon yielded.

Nor does it appear that the Moslem body politic deemed it to their interest that there should be any definite *finis*
litium. Another *hubs* case illustrates this. Created by a member of the Mādarāʾi family, it was by him sold to meet a fine, and again resold to others. As against these purchasers it was decided by a Kādi (a.H. 314–16) that the *hubs* character remained. This decision was repeated by another, a.H. 339–48, and his decision confirmed by his successor, a.H. 348–66. The case was then carried, under Māẓālim jurisdiction, to the Fatimide Muʿizz, and was by him referred to al-Nuʿmān, the ancestor of that family of Kādis. His death (a.H. 363) prevented a decision, and the case disappears from view,¹ but it may be that a Māẓālim decision once given was final.

The fitness of a proposed Kādi (apart from his own statement) was to be within the appointor’s own knowledge, as derived from common repute. This knowledge was sometimes gathered by the more direct method of question and answer. Marwān, finding ʿĀbis b. Saʿīd Kādi in Egypt (a.H. 65), inquired of him whether he had any knowledge of the Kurān or of the portions of inheritance thereby assigned, and being told “None” asked on what his decisions proceeded. “On my knowledge and, failing that, on the result of inquiry,” of which Marwān expressed approval.² Some years later similar questions were put by ʿOmar b. Hubaira to the above-mentioned Kādi Iyās early in his career, who answered affirmatively, but pleaded that he was of mean appearance, unready in speech, and irritable. ʿOmar replied that he did not intend him as an ornament; that he seemed well able to express himself; and that the remaining weakness could, if necessary, be met by strong measures. Iyās thus got his first preferment,³ and his legal reputation

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, 136b.
² Kindi, 141a.
³ 'Uyun al-Akhbār, i, 35. Later he sought to avoid being Kādi at Baṣra, but his competitor, no less unwilling, propounded a successful dilemma to the Governor, and Iyās was chosen (Ibn Khall. i, 102, Sl. Eng. i, 234). The dilemma is attributed to another in 'Uyun,
endured. Rashid likewise proceeded on common-sense grounds. A nominee protesting his unfitness as being unskilled in the law, the Caliph told him that he possessed three qualifications—rank, which would keep him from any base action; deliberateness, which would be a safeguard against error; and a disposition to seek advice, which often proved a sure guide. And as for legal aid, it could be supplied him. And he proved a success.\(^1\) Yahya b. Aktham is described as testing the ability of a proposed Kādi by a not very difficult question as to the relationship of two infants born of the marriages of two men with their respective mothers, the answer to which Yahya had himself to furnish.\(^2\)

It is indeed apparent that especial heed was paid to a Kādi’s character, and that from him a high standard of conduct was expected. Acts of treachery were frequent enough in high places, but when the Kādi Abu ‘Omar unwittingly lured Badr to his death by a pretended safe-conduct from Muktafi, popular feeling was outspoken against him.\(^3\) One Kādi claimed to be ex officio under a special obligation to speak the truth (on a question of admitting money held on deposit), and said that a brother Kādi too had acted on this principle.\(^4\) And when Ibn al-Furāt rewarded an ignorant low-born man, in whose house he had lain hid, by the post of Kādi as the one where his unfitness would be the least felt, it was pronounced by the Kādi ‘Ayyāsh to be a notable symptom of decadence in the public service.\(^5\)

Under Buwaihid rule better principles of selection prevailed, as is shown by the following anecdote from

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1. ‘Uyūn al-Akhbār, i, 34. \(^1\) Omar b. Abd al-‘Azīz specified five qualities as requisite, ib. 81.

2. Ib. 86.

3. Ib., Introd., ii, quoting Nishawir, 75r.


5. Tab. iii, 2212-14.
the Tadhkira of Ibn Hamdun of Mu'izz al-Daula's choice.


JRA: 1910.
His ideal of a Kādi was a high one, and whilst conscious of some moral failing in himself, he held that one who had, as he thought, pandered to it was unfit for the office. His fear that, if he chose a stranger to Baghdad, his brother Rukan al-Daula might feel surprise at the capital not being able to produce a fitting person, is in curious contrast to 'Aḍud al-Daula's recorded opinion of the qualities of its inhabitants. In Ibn Hajar's notice of one of the above-mentioned candidates, Ibn Umm Shaibān (fol. 109a, and Ibn Shāhin, 85b), a statement by 'Aḍud al-Daula is quoted to the effect that he had come across only two men at Baghdad deserving of the name—this Kādi and the Alide Muḥammad b. 'Omar (ob. a.H. 390; Hilāl, 377)—and that both of them were natives of Kūfa. The Alide who persuaded Mu'izz al-Daula to get rid of Ibn Abī al-Shawārīb, even at pecuniary loss to himself, is mentioned by Ibn al-Āthīr, viii, 424, as heading a Dailamite attack on Washmaghīr at the time of the death of Mu'izz al-Daula; the Alide sympathies of his dynasty are well

(B.M. Or. 3180, 201b)
known, and the name of ‘Ali was one likely to move him. The six names proposed to him can all be identified in the Ta’rikh al-Islām, B.M. Or. 48. Ahmad b. ‘Ali al-Rāzi Fakhr al-Din (ob. 370) is said to have refused the post of Kādi (fol. 114a). Abu Muḥammad ‘Ubayd Allah b. Ahmad b. Maʿrūf, already mentioned, died Chief Kādi in 385 (fol. 174a). Ahmad b. Sayyār al-Ṣaimari was appointed Kādi in 356, and died on the authority of Hilāl al-Ṣābi in 368 (fol. 103b). Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Śāliḥ al-Abhari also refused office (Yākūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, i, 106), and died in 375 (fol. 145a). Muḥammad b. Śāliḥ b. Umm Shaibān was the second instance only of a Hashimite Chief Kādi; he at one time had charge of Egypt and Syria, where he acted by deputy; died 367 (fol. 112b). ‘Omar b. Aktham, the candidate chosen, immediately preceded Ibn Maʿrūf as Chief Kādi, and was the second Shafeite occupant of the post. He died in 357 (fol. 55b), and as we are told that he served four years this anecdote must be dated A.H. 353.

The extent of the Kādi’s jurisdiction in Egypt is often specified, whether augmented by the powers incidental to the Kīṣās, Mazālim, Kharāj, Shurta, Bait al-Māl, or Dar al-Darb (al-Kindi, passim). Marriages also 1 and public granaries 2 are mentioned. The administration of orphans’ property was specially incumbent on the Kādis, and to have rendered their property productive is often instanced to their credit, and, in the case of Ibn Badr, the fact that he used to be attended by the mothers and guardians with the orphans and to inquire about them. 3 Property of absent persons was also under the Kādi’s guard. 4

Wakf and the kindred hub is often referred to as

1 Ibn Hajar, 100a.
2 Kindi, 150a.
3 Ibn Hajar, 106a.
4 Kindi, 200a, 202b, and 211b.
engaging the Kādi’s attention, the ḥubs from the time of the Caliph Hishām and onwards. The earliest Kādi in Egypt of the Ḥanafite school, a.H. 164, excited disapproval because under his legal tenets the aḥbās were not recognized; a later Kādi is described as actively engaged in furthering them; and under Muṭṭaṣim a Kādi equally careful of them thought of taking their administration from the beneficiaries to himself, except in the case of those whose deed of creation was recorded. And in a.H. 348 the Kādi Muḥammad b. al-Khasîb defended himself against popular outcry by saying that he had watched over the aḥbās and made them productive, dividing the produce among the persons entitled. As regards wills, an instance occurs of the removal of an executor on the ground that he had been Shāhid to a Kādi of bad repute.

The power of interdiction (ḥujr) was exercised by one Kādi indirectly and with hesitation, whilst another renounced its exercise from a consciousness that he was himself a fit subject for it. It was also a factor in a much disputed case under al-Ikhshid, where Ibn Badr sought to enforce payment of a debt due from an absent defendant by compelling his son to sell a house alleged to belong to the debtor. And it was used illegally and fraudulently by a Kādi under the Fatimides, circ. a.H. 420, by way

1 The two were not identical, and in ḥubs the ultimate charitable object seems to have been preceded by benefits to individuals. It is said of the Kādi under Baibars—

(Ibn Shāhin, 60, l. 8)

والاحبس

(Ibn Hājar, 52).

2 Kindī, 156.
3 Kindī, 214.
4 Ib. 173.
6 Ib. 167.
7 Ib. 156.
8 Ibn Hājar, 114.
9 Ib. 143.
10 Ibn Hājar, 52. b.
of revenge against an heiress who refused his offer of marriage.  

As regards the *hudud* jurisdiction, there seems to have been some reluctance to inflict the fixed penalties allotted to theft. Abu al-Dardā, one of the Companions, advised a woman accused before him of that offence to deny it, and when a man so accused before Ziyad was urged to confess, al-ʾĀḥnaf b. Kais was heard to remark that there were occasions when truth was a blemish.  

قال ابن ميسرة (ممات في ولابته (بيعى عبد الحاج بن سعيد بن مالك النافعية أمثال بن سعيد) رجل تابع له الزيابي وترك مالاً جزيلًا ولم يخفف سوى بنًا واحدة فورثها جميع المال على قاعدة مذهبتهم فتحاول الناس لنزويتها لاجله كثرة مالاً وفم جملته عبد الحاج فامتنعت فتحیت منها وأقام ارتبة شهودًا بأنها سنيبة واحتوى على مالاً فهرت منه وطرحت نفسها على الوزير ابن باق الفأ يم الجرخاء وعرفته ما اعتنده معها النافض فعل لها محضرًا يرشدها واستكتب لها جمعة منهم ابن إجت النافض أبو الخطين من مالك بن سعيد فامر الوزير بأحضار النافض فاحضر مبناً ووصل به من استفاد منه المال وذلك بعد أن كان تصرف فيه قبل باريغت شين ثم قضى الوزير على النهود الذين شددوا بسناها فلاودعم السين وخلع على من شهد لها بالرشد والزم النافض بتسليمه مالاً ووصل به عندى في داره فصار يزن في كل يوم شيئًا وولده بتوث عنه في الأحكام إلى إت صرف في سنة 47 فكانت ولابته شبات سنين (Paris Ar. 2149, 60n, b).  

The rule as to a daughter's right of inheriting is stated in the notice of 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Abi Thaubah—  

وكان المعرز نفذت إلى قضاة أن يورثوا البنين جميع الميراث إذا لم يكن معها أخ أو خط  

(ib. 57n, and Ibn Shāhin, 46n, 1. 6).  

*Uyun al-Akhbār*, i, 95.
The next duty, that of abating buildings which constituted a nuisance, seems to be referred to in a passage where a Kādi in Egypt under Amin, passing with a friend by a projecting roof of one Faraj, said that if it were complained of he would have it down. This Kādi was a Ḥanifite, and expressed that sect’s view of the law, as stated by Māwardi.

The first to make inquiry in Egypt into the character of the ‘Udūl was a Kādi under al-Mansūr. Previously common repute for honesty had been relied on, and the result was frequent perjury. So the Kādi made secret inquiry.

Under Rashīd a Kādi delegated the duty of inquiry to an official termed “Ṣāhib Maṣā’il,” and on that official accepting unfit persons to be ‘Udūl, the Kādi went about at night-time and in disguise to collect information about them. It appears from a passage in the Hidāya (iii, 364) that the practice of inquiring into witnesses’ characters must have led to mischief, for it lays down that, according to Abu Ḥanifa, the seeming trustworthiness of a witness should suffice, unless his veracity were called in doubt. And, after quoting what ‘Omar had said on the subject (see ante, p. 309), it continues: “Apparent trustworthiness therefore must suffice, for absolute certainty is unattainable. Excepted are cases of fixed penalties and of retaliation: there a searching inquiry should be made, for it may lead to the legal consequences being avoided”—another proof of a desire to evade the severity of the law—“inasmuch as any doubt thereby thrown on the sufficiency of the witness would serve to avert punishment” (the participle of dāra‘a, explained ante, p. 323). It adds that at that time a secret inquiry by the Kādi’s officer was the course adopted, so as to avoid publicity and recrimination. And further, that the jurist Muhammad

1 Kindi, 1876.
2 Ib. 1628.
3 Ib. 1744.
4 Ib. 1968.
regarded a public examination as a source of trouble and disturbance.

One distinction between public and private charitable foundations is illustrated by a dialogue between Baibars and the Kādi Tāj al-Din, recorded by Ibn Hajar, which shows that in the case of those of a public character the duty of administering them devolved on the successors of the Kādi virtute officii; but having regard to the above-mentioned case of al-Mādarā’ī’s hubs and the decrees securing its permanency, it must be presumed that as regards all of them there existed some Moslem principle in the nature of equity never being at a loss for a trustee.

We now arrive at ‘Omar’s letter of instructions, explained and discussed ante, pp. 307–26, by Professor Margoliouth. It is inserted to enforce a maxim to the effect that a Kādi should not allow himself to “hedge aside from the direct forthright”, a sentiment expressed also by a Kādi in Egypt when he said that arbitrary justice is a bar between the judge and his God. Whatever Moslem justice may have been in practice—and it was probably much what the people deserved—it was lofty in its theory and adequate in its conceptions. Ibn Ḫutaiba 3 quotes from the Aʿīn, or Book of Ancient Persian Usages

و دخل الناصي تاج الدين ابن بنت الاعتر عل الملك الظاهر (بيبرس) يومًا وقد أشهد على نفسه في مكوح حبس فيه دارًا على جهة من جهات البر و جعل النظر فيه للفاضي تاج الدين فقال: يا مولانا السلطان انظر فيه بطرق النظر العام حتى يكون النظر لكل من ولي الحكم_plots أو بطرق الخاص قائل له: انت لا تروج من الحكم حتى اموت أنا و نموت أنت. وكان كذلك مات الناصي وهو على حالتة وقد

(Paris Ar. 2149, 78a, b).

3 Kindi, 143a.

2 ʿUyūn al-Akhbār, i, 83–4.
(cf. Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīḥ al-Ashrāf*, Bibl. Geog. Arab., viii, 104, l. 9), and *Fihrīst*, 118, l. 27, "Kitāb Ā'īn Nāma fi-l-Ā'īn"), a clear enunciation of the difference between law and equity in its popular sense, instancing a case where the two conceptions are in accord—the rule of a life for a life; where equity prevails over law—to take a free life for that of a slave; and where law prevails over equity—the liability imposed on payers of the bloodwit: all sound illustrations. Equally sound is the next saying quoted from al-Asma'ī, that something there is superior to strict law, mutual forbearance and concession, seeing that the utmost legal due, when exacted, results in gall.
XXI

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN, AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS THROWING LIGHT ON THEM

By C. O. Blagden

Since writing my article on the Talaing text of the Myazedzi record, I have been furnished with a number of documents which enable me to supplement what I then wrote and correct a few errors of transcription and interpretation. M. L. Finot has lent me a photograph of the Pali, Burmese, and undeciphered texts of the second pillar of the Myazedzi record, as well as an estampage of the undeciphered text of the first pillar, and has made several suggestions for which I am much indebted to him. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has followed up his former valuable assistance by sending me a number of important estampages. They include one of the Talaing text of the second pillar of the Myazedzi record (now on the platform of the Myingaba pagoda at Pagan), which I had despaired of ever seeing, as well as rubbings of the great Shwezigon inscription, also at Pagan (Nos. I (1)–(8) of Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinja, and Ava, of which no transcript is given there), and of two inscriptions recently discovered at the Shwesandaw pagoda, at Prome (which I shall call Shwesandaw I and II), all in Talaing of about the same period. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has also given me some valuable information bearing upon these records. I must express my sincere thanks for all this help.

The Burmese text

A comparison of the Burmese transcript printed in my paper with the photograph of the Burmese version on the

1 JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 1017–52.
2 Rangoon, 1892; English translation, Rangoon, 1899.
second pillar (which, however, is only partly legible, a good deal of the inscription being damaged) displays the following variants, some of which serve to correct the published version:—

Line 1. (a) B¹ has a space after .digest: probably a second igit occurred here, but it is no longer legible (variant); (b) B omits igit (variant).

Line 7. (a) B has igit for igit (variant); (b) igit for igit (variant).

Line 9. (a) B omits igit (variant); (b) has igit for igit (variant).

Line 15. (a) B has igit for igit (variant); (b) has igit: this is also the right reading in A.

Line 17. B has igit for igit (variant).

Line 18. B has igit for igit (variant).

Line 20. (a) After igit and before igit B has more space than is required by the igit of A, but the lettering is illegible (variant); (b) under igit B has a mark or letter the meaning of which I do not know (variant); (c) B has igit for igit (correction).

Line 21. (a) B has igit for igit (variant); (b) igit for igit (correction).

Line 22. B has after igit (variant).

Line 27. B has igit for igit (correction).

Line 28. B has igit for igit (variant).

Line 30. B has igit for igit (variant: but A is right here).

Line 32. B has igit for igit (correction²: but this is really also the right reading in A).

Line 34. B has igit for igit (correction³: A has this also, really).

¹ To save space I call the first pillar A, the second B.
² To be corrected in JRAS., 1909, IV, p. 1043, l. 21, also.
³ To be corrected in loc. cit., p. 1047, l. 9, also.
Line 35. (a) B has [ các for [ các (variant: but B is wrong here); (b) [ c for [ c (correction: but A really also has it).

Lines 36, 37. B has [ các for [ các (correction).

Line 38. B has [ các for [ các (correction).

Line 39. B clearly has [ c, which is right (A also, I think).

I think that in l. 12 (where B is illegible) we should read the A text [ các [ các [ các [ các [ c and regard the repetition of [ c as a mistake of the kind that has been styled "dittography". In l. 1 the word [ c and in l. 3 the word [ s were not very clearly legible in the transcript given in my paper.

The Talaing text

As the second pillar is narrower (at any rate, on the Talaing face) than the first, the Talaing replica (here briefly called B) has shorter lines than the other copy (A). Unfortunately the stone is broken, and a good deal of it appears to be lost: in the transcript which follows the parts in brackets are therefore introduced from A. But I must first make a few preliminary remarks on two frequently occurring emendations. To begin with, I have now turned every te' into wo'. This has been done because of the analogy of the Shwezigon inscription, where the reading is clear. It habitually uses wo' in similar contexts, and especially in such phrases as smâh row wo', "(he) asked thus," gah . . . row wo', "(he) spake thus."1 On the other hand, it writes t-eh, not te', and hardly uses the word except after ðeh (3rd person personal pronoun). In the Myazedi record, both A and B, the word might be te' or wo', for all that we can tell from the shape of the letters in most cases.

1 But when the speech has preceded, the formula is row goh, not row wo'. The latter is used when the speech follows.
A more important point is that the symbol which in my former transcript I rendered by ~ has turned out to be a superscript r. This is made certain by the fact that it occurs in sarwawānutañān in l. 40 of B,1 as well as by a number of cases in Shwezigon of words like dharmma and nirbhān (always written with the superscript r in these inscriptions) and such Talâing forms as dirdas, yiryās, which are sometimes written with the ordinary r and virāma, more usually with the superscript r. Therefore, all the words with ~ in A have now been spelt with r, except the proper name Sanghasena, where, in fact, a different symbol is used in the original, which really does represent superscript ū. (It also occurs in the Pāli B, as I see in the photograph, though the published transcript of A gives the anusvāra, perhaps wrongly.) The Talâing words cited are curious instances of a combination of reduplication with an infix -ir-, which appears to form nouns from verbs. Thus das = “to be”, dirdas = “being, existence”, *yās 2 = “to shine”, yiryās = “light, radiance”, tāw = “to dwell”, tirtāw = “abode”. There are others of which the derivation is not so plain. The infix -ir- is also used without the reduplication, as in jirnok, “extent,” from jnok, “big.” It was evidently an important feature in the morphology of old Talâing, but is hardly traceable in the modern form of the language.

The following is my transcript of B (parts in brackets being from A):

1. || [śr[i || namo] Bu[d]dhāya || śrī || sās kyek Bu-]
2. -ddha tirley kuli ā[r] moy lnīm [turow klām]
3. bār cwas dijhām cnām tuy || de[y duñ]
4. Arimaddanapur wo’ smin Śrī Tribhu[wanādityadha-]

1 And also in l. 26, where the -r of tītar is so written over the B. of Brahmapāl.
2 Shwezigon has the compound form syās.
5. -mmarāj das || gnakyek smīn goḥh [moy Tri-]
6. -lokawataṃsakādewi imo’|| kon gna-
7. -kyek goḥh Rājakumār imo’|| smīn
8. g[o]ḥh kil ḩik pi ṭwān ku gna[ky]e[k]
9. g[o]ḥh || kāl gnakyek goḥh eu[ti ār]
10. a-ut kirvā gnakyek goḥ ku ḩik pi [ṭwān]
11. goḥh smīn tun keil ku kon gna[kyek]
12. ma imo’ Rājakumār goḥh || smīn [goḥh]
13. kmin ḩār ewas dijhām enām tuy kā[ī smīn]
14. goḥ ajev ñan seuti || kon gna[kyek]
15. ma imo’ Rājakumār goḥh [mi-]
16. -rnas guñ ma smīn ʾjhim jir[ku] k[i]nda[m]
17. kyek thar moy ār tu[bo]k smi-
18. -ń munas row wo’|| kyek thar wo’ e-
19. -y ḩik pa ram po’ tirla ḩik pi ṭwān ma
20. tirla keil ku ey go[ḥh] ey ḩik
21. kil ku kyek wo’ tirla anu-
22. -modanā da || kāl goḥh smīn [s]dik gap=puma-
23. -s thic ā thic ā smīn pa sādhu[k]ār || kāl
24. goḥ tirla poy mḥāther [||] titar
25. Muggaliputtatissatther || titar Sumedhapa-
26. -ṇḍit || titar = Brahmaṇāl || [t]i[t]a[r] Brahma-
27. -d[i]w || titar Son || t[i]ta[r ʿSa]ṅghasena-
28. -warpaṇḍit || kinta tirla ta [goḥh [sm]i[n]
29. cut ḩek han ti || blaḥ g[ōh ko]ṇ
30. gnakyek ma imo’ Rājaku[mār goḥ]
31. ket kyek thar goḥh thā[panā kandām] guo-
32. -h eloḥ thar wo’ || kāl b[usac]
33. kyek goḥ wo’ kon gnakyek goḥ
34. ket Sakmunaḷon moy ṭwān [Ra]pā-
35. -y moy ṭwān Hegir-uy¹ moy
36. ṭwān || ut ḩik pi ṭwān go[h] eu-
37. -t ḩek ku kyek thar ma thāpanā
38. hin guoh wo’ rādhanā row wo-

¹ As to this, see the remarks infra.
39. -'|| sinrañ ey wo' or das he-
40. -t ku gwo' sarwwañutañan || ko-
41. -n ey lah || cow e' lah || kulo
42. ey lah || ñah c-en lah || yal pa u-
43. -padrow ku dik ma ey kil ku
44. kyek wo' yan ñir ñac kye-
45. -k trey Mettey lah or ðeh
46. go' ||○||

Line 1. Almost the whole of this line is missing in B, the top part of the stone being apparently gone. M. Finot writes to me that säs is an abbreviation of säsana. It may be so, but we find säsana used in Shwezigon and säsana in modern Talaṅg. Kyek: Shwezigon and Shwesandaw I and II generally have the more modern spelling kyāk, also dāk (v. l. 29) and c-ān (v. l. 42).

Line 2. Turley, whatever its derivation, is certainly a title: in Shwezigon we repeatedly find kyāk Buddha tarley, "my lord the Buddha," tarley Ānan, "my lord Ānanda," tarley Gawaṁpati, "my lord Gawaṁpati." Shwezigon uses -a- in several other words where Myazedi has the more archaic -i-, e.g. tarla (v. l. 28), kanta (ibid.), sanrañ (v. l. 39). It seems probable that the vowel was becoming indeterminate (much like the e in the English word belong), as it is in the modern pronunciation. But Shwezigon retains the -i- sometimes, e.g. jirku (v. l. 16). Kuli: so in Shwezigon nor ma kyāk Buddha tarley parinirbbān | kuli lñim turow klam pi ewas enām, "1630 years having elapsed after Buddha's entering into parinirvāna." (In lñim and a few other words -m and the anusvāra appear to be used interchangeably, as in modern Talaṅg. A little palæographical curiosity is to be noted here: in the inscriptions -i is represented by • and -im by ○, but vice versa in modern Talaṅg.)

Line 3. Ðey ðwñ: in Shwezigon (passim) the form is usually ñey ðwñ (but that inscription has rather a habit
of putting ı and ù for i and u respectively, e.g. tüy). Pδey also occurs, but is much rarer.

Line 6. The short -i at the end of the queen's name is wrong: Burmese and Talaing A have -ı. Kon gnakyek: Mr. Taw Sein Ko informs me that I was wrong in assuming (as I did in my former paper, loc. cit., p. 1050, n. 3) that the prince was a son of the queen by a former marriage. He tells me that the prince was really a son of Kyanzittha, and was kept out of the succession because that king wished to bequeath the throne to his grandson, Alaungstithu, the child of Kyanzittha's daughter by an Indian prince. The story, which is a curious one, has been told by Phayre in his History of Burma, p. 38. Kyanzittha's own mother had been an Indian princess, and not long after Kyanzittha's accession an Indian prince arrived at Pagan as a suitor for the hand of the king's daughter. The alliance was disallowed on political grounds, and the Indian prince committed suicide, but the princess subsequently gave birth to Alaungstithu, whom his grandfather caused to be formally anointed, and who, in fact, did afterwards succeed to the throne on Kyanzittha's death. Gnakyek: with reference to my suggestion as to the etymology of this word, I must point out that gna is used in Shwezigon apparently as some sort of title, before the name of the king eulogized in that inscription. But it may be a different gna, of course.

Line 8. All the modern pronunciations of dık in my former paper (loc. cit., p. 1031, ll. 21, 22) should have been shown with ı (not ì).

Line 10. A-ut: in l. 36 and in Shwezigon the word is spelt ἀοδ, ut, which is somewhat nearer to the modern

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1 In connexion with cos in this line, I take this opportunity of saying that it is the form used in expressing multiples of ten, and is represented by the modern 祉祉. "Ten," simply, is cos, modern ἀοδ (e.g. in Shwezigon, sweh akusalakarmmapatha cos, "(they shall) avoid the ten ways of sinful action").
spelling əзи, vit. As regards the meaning of kirya, M. Finot points out that it is a simple transition from "work" in the sense of "action" to "work" in the sense of "the material result of action", and that in Sanskrit the word kriya is found in the sense of "literary production" (i.e. product). The corrected spelling establishes the derivation beyond doubt. Shwesandaw II has kirya, with the superscript r, as here; Shwezigon repeatedly has kriya.

Line 11. I have remarked on the indiscriminate use of gokh and goh in my former paper. Here, and in ll. 12 and 31, B differs from A in preferring gokh; in l. 24 it differs in preferring goh. Shwezigon and Shwesandaw I and II use goh. Keil (conceivably to be spelt kiel) is a sort of half-way house between the kil of ll. 8 and 21 and A and the kel which is the rule in Shwezigon (which once or twice has kil, though). Kil is the most archaic form, as is shown by the progressive broadening of the vowel till in modern pronunciation the word has nearly the same sound as the English word cur.

Line 14. It is satisfactory to find the reading ajey ūan scuti (which was more or less of a conjecture in A) clearly established by B, where the letters are unmistakable, the word ajey being written again in the eccentric way with the j subscript under the a, which had made me doubtful of it. (The credit of the conjecture is in the main due to my friend Mr. Halliday.) I have not yet come across ajey elsewhere, but Shwezigon has the following passage, where anjey apparently means "disease": yan trūs brow suñwat gumloṁ ci sīlīn āyuk saṁ sak anjey ġil vel | mahājan gumloṁ ci saṁ sak bheī saṁ sak upadrow, "men, women, and children, all shall have life, shall be free from disease and pain" (the meaning of vel is not yet determined, perhaps it means "always"), "(and) all mankind shall be free from calamity, free from misfortune." Scuti is constantly used
in Shwezigon to denote a change from one state of existence to another, by transmigration and rebirth: e.g. blaḥ goḥ risi Bisnū goḥ scuti nor goḥ | stin är Brahmalok | scuti nor Brahmalok goḥ | stūn das (?) dey dūn Arimaddanapūr ci, etc., "thereafter the Rṣi Bisnū (= Viṣṇu) shall depart from thence (and) shall ascend to Brahmaloka; (then) departing from Brahmaloka, he shall come into existence (?) in the city of Pagan," etc. (The word after stūn is damaged, it might be dmās, and the precise sense is not certain, but the general drift of the passage is clear from the context and parallel passages.) Shwezigon has a number of other verbs beginning with s-, which was evidently a common prefix in old Talaing: e.g. sdas, "to become" (das, "to be"), skel, "to give," sjnok, "to be great." Clearly the prefix was (at any rate, in some cases) pronounced with an indeterminate vowel, but Shwezigon habitually writes it with subscript consonants, as if no vowel intervened, a practice for which there are many analogies in the spelling of modern Talaing.

Line 15. Mirnas: B upsets my conjecture here. The word appears in a slightly different form in Shwezigon in the phrase kūn mirnes laḥ wit, which I take to mean "also remember, do not forget". I do not know the modern form of the word, unless it is ḷṣ, bnah, ḷḷṣ, bnuḥ, "to think of."

Line 16. Kindam: the subscript letter is certainly d, not n, as I had wrongly supposed. Shwesandaw II has the word in the same form: e.g. kindam ceti . . . kindam bihār, "build pagodas . . . build monasteries," Shwesandaw I has skindaṃ. Shwezigon has, as a rule, skandam, and in one place spells it with an ordinary d and virāma, but usually with a subscript d; but the

1 M. Finot informs me that this is the proper meaning of the Pāli cuti.
2 In this article I can give only the literal transcription of Talaing words with the precise pronunciation of which I am not acquainted.

JRAS. 1910. 52
lettering is larger than in Myazedi and therefore clearer. The subscript \( ð \) used in this word is in shape much like the ordinary \( d \), not like the subscript \( ð \) in \textit{Arimaddanapu} in the illustration to my former paper. It is not quite clear why the pronunciation of the root-syllable has shifted in modern Talaing to the first series (i.e. as though preceded by a surd, not a sonant), as the modern spelling implies. Possibly there may be an etymological connexion with \( ҏ�性, гадам, єlığı, гадам, єğı, хадам, "a chamber" \) (cf. German \textit{Zimmer}, "room," \textit{Zimmermann}, "carpenter," \textit{zimmern}, "to build": \textit{кідам, кандам} = "to build, to fashion"). The variation in spelling in the vowel of the first syllable points to its having already become indeterminate: cf. the words cited \textit{supra} on l. 2.

Line 17. The precise meaning of \textit{тубок} is still in doubt, but in Shwezigon the word for "to show" is \textit{тубах} (or \textit{тумбах} ?), which is evidently the modern \textit{табах}, "to point out," so that \textit{тубок} cannot be identified (in form) with the latter. There is, however, another modern word used together with \textit{табах} in the same sense, viz. \( євлажн, таманк, \) or \( євлажн, тамок, \) which may possibly be connected with our \textit{тубок} (through a derivative form \*\textit{тумбок}).

Line 18. \textit{Мунас} is still a mystery: possibly it may have some etymological connexion with \textit{мирнас}, but that is very doubtful. For "men" we find in Shwezigon (\textit{inter alia}) the form \textit{манус}, an Indian loanword (from Sanskrit \textit{ману} or Pāli \textit{манус}.)

Line 19. The reading \textit{па рам по} of B is clear and corrects the previous misreading \textit{пар пэ}. The meaning is "(I) have made (this golden Buddha as) a help for" (or "to help") "(my lord)"). \textit{Рам} is clearly the modern \( _FIN_.\)

\(^1\) A apparently has \( пэ \), but there is a space where the other half of the letter \( ITERAL\) might have been put. Perhaps it has been worn away; or it may have been omitted inadvertently (?).
ruim, "to help"; po' I cannot yet explain; pa certainly means "to do, to make", and the form is certainly right (par, if there is such a word, would mean "to fly", modern օervatives, paw, which is still par in some of the cognate languages, e.g. Bahnar). As to tirla, see remarks on 1. 2 supra. Shwezigon has tirla in a speech where Ánanda addresses Buddha, and tarla in another where Gawanapati addresses him.

Line 22. Da (for which A has da') appears frequently in Shwezigon, apparently as a particle, with a force sometimes precatory, sometimes merely assertive. This throws doubt on my former explanation. Probably the sentence should be rendered "pray, my lord, approve" or "may my lord approve" (sc. of my action). The reading sēdik gap=pumas is undoubtedly right,¹ and recurs in precisely the same form in Shwesandaw II. Shwezigon, more correctly, has sēdik gap pumas. The phrase means "(the king) was pleased and happy". Pumas is the modern օervatives, pūmah, as Mr. Halliday had rightly conjectured. Gap may be the modern օervatives, gap, "sufficient" (cf. the modern օervatives օervatives, gap gow, "proper, fit"), perhaps with the meaning of "very" (cf. Italian assai from Low Latin ad satis, for a development of meaning in the converse direction). My former conjectural reading was quite wrong.

Line 23. Pa sādhukār: M. Finot has pointed out to me that sādhukār is one word, the Sanskrit sādhukāra, "approbation." I find in Shwezigon an interesting sentence referring to the effect to be produced when the king addresses the people: yañ binru anumodonā binru tirhin kirsah binru sādhukār ... row binru brey jwānnok ... "the sound of approval, the sound of praise, the sound of approbation ... (shall be) like the

¹ I ought to have recognized the subscript form of p. It is quite common in Shwezigon in cases which admit of no doubt whatever.
noise of a great rainstorm," etc. Pa śādhuṅkār, literally, is "made approval" (if in A we read sasādhuṅkār, which is possible, as the letters p and s closely resemble one another in this script, the meaning would be the same). The whole phrase may be translated "(and) expressed his approval (saying) 'Oh! worthy (deed)! oh! worthy (deed)!'"); My former explanation must be amended accordingly.

Line 24. I am still in doubt whether the word I have transcribed titar (which I have not yet met with in the other inscriptions) is not really tiwār or ticār, more probably the latter. Its meaning is still in doubt.

Line 25. In Muggaliputtatissathther B clearly has th subscript, not h, and for that reason (and analogy) I have now written all these proper names with their appendant titles as compound words.

Line 26. It is curious (and not in accordance with the usual method observed in these inscriptions) to find the -r of titar superscript over the B of Brahmāpāl, but cf. gappaumās, l. 22. In some languages (e.g. Javanese) this sort of thing is the usual practice; not so in Talainge.

Line 27. Sāṅghasenawarapandit: the r (if there at all) is superscript over the p, and the spelling is wrong for warapandit, which A has correctly.

Line 28. As to kinta, see remarks on l. 2 supra. Ta is used passim in Shwezigon as the plural affix, and is clear in B and certainly right.

Line 29. Han is certainly a preposition meaning "on to", as in the sentence in Shwezigon tarley Gawampati cits tūn han manussalok, "my lord Gawampati" (after paying a visit to In (Indra) in Tāwatin, Tāvatiṣṇa) "came down to the world of men". It is also sometimes used where in English no preposition would be required, e.g. Shwezigon ey āc han tarley, "I ask my lord" (= "I ask you"). For bhaṅ goṅ cf. the quotation given on l. 14 supra, which follows directly on a passage where
a preceding event is mentioned, viz. *risi moy ma imo' Bisnū . . . skandaṁ dūn moy imo' Sisit* | *blah goh*, etc., "a Rśi named Bisnū . . . shall build a city called Sisit, and then," etc.

Line 32. I think the word I had previously read *būsac* is really *busac*, so there is no reason to suppose it to be a compound; but I can give no further account of it except that it occurs in Shwesandaw II as a verb governing *kyāk*, much the same as here.

Line 33. *Goh* is clearly intended for *guoh*, "cave-pagoda," the reading of A; it may be a real variant spelling or a mere slip.

Line 34. The reading *Sakmunalon* is clear and correct (agreeing with Burmese A and B): Talaing A appears to have *Sakmunalor*, which is wrong.

Line 35. The transcription *twān* *Hegir-uy* does not accurately represent the original: no transliteration can. The *ā* lacks a virāma, which by mistake has been transferred to the *H*-, where it is of course incompatible with the -*e*-. But the condition of the text explains, I think, how the corruption in the name of this third village (which affects both A and B) came to arise. I take it that what was written in the first place was, after all, merely intended to represent the Burmese name of the village, viz. *Hēnbuiw*, which was varied for some reason to *Hēnbuiy*, in the original Talaing draft. Then from this, by some one's mistake, came the B reading *Hēnbuiy* (the *n* being misplaced and turned into *r* and the combination *buiy* being misunderstood and dislocated into *gi* and *uy*, in addition to which the virāma of *twān* was transferred, as already stated, to the *H*-. The A reading represents a further stage of corruption: the copyist, trying to make sense of the B text, put a virāma on the -*ā* of *twān*, added another *ā* after *twān* (after putting in a punctuation mark, as
after the other tuān’s in A), and took the e for a visarga, thus producing Ṽākṣ gir-uy (or gin-uy). The engraver left the third stroke of the y unconnected with the rest of the letter, so that I took it for a p. My attempt at an explanation of the supposed Ṽākṣ gin up of course falls to the ground: the true meaning is simply “Herōuiy, one village”.

Line 37. The reading thāpanā is quite clear and is right. There is a slight difference between A and B in the shape of the letter th: in B it always has a little indentation in the bottom line, rather like the bottom of dh, whereas in A the bottom line is straight.

Line 38. Hin guoh wo’: A has hin goh wo’ (I had read te’), which I had taken to mean “while (doing) this”. But I doubt if goh and wo’ can be combined in this way, and if the B reading is the one really intended by the draftsman, it seems to follow that we must construe the words with what precedes and translate the passage “poured out water for the golden Buddha that he had enshrined in this cave-pagoda and prayed thus”. This is, I think, not inconsistent with the parallel Burmese version. But it assumes that hin is a variant of the preposition han (v. on l. 29 supra). Or might it mean that he poured water on the pagoda in honour of the Buddha he had enshrined? (This would involve the same view of hin.) So far as I know water is poured on the ground in these ceremonials, and I should prefer the former interpretation. I have my doubts as to the reading hin, anyhow. It is quite clear in A, but may be wrong nevertheless; in B it looks decidedly like sārin. Until one or other of these words is met with in another context the real reading here is uncertain.

Line 39. The form sanrañ occurs frequently in Shwezigon, and the reading sinrañ (which is clear in B) is certain. (As to the form, see remarks on l. 2 supra.) As B reads ey wo’ after it, we must render the words
“this my deed” or “this act of mine”, which is a literal rendering of the Burmese words, as amended by the correction on l. 34 of the Burmese transcript given supra. I ought to have stated that āh is the Sanskrit āhū, “cause.”

Line 40. I am not sure that guh here and goi in l. 46 are mere variants of spelling. There is an infix -w-, which sometimes forms nouns from verbs in modern Talaing, and guh may be such a noun. In that case the more literal translation would be, “May this act of mine be an efficient cause for the attainment (by me) of omniscience.” I find goi and sgoi used in the other inscriptions for the verbs “to obtain”, “to possess”.

Line 41. Ei is a misspelt ey. A made the same mistake after sinrañ, where it puzzled me. Here there is no doubt whatever, and A has ey.

Line 42. The reading pa is clear: cf. l. 19 supra.

Line 44. Yan is constantly used in Shwezigon to begin sentences. It does not appear to add anything definite to the sense.

Line 45. Lakh here is clearly the precatory negative: cf. the sentence quoted on l. 15 supra. Taken together with ni (which probably means “a little”) it means “not at all”, “by no means”, or the like in an optative phrase like this one. The word is distinct from the repeated lakh of ll. 41, 42 (meaning “either . . . or”), for the latter comes at the end of each alternative clause, whereas the former precedes the verb it negatives.

Line 46. The verb in this case is goi, “to obtain,” hence “to be able”. Deh in the preceding line is certainly the subject, and is a personal pronoun of the 3rd person (singular or plural), spelt deh in Shwezigon. My former conjectural explanations of these words cannot be maintained.1 But the translation requires no modification.

1 Shwezigon has guh, “to speak, to say.”
I take this opportunity of correcting an error in my remarks on the Talaing vowel-system (loc. cit., p. 1027). As an analogue to the Talaing open o (ơ) I wrongly instanced the French word pot, which happens to have the close sound. French trop would have been better, and corps better still, as its vowel is long. I have to thank my friend M. A. Cabaton for correcting me on this point.

I have dealt somewhat at length and in detail with this text, not so much on account of its intrinsic interest, which is perhaps not very considerable, as for the reason that this record (if small things may be compared with great ones) is in its humble way the Rosetta stone of Talaing epigraphy, an unexplored field from which historical and linguistic material of much value may be extracted some day. Even with the help of the Myazedi text it is no easy matter to interpret the other old Talaing inscriptions that I have cited, and as yet whole passages of them are completely unintelligible, to me, at any rate. But the quotations I have given here have been checked with other passages and with the modern forms of the language, and I think their renderings can be accepted with some degree of confidence.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON THE TWO BESNAGAR INSCRIPTIONS

The substance of this note was communicated to Mr. Marshall when we met at Agra during the rainy season tour of last year, in response to his request for brief comments which he proposed to insert in his Annual Review for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Earlier in the year Mr. Marshall had very kindly given me a photograph of the inscriptions. But as he expected that further clearing of the paint from the pillar would reveal more of Inscription A, I preferred to wait. Our hopes have been disappointed. In a letter dated 21 March, 1910, Mr. W. H. Lake, Superintending Engineer, Gwalior State, writes:—“The column has been thoroughly cleaned from top to bottom, and there are no more letters below the seventh line. The inscription takes up a space of 1 ft. 10 in. in depth, and from the bottom of the inscription to the chabutra on which the column stands is 2 ft. 9 in.” Mr. Lake has sent me excellent ink-impressions of both inscriptions, for which I desire to record my best thanks.

Inscription A

Compare the text published in this Journal, 1909, p. 1089.

Line 4. For Yonadatena I read yena dutena.
Line 7. For Chandiadaseena I read chatudaeseena.

The general sense of the document would be:—“This Garudadhvaja was erected here by Haliodara, who came as an ambassador from the great king Amitalikita, while Bhagabhadra, the king of Samkasya, the saviour, was reigning gloriously in his fourteenth year.”
Strict grammar would of course require āgatāṁ, or
some finite verbal form, to follow the relatival yēna
dātēna. But as it has now been found that the
inscription ends with line 7, and as Mr. Fleet’s happy
analysis of upatē sakāsaraṇō excludes a finite verb
from line 5 where alone it could occur, we may accept
the instrumental case of āgatēna as an instance of
intelligible but faulty ‘attraction’.

Kāsīputasa Bhāgabhadrasa is explained [Journal, 1910,
p. 142] as “Bhāgabhadra, son of a lady of the people of
Kāśi, or son of a daughter of a king of Kāśi”. But is
this necessary? Why not “Bhāgabhadra, i.e. he who
is the son of Bhagabhadora, and of Kāśi his wife”? 
Bhāgabhadra and Bhagabhadora are not dictionary names.
Trāṭarasa = sotēros, immediately following, suggests the
further equation bhāgabhadrasa = eutuchous. But this
would leave Kāśi- or Kīśī-putasa (as it appears in the
ink-impression) standing by itself as the name of the
king of Sāmkāśya—which is a difficulty. The word
chandaḍāsa was read doubtfully and interpreted as the
name of a second, local, Hindu prince who was the vassal
of Bhāgabhadra, king of Sāmkāśya. As above proposed,
I would delete the name of Rāja Chaṇḍadāsa. Our record
would thus deal with only two kings, Aṃtalikita, an
Indo-Greek, ruling in the Panjāb, and Bhāgabhadra,
a Hindu ruler of Sāmkāśya and master of Bēsnagar.

Inscription B

Compare the text in Journal, 1909, p. 1092.

I read:—

Trini amutapadāni + + su anuṭhitānī
nayamti svaga damo chagō aprāmādo.

In the ink-impression supplied by Mr. Lake, nayamti
svaga and the pra of aprāmādo are clear. The lines may
be translated:—“The paths to immortality are three;
when rightly followed they lead to Svarga; they are restraint of one’s organs, surrender (of one’s actions to the Lord), and attention (i.e. holding to the truth)."

Dr. Barnett refers to Dhammapada, ii, verse 1. I would add references to Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva:

Damasyāgōjpramādaścha ētēśvamṛtamāhitam |
 tāni satyamukhānyahur brāhmaṇā yē maniśīnāh ||  
xlii, 22.

Damasyāgōjthāpramāda ityēśvamṛtam sthitam |
 ētāni brahmamukhyānām brāhmaṇānāṁ maniśīnām ||  
xliv, 7.

ARThUR VEnIS.

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March 23, 1910.

THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION A

The fact made known above by Professor Venis, that this inscription ends with the word vadhamānasā, places the concluding portion of the record in a new light. It constrains us to endorse his reading [chatu]dasēna, which is quite justifiable by the indications in the ink-impression, in the place of [Chamāda]d[ā]sēna.1 The last line, then, gives vasēna chatudasēna rājēna vadhamānasā; representing a Sanskrit varshēna chaturdasēna rājyēna vardhamānasya. And, strange as the construction is — "of him (Bhāgabhadra) augmenting or prospering by sovereignty by the fourteenth year",— we must accept the phrase as meaning what would have been expressed, in more customary terms, by the equivalent of vardhamāna- rājya-varshē chaturdasē, "in the fourteenth year of the augmenting or prosperous reign". I thus agree with Prof. Venis in deleting the name of the Rāja Chandadāsa.

1 We might perhaps read [ēku]dasēna. But [chatu]dasēna is good enough.
But I am afraid that we must sacrifice something else also; namely, the idea that Bhāgabhadra was a king of Sāmkāśya. We require some word to govern the genitive Bhāgabhadrāsa . . . vadhamānasa, which we cannot well take as a genitive absolute. We might obtain such a word by understanding arthē, krite, or any such term, in the sense ‘on account of’. But the plain course seems to be to read in line 5, not Sa[m]kāsa-rañō, but sakāsa[m] rañō. We thus have the equivalent of sakāsam, which is well known in the sense ‘to the nearness or presence of’, and contrasts here with the preceding upa[m]tā, = upāntat, ‘from the nearness or presence of’. Accordingly, Bhāgabhadra ceases to be a king of Sāmkāśya, and becomes a king in Central India, reigning perhaps at Bēsnagar itself, perhaps at Ujjain.¹

It does not seem either necessary or good to accept Professor Venis’ proposal regarding line 4, beyond endorsing his reading dūtēna, which the ink-impression shows to be quite practicable, in the place of dātēna. He would read yēna dūtēna āgatēna; and, since a finite verb in connection with yēna is not forthcoming, he would take āgatēna as standing by “attraction” for āgataṁ: “by whom, (as) an ambassador, it was come”. The phrase yēna dūtēna āgataṁ would, no doubt, be admissible in itself; though yō dūte āgate would be more natural. But the case is different when āgatēna is given, and we have to substitute āgataṁ for it. Hēliōdōra—(the ṣ in the first syllable, and the ṣ in the fourth, are distinct; so we need not read “Haliodiara”)—was plainly a Greek, a Yōna. The ink-impression seems to me to support Yōna quite as much as yēna. And, if

¹ I take the name Bēs, Bēsnagar, as derived through such forms as *Veīsa, *Veśa, from Veśisā, Veśisā, = Vaiḍiśa, from Vidiśa, the river now known as the Bēs, Bēsh, for which see this Journal, 1909, 1087. The statement about Aśoka, Ujjēna, and Veśissanagāra, in the Dipavāna, 6. 15, seems to mark Veśissanagāra as a town in the territory attached to Ujjain. Bēsnagar is about 130 miles east-by-north from Ujjain.
we take Yōna-dātēna, the instrumental āgatēna is quite intelligible, and we need not assume anything strange or mistaken about it: along with Yōna-dātēna and the other instrumentals, it is in apposition with Hēliodōrēna, which is governed by kārītē.

In these circumstances, I would amend my translation as follows:—

Revised translation.

This Garuṇādhvaja of Vāsudēva, the god of gods, has been caused to be made here by Hēliodōros, a votary of Bhagavat, a son of Diya (Diōn), a man of Takhasilā, a Yōna ambassador, who has come from the great king Antalkidas to king Kāśiputra-Bhāgabhadra, the saviour, who is prospering in the fourteenth year of (his) reign.

It may be noted that the title trātri, = sōter, ‘the saviour’, applied here (perhaps somewhat exceptionally) to the Hindū king Bhāgabhadra, seems to be also found in the case of a Hindū king named Vṛishṇirāja, or of a king belonging to the Vṛishṇi tribe or family, on a coin dealt with by Mr. Bergny in this Journal, 1900. 420.

Since writing the preceding remarks, I have found that this inscription has been handled by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in JBBRAS, 23. 104. He has recognized that we should read (with Professor Venis) dātēna in line 4, and (with me) sakāso[m] raṅō in line 5. But he has gone wide of the mark in his treatment of the concluding part of the record, where he has found a statement that Hēliodōros was “residing in the kingdom of Nai (?) in the Middle country”, and set up the Garuṇādhvaja “for instructions in (his) new religion”, namely, by publishing the teachings contained in the inscription B: the correct reading of line 7 is that which has been indicated by Professor Venis.

J. F. Fleet.
The Saka Era

Professor Rapson has said in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc. (1908), introd., p. 106, note 2, that inscriptions which present the name Saka attached to the era of A.D. 78, begin in Southern India with the year 169 [= A.D. 247-48] and in Northern India with the year 400 [= A.D. 478-79]. This is an unfortunate blot on what is mostly a very admirable work. The inscriptions thus cited are spurious copperplate records, fabricated at a very much later time, and worthless as evidence of early use of the name Saka or of any other historical details. They have been recognised as spurious by Professor Kielhorn, as well as by me; and they were marked as spurious by him in even the places to which Professor Rapson has given his references for them.

The earliest genuine inscriptive instance of the use of the name Saka with the era of A.D. 78 comes from Southern India, and is of A.D. 578. It is found in the record at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay,¹ which is dated on the full-moon day of the month Kārttika "when there had elapsed five centuries of the years of the anointment of the Saka king to the sovereignty."

From Northern India the earliest genuine inscriptive instance is of A.D. 862. It is found in the record at Deōgadh in the Lalitpūr District, United Provinces,² which

¹ Kielhorn’s List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, Epi. Ind., vol. 7, appendix, No. 3. We already have an appreciable number of other inscriptions, published since the time when Professor Kielhorn’s two Lists were issued: but they add nothing in the present matter to what is to be learnt from the Lists.
² Kielhorn’s List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, from about A.D. 400, Epi. Ind., vol. 5, appendix, Nos. 14, 352.

The Bājñāth Praśasti, which was supposed to be dated "Saka-kāla" 726 expired, = A.D. 904-5 (ibid., No. 351) is now known to be dated "Saka-kāla" 1126 expired, = A.D. 1204-5.

The record on the Multāl plates, dated in Kārttiika, "Saka-kāla" 631 (expired), falling in A.D. 709 (ibid. No. 350), not only comes from Southern India, but also is almost certainly a southern record. Professor
is dated in Aṣvayuja and in the year 784 (expired) of the years of the “Śaka-kāla”, the Śaka time or era. And it is to be noted that this record is primarily dated, with the full details of the month, etc., in “Samvat 919”, that is, in the Vikrama year 919: it is only as a subsidiary detail that the Śaka year is given in a separate passage at the end, a sort of postscript. The Śaka era, as a practical reckoning of civil and official life, was so foreign by nature to Northern India outside Kāṭhiāwār and Gujarāt, and met with such limited acceptance when it was introduced there, that, after A.D. 862, the next known instance of its use in Northern India (except in those parts) is of A.D. 1137–38. Even from this last date it figures in Northern India, during the inscriptive period, to only a very limited extent in comparison with the Vikrama and other eras; and the cases in which it is cited in inscriptions there exclusively, without being coupled with one or another of the northern reckonings, are still more conspicuously few: in very few cases indeed is it so cited at any appreciable distance from the dividing-line between the North and the South.

In literature, however, the use of the name Śaka with the era is carried back to A.D. 505 by the Pañcachasiddhāntikā, 1. 8, where Varāhamihira, citing a detail laid down by Lāṭāchārya in a work in which he explained the Rōmaka and Pauliśa Siddhāntas, tells us that for certain calculative purposes there was to be used a certain moment fixed (as regards the year) sapt-aśvi-vēda-samkhyaṃ Śaka-kālam apāsya, “by deducting the Śaka-kāla having the number

Kielhorn drew attention, in his introductory remarks to the Northern List, to the fact that the List includes not a few southern records.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji had a Chalukya copperplate record, dated “Śaka 653” (expired), = A.D. 731–32, from Balsād (‘Bulsar’) in the Surat District, Gujarāt: see JBBRAS, 10. 5. As it has not been published and he did not state the places mentioned in it (except Maṅgalapuri, the town whence the charter was issued), we cannot locate it. But all the probabilities are against its having any connection with Northern India.
seven, the (two) Aśvins, and the (four) Vēdas;" that is, at the end of the Śaka year 427, in A.D. 505. This is, for the present, the earliest time from which we can trace unquestionably the use of the name with the era.¹

It will not surprise us if hereafter we obtain evidence carrying back the use of the name Śaka with the era of A.D. 78 to about A.D. 400. But we shall not go beyond that. The case, as I put it together, is as follows:—

The era was founded (in the sense that its opening years were the years of his reign) by the Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, who appears to have been a Pahlava or Palhava, i.e. of Parthian extraction,² and who reigned from A.D. 78 to about 125. He established himself first in Kāṭhiāwār, but subsequently brought under his sway Northern Gujarāt (Bombay) and Ujjain, and, below the Narbadā, Southern Gujarāt, Nāsik, and probably Khāndēsh. His capital seems to have been Dōhad, in the Pañch Mahāls. And he had a viceroy, Bhūmaka, of the same family with himself, in Kāṭhiāwār; and a co-regent, Chashṭana, son of Ghsamotika, at Ujjain. Soon after A.D. 125, Nahapāna was overthrown, and his family

¹ The astronomer Lalla used as an epoch the end of the "Śaka" year 420, in A.D. 499: Siahadāhvīriddhīda, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, p. 10, verse 59; p. 50, verse 18. But he wrote at some later time.

² There has been recently brought to notice a Sanskrit work entitled Lokavibhāga, written by an author named Siṅhasūri and treating of Jain cosmography, which gives the date of its composition as the twenty-second year of (the reign of) Siṅhavarman, lord of Kāñchi (Conjeeveram), and the year 380 (expired), = A.D. 458-59, "of those who are named Śakas": see the Annual Report by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Officer in charge of Archeological Researches in Mysore, for the year ending 30 June, 1909, §§ 35, 112. This will have to be thought over, because it is not easy to believe that the era can have been used in such a manner as that, at so early a time, in the eastern parts of Southern India: the earliest instance, as yet established, of its use for civil dating anywhere in that direction, is of A.D. 945 (Southern List, No. 563). I learn from Mr. Narasimhachar that the Lokavibhāga quotes in its chapter 6 some Prākrit verses from a work called Trilokaprajñāpī: this may perhaps throw some light on the matter.

³ There is at any rate nothing to mark either him or his successors as Śakas.
was wiped out, by the Sātavāhana - Sātakarni king Gautamiputra-Sri-Sātakarni, who thereby recovered the territories on the south of the Narbada, and perhaps secured for a time Kāthiāwār and some other parts on the north of that river. Very soon, however, Chashtana, or his son Jayadāman, or perhaps still more probably his grandson Rudradāman, established his sway over all the territory which had belonged to Nahapāna on the north of the Narbadā; founded a line of Hinduized foreign kings, who reigned there for more than three centuries; and established the era by continuing Nahapāna's regnal reckoning, instead of starting a new reckoning beginning with the first year of his own reign.

In the inscriptions of Nahapāna and his successors, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, the dates in this era do not as yet go beyond the year 127, or (doubtfully) 222. But their coins give a constant succession of dates down to at least the year 310 (expired), = A.D. 388-89. And, as in the case of other Hindū eras in their early periods, during that time the era had no name: on the coins, only the numerals are given; in the inscriptions, the years were simply cited as vasa and varsha, 'the year (of such-and-such a number)'.

At some time about A.D. 400, the Hindūs received the Greek astronomy: and they then devised, for the purposes of their computations, the Kaliyuga era, the commencement of which they placed in February, B.C. 3102. Subsequently, retaining the Kaliyuga for the

1 The date in the year 127 is in the Jasdan inscription: see Ind. Ant., vol. 12, p. 32. The other date is in the Mulwāsar inscription: see, in order, this Journal, 1890. 652; Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 1, p. 43; Bhaumagar Inscriptions, p. 43, with plate; and Rapson's remarks in this Journal, 1899. 381, and Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc., introd., p. 62. The second numeral is certainly 20 (not 30 as given in Bhaumagar Inscriptions): and on the whole the first numeral is probably 100 (not 200 as given there). The name of the king has been read both as Rudrasena and as Rudrasihā.

2 Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc., p. 192.
higher astronomical work, they looked about for another reckoning to be used for certain minor and practical purposes, dealt with particularly in works called Karanças, which did not aspire to be Siddhāntas. The selection was plainly made somewhere in Western India; perhaps at Ujjain, but with equal probability at Bharukachchha, Broach:¹ and it is not impossible that it was made by Lāṭāchārya, whose name indicates a native of Lāṭa, Gujarāt, and who may easily have begun to write at an appreciable time before A.D. 505.

At any rate, the selection was made; and the choice fell on the era beginning in A.D. 78. It seems to have been suggested by two considerations. In the first place, it was, as we have seen, the official reckoning of Kāṭhiawār, Gujarāt, and those parts, still in use in A.D. 388; and no great effort is needed to lead us to believe that it was current half a century or so later.² In the second place, its years probably began either with Chaitra śukla 1, or with some other day so near to the vernal equinox, which was a cardinal detail received from the Greeks,³

¹ Ujjain (we know) was a great seat of astronomy: and the Hindū prime meridian was taken through it. But there are indications that Broach, also, was in early times a centre of learning as well as of commerce: notably, the point that the Nāgarī characters were developed there, as is shown by the fact (see, e.g., Bühler, Indian Paleography, p. 51) that the earliest specimens of Nāgarī are found in the signatures of the Gurjara princes of Broach on their copperplate charters, which range from A.D. 629 to 736.

² The Gupta era of A.D. 320 is first found in those parts in the Junāgadh inscription of Skandagupta (my Gupta Inscriptions, p. 58; Northern List, No. 446), which contains dates in A.D. 455 and the next two years. And the way in which the first of its dates is stated — Gupta-prakāṭe gaṇanaṁ vidhāya; “making the counting in the reckoning of the Guptas” — is a fairly clear indication (though it is in verse) that a distinction was being made between the Gupta era and a local era still in use.

³ Before the arrival of the Greek astronomy, which brought with it the solar year beginning at the vernal equinox to which the Hindūs attached the Chaitrādi lunar year, the Brāhmaṇical lunar year began with Māgha śukla 1, and was attached to a solar year beginning at the winter solstice.
that it was an easy step to make them begin with Chaitra śukla 1 for the lunar year, and at the equinox for the solar year.¹

It then became necessary to attach a name to the era thus selected, so as to distinguish it, in citing it, from the Kaliyuga era. But its origin had been forgotten; except that it was founded by some foreigners whose descendants had become Hinduized. Now, the leading foreign tribes who down to that time had invaded India were the Yavanas, the Palhavas, and the Śakas. And there is a general grammatical rule (Pāṇini, 2. 2. 34) which requires that, in composition with Yavana or Palhava, the base Śaka must stand first, as containing fewer vowels: in agreement with which, Patañjali, in his comments on Pāṇini, 2. 4. 10, gives Śaka-Yavanam as an instance of certain Dvandva compounds which form neuters singular. The rule apparently did not apply to more than two bases treated all at once. But, the compound Śaka-Yavanam having been established, it was natural enough, in prose at least, in adding a mention of the Palhavas, to place the base Palhava last: and so we find the term Śaka-Yavana-Palhava in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 8. 60, line 5). In this way, under the effect of a grammatical rule, the Śakas acquired a special prominence in the traditions of the Hindūs. And thus, when a name was wanted by the astronomers

¹ The astronomers, or some of them, no doubt had also the choice of the so-called Vikrama era beginning in B.C. 58. But its Chaitrādi variety had not then been established: at that time its years began only with Kārttika śukla 1, near the autumnal equinox, which was quite a secondary point in the year. Sewell and Dikshit tell us (Indian Calendar, p. 40, note 2) that this era is never used now by Indian astronomers: and I cannot find any indications that it ever was so used.

There was of course also the Gupta era of A.D. 320, apparently with Chaitrādi years: but there is no evidence that it reached Western India before A.D. 455 (see note 2 on p. 822). There was also the era of A.D. 248 or 249, subsequently known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, in use under the Traikūṭaka kings in Southern Gujārāt in at any rate A.D. 436 and 493: but its years began with Bhādrapada śukla 1.
for the era of A.D. 78, the name of the Śakas presented itself and was given to it.

From the time when the newly christened Śaka era was made the second astronomical reckoning, calculative epochs in terms of it were freely laid down in the Karanás. The almanacs were prepared from the Karanás. And through the almanacs the era became thoroughly well established and spread far and wide. In Southern India it was received with much favour, and became the dominant era and the great historical reckoning. In Northern India, however, it did not meet with the same practical acceptance: see remarks on p. 819 above in connection with the date of A.D. 862. And curiously enough, in its own home, as a standing reckoning in civil or at least official life, it seems to have been entirely supplanted by the Gupta-Valabhi era from about A.D. 455 to the end of the Valabhi period (say about A.D. 775), and then to have received but little recognition as compared with the Vikrama era, which was made the official reckoning by the Chaulukya kings of Anhilwād-Pātan, who were Jains. And so the Śaka era of A.D. 78 owes to the astronomers, not only its name, but also its survival to our time as one of the three great Hindu reckonings.

J. F. Fleet.

The Hathigumpha Inscription

I would supplement here some remarks which I made about this inscription incidentally on p. 242 ff. above.

Some words in this record were interpreted by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji as meaning that king Khāravēla of

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1 The Northern List shows only the following instances of the use of the Saka era in Kāthiawār and Gujarāt: No. 353, of A.D. 914; No. 354, of A.D. 1018–19; No. 356, of A.D. 1051; and Nos. 377, 378, 380 to 384, ranging from A.D. 1499 onwards. The Vikrama dates begin there with No. 45, of A.D. 974, a date of the first Chaulukya king, Mūlarāja I.
Kalinga "does (this) in the 165th year of the time of the Maurya kings after 164 years had passed away". ¹ And on the strength of that, without other evidence of any kind to support it, there has been set up a Maurya era, dating in the Pandit's opinion from the time when Aśoka conquered Kalinga, and in Professor Bühler's opinion from the coronation of Chandragupta.² But, as I have already remarked, the record does not really contain any such date.

The inscription is a Jain record, in somewhat imperfectly spelt Prakrit, beginning with the formula:— Namo arahamātānām namo sava-sidhāna. It gives a concise account of the career of Khāravēla from his birth to the thirteenth year of his reign. But its primary object was to register certain acts done by him, as king, to promote the Jain faith. The words which have been supposed to give the date mentioned above are in line 16, in a clause which is part of a passage beginning in line 14 and running to the end of the record. This passage mentions in line 14 vāhikā nisidiyā, 'an outer place for quiet study', and in line 15 arahata-nisidiyā, 'a place of the Arhats for quiet study'.³ That part of the passage ends in line 16 with the words thabhe patithāpayati, "he sets up pillars". And

¹ For the Pandit's treatment of the record, see the Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Congress, Leyden, vol. 3 (1884), p. 135 ff., with a plate. For other lithographs see Prinsep in JASB, 6 (1837), 1099, plate 58, from a hand-drawing by Kittoe; and Cunningham in Insctrs. of Aśoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 1 (1877), plate 17. I use also a photograph, reduced from a tracing, for which I am indebted to Dr. Burgess.

² Epi. Ind., vol. 2, p. 89. Mr. Vincent Smith, who would like to find any foreign era in use in India in early times rather than an indigenous one, would improve on those proposals by suggesting that, though Chandragupta began to reign in B.C. 322 or 321, he was not crowned or anointed till some years later, and so the Maurya era may be "synchronous" or "identical" with the Selenidian era of B.C. 312: Early History of India (1908), 38, note 1; 40, note 187, note 2. We need not say anything further about that.

³ I take nisidiyā, nisidiyā, in the sense svādhīyā- bhūmi which is assigned to nisāhiyā; see SBE, 22, 179, note 1.
these are followed by the words in which we are interested: they run:

Pana(or ? nam)tariyasacha(or ? thi)vasa[sate] [rā]ja-[Muri]ya-kālā(or ? lē) vochhine cha chōyathā a(or ? aṁ)-gasatikatariya ch = upādayati.

The completion of the reading rāja-Muriya is according to the Pandit’s decipherment from the original rock. It is very possibly correct.

In what follows after kālā or kālē,—(his reading was kālē),— he found the equivalent of a Sanskrit vichchhinne cha chatuvhashahty-agra-satak-ōttarē; adding that the correct Sanskrit would be vichchhinnyāyām. cha chatuvhashahtyām agra-satak-ōttarayām. And he thus obtained the meaning “after 164 years had passed away”.

In this we cannot follow him. Even if vichchhinna, ‘cut, torn, interrupted, ended, ceased’, could be used, as applied by him, in the sense of a year being ended (which I very much doubt), it is not the word which is given by the original text. The original, even as shown in the Pandit’s lithograph and in his reading of the Prākrit text, has vochhine. This is easily recognized as standing for vochchhinne = vyavachchhinnāi. And we thus have a well-known Jain technical term applied to sacred texts which have been ‘cut off, interrupted’, or, in other terms, have been neglected and lost sight of. The use of this term quite prohibits the existence of a date. With this clue to help us, and noting that a distinct accusative is required with the verb uppādayati, — (it cannot be rendered by “he does”, with the accusative “this” understood),— we see that the record says here that king Khārāvēla restored “both [certain texts] which had been neglected since (?) the time of the Maurya king or kings, and [certain other texts]).” And it thus becomes not difficult to recognize, in what stands after vochhine cha, the equivalent of chōyatthām aṁga-sattik-amtariyam
ch = uppadayati: "and he produces, causes to come forth (i.e., revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Aṅgas."

In what stands before [r̥a]ja-[Muri]ya-kālā (or lē), the Pandit readpanamātariya-sathī-vasa-sate. He explained this as equivalent to a Sanskrit pañch-ottarashashti-varsha-sate; for which, he observed, the correct expression would be "shashty-adhika-varsha-sate." And he thus arrived at the meaning "in the 165th year".

We cannot follow him in this, any more than in his explanation of vochhine cha and what stands after it. But it is not easy to say what we have here; except that it can only be an accusative plural neuter, specifying some Jain scriptures, and having vochhine = vyavachchinnāni in apposition with it. As remarked in my previous note, we might perhaps find in the beginning of this term, the Prākrit paṁnattari, 'seventy-five': and there appear to be exactly 75 adhyayanas in Aṅgas 9 to 11. But it seems more probable that we have paṁnatta + ariya = prajñapt-ārya, and that the case as regards what comes after that is as follows. Where the Pandit read sathī-vasa-sate, preparing his lithograph (which is not a facsimile) to match that, Cunningham's lithograph and reading show sughavasā, followed by two illegible syllables.¹ We can easily discount the Pandit's treatment of this passage, in view of his evident desire, created by the words [r̥a]ja-[Muri]ya-kālā(or lē), to find a date here. And, if we follow Cunningham's lithograph, we may understand that the words, as written, represent paṁnatt-ariyasacheha . . . . , and that the reference is to texts propounding some Jain ariyasachchānī, analogous to the chattāri ariyasachchānī, "the four sublime truths", of the Buddhists. Perhaps some Jain specialist may recognize what was intended, and will tell us?

¹ Prinsep's lithograph does not help here.
Though, however, the record is not dated in the year 165 of a Maurya era, it can, I think, be dated by something which it has in line 11. The record there mentions an act which Khāravēla did in the eleventh year of his reign. It does not say (as was supposed by the Pandit) that “in the city of Gadabhā he removed the toll levied by previous kings as also Tanapadabhāvana, for 1300 years”. It says, with some supplementary details which are not clear, that he resettled an udānga, = uddānga, udraṅga, a ‘town’ of some kind, — ?pāṃthuddāṅga, ‘a market-town for the convenience of travellers’; or ?pīthaṇḍāṅga, ‘a studying town’,¹ — which had been founded by former kings, or by a former king, and had been deserted. And taking tērvasa-vasa-sala as meaning, not ‘1300 years’, but (with equal ease) ‘113 years’, we may gather that the town had been ruined 113 years previously, when Aśoka conquered the Kalinga countries; on which occasion (as we know from the 13th rock-edict) much havoc was wrought. That event happened in the ninth year after the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty; that is, in B.C. 256: see my table in this Journal, 1909, 27. And in this way the eleventh year of Khāravēla may be fixed as beginning in B.C. 143; and the inscription, which ends with a record of acts done in the thirteenth year, may be placed in B.C. 141 or 140. This result, however, does not restore the idea of a Maurya era: it only points, as indeed does the whole record, to a careful chronicle having been written up in Kalinga.

J. F. Fleet.

¹ I owe the possible pī (instead of pā) to Professor Lüders. Pītha has the meaning, amongst others, of ‘a religious student’s seat’; also, I think, of ‘a teacher’s footstool’. The idea would fit in well with the references to the places for quiet study, and the revival of Jain texts. And there would, I think, be no difficulty in taking the apparent th as a damaged th.
MAX MÜLLER MEMORIAL SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

When I was on tour in India during the cold season of 1907–8, I purchased nearly one hundred Sanskrit MSS. for the Administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund. These are now deposited in the Bodleian Library, having been bound and hand-listed. As Sanskrit scholars will probably be glad to have some information about this collection, I here give a few notes briefly describing them. Nearly one half of the MSS. are Vedic, the rest representing the Mahābhārata, besides Purāṇa, Kāvyā, Niti-śāstra, and Dharma-śāstra.

There is a complete text of both the Samhitā- and the Pada-pātha of the Rgveda. Each of the Aṣṭakas is a separate MS., one of them being dated 1442 A.D. and another 1434 A.D. The latter is probably the oldest dated Rigveda MS. known at the present time. There are also two complete copies of the text of the Sāmaveda. Of the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa there is a complete copy (1433 A.D.), besides an incomplete one containing the last ten Prapāṭhakas. The Ta整齐īṭīya Brāhmaṇa is represented by one MS. in Telugu characters. There is also one copy of the Ta整齐īṭīya Aranyakā and one of the Āśvalāyana Šrauta Sūtra. The ancillary Vedic literature is represented by about twenty MSS. Of the Prātiśākhya of the Rgveda there is one copy, and of that of the Vājasaneyi Samhitā three. One of the latter is accompanied by the commentary of Rāmacandra and another by that of Uvaṭa. Besides one copy of the Nighaṇṭu there are four of the text of the Nirukta, three being complete and one containing the first six books only. There is besides a complete copy of Durga’s commentary on the Nirukta. Of works connected with the Sāmaveda there are four Gānas, one Sāma-tantra, one Sāmatantra-ṛttisāra, and one Rktantra-sāra.

Representing Epic poetry there is a practically complete text of the Mahābhārata. Each Parvan is, as a rule,
a separate MS. Most of them are dated, and nearly all belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. When Professor Lüders was in Oxford last autumn he collated the MSS. of some of the earlier Parvans in this collection. Besides the Harivamśa there are eight Purāṇas, the Atma, Ādi, Āditya, Kalki, Mudgala, Śamba, Śiva, Skanda, as well as a Parānanda-purāṇa and a Śrī-
purāṇa-samhitā. There is, further, one copy of the Viṣṇu-dharma and one of the Itihāsa-samuccaya. The historical romances are represented by a beautifully written copy of the Harṣa-carita, which, being dated 1463 A.D., is probably the oldest MS. of this work known.\(^1\) Of the text of the Meghadūta there is one copy, and two of Mallinātha’s commentary. The Pañca-tantra is represented by four MSS., only one of which is dated (A.D. 1719). All these four have been collated by Dr. Hertel. There are also five copies of the Hitopadesa. Of the text of Manu there are two copies, one of which was formerly used for reference in the High Court at Calcutta. One MS. contains the commentary of Kullūka, and two others that of Medhātithi. When Professor Jolly visited Oxford last year he examined these Manu MSS. and pronounced them to be valuable.

All these MSS. are now accessible to scholars, and may be borrowed under very liberal conditions by applying to the Administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund.

A. A. Macdonell.

Oxford.
March 14, 1910.

THE BHEDA SAMHITA IN THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT

In the Journal for 1909, pp. 869–70, I propounded a hypothesis regarding a certain passage in the Nāvanītaka,

\(^1\) I might here mention that Dr. M. A. Stein’s collection of nearly 400 Kashmir MSS., deposited in the Indian Institute, contains four or five Sārada copies of this somewhat rare work.
quoted from the Bheda Samhita. I now wish to draw attention to the discovery of a "new fact" which supports that hypothesis.

Let me briefly repeat the old facts. They are—

1. On fol. 24 of the Bower MS. there are given twenty-four formulæ for the preparation of gruels in verses 785–802. To these is appended a charm for ensuring long life (āyus), in verses 803–4, and after it comes the colophon Bhelī yavāgū, or the gruels of Bheḍa. The end of verse 802 is marked by the sign of the oakra, or sacred wheel, and the same mark is appended to the colophon, as may be seen in the figure below, lines 9 and 11.

2. The colophon Bhelī yavāgū indicates that the verses preceding it are quoted from the Bheda Samhita. As a matter of fact, the charm (vv. 803–4) is found in the existing unique Tanjore MS. of that Samhita, in the seventh chapter of its Sūtra Sthāna, which deals with indropakramaniya, that is, with general rules for the preservation of bodily and mental health. But the formulæ for the gruels (vv. 785–802) cannot be traced in that MS. owing to its mutilated condition. Formulae practically identical, however, are found in the Caraka Samhita, in the second chapter of its Sūtra Sthāna; and considering that the two Samhitās are written on almost identical lines, it may rightly be assumed that the missing formulæ would have been found in the second chapter of the Sūtra Sthāna of the Bheda Samhita, if the text of that Samhita were complete.

Now, from the last-mentioned fact, it is obvious that the charm has no particular connection with the gruels. It and the gruels are mentioned in two different, and quite unconnected, chapters of the Samhita; and the charm is to be used generally in connection with any treatment with the object of rendering the latter effective for causing long life. On the other hand, the colophon Bhelī yavāgū refers specifically to the gruels of Bheḍa,
and hence obviously refers to the series of gruels in verses 785–802.

The hypothesis which I suggested was that the colophon in the existing copy of the Nāvanītaka, in the Bower MS., had been misplaced by the scribe. It should have stood at the end of verse 802. But as the charm, following in verses 803–4, was extracted also from the Bheda Samhitā, the scribe inadvertently wrote the colophon after the charm at the end of verse 804.

When I wrote this hypothesis for the Journal of 1909, I had not referred to the facsimile of fol. 24, which is published in my edition of the Bower MS. Writing, at present, the Introduction to that edition, I had occasion to examine that particular folio, and noticed, to my surprise, that it bore a marginal note, whether added by the original scribe, or by a subsequent user of the MS., is uncertain. The note is shown in the subjoined figure—

The facsimile shows the right-hand lower corner of the reverse side of fol. 24. The text, which consists of portions of lines 9–11, reads as follows:—

9 yavāgu Gouncer m-me m-ādhya-gād-ā dehād Vāyuḥ prānān-da
10 ṣedā pas-tathāsya āyur- n- na hiyate Bheli yavāgu O
11 lo dbhīde ca vāri śtha-mustam z-pi c-otpala-kesaram

Verse 802 ends with yavāgu on line 9, and verse 804 with hīyate on line 10. The note is seen on the right-hand margin, written in minute characters, much smaller than the text; and the place of the text, i.e. the colophon Bheli yavāgu, to which it refers, is indicated by two minute kaka-pada, or “crow’s feet”, the well-known mark used by the Indian scribes to indicate some error of
omission or misplacement or the like in the text. It is clear that the writer of the note meant to indicate that the colophon required some sort of correction. The note itself consists of two numerals, viz. the figure (two horizontal strokes) for 2, followed, below it, by the figure for 7. The intended meaning of these two numerals seems to become clear when we remember the second fact above explained. The figure 2 must refer to the verses 785–802, which are quoted from the second chapter, and the figure 7 to the verses 803–4, which are quoted from the seventh chapter of the Sūtra Sthāna of the Bheda Samhitā. And the only apparent object of making the corrective note on the margin can be that the writer of it wished to indicate the inadvertent misplacement of the colophon.

There is a further circumstance which confirms this interpretation of the marginal note. The regular practice of the scribe of the Nāvanītaka is to mark a colophon (at the end of a series of verses, or of a series of formulae, or of a whole chapter) by placing it between a couple of signs of the cakra, or sacred wheel, or of the padma, or sacred (white) lotus. The former sign is a circlelet with a central dot, as in the present case; the latter is a circlelet enclosing a smaller circlelet, the circumference of which is studded internally by (usually) three dots. The writing, as it now stands on fol. 24 (see figure), shows a detached cakra at the end of verse 802 on line 9, and another cakra on line 10 after the colophon. This arrangement breaks the usual convention, as above explained; but if we restore the colophon to its proper place, after verse 802, it is seen that the convention is fully observed. For in that case the colophon comes to stand between a couple of cakra, one before, the other after it.

A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.
The "Unknown Languages" of Eastern Turkestan

The existence of an "unknown language", perhaps of several, in Eastern Turkestan has been known for some time; but no solution of the riddle, so far as I am aware, has yet been found. The only real key to it, a bilingual text, has not been forthcoming. There now seems a fair prospect of that key being supplied by the manuscripts discovered by Dr. M. A. Stein in the course of his recent exploration, in the immured temple library of one of the caves of the "thousand Buddhas", south-east of Tun-huang.

A number of these manuscripts, all written in the "unknown language", were very kindly placed in my hands by Dr. Stein. A rapid examination disclosed the fact that there were included among them two short Buddhist canonical texts, both in a complete, or nearly complete, state of preservation. They are the Aparimitāyūḥ Sūtra and the Vajracchedikā.

The manuscript of the Aparimitāyūḥ Sūtra consists of twenty leaves, measuring about 14 × 2½ inches, with four lines of writing on each page. The initial and final pages are blank. The pagination numbers are on the margin of the obverse of the leaves. The first inscribed page (i.e. the reverse of fol. 1) begins with a small coloured figure of the seated Buddha within a black-line circle, followed by the usual saddham (sic, for siddham). The colophon identifies the text as the Aparamitāyā Sūtrā [sic]. All the folios, except Nos. 7 and 8, are written, in a kaligraphic hand, in the well-known upright Gupta script of Eastern Turkestan. Folios 7 and 8 are written in the peculiar cursive script, specimens of which have been published by me in part ii of my "Report on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities" (Extra Number, Journal A.S.B., 1901, vol. lxx). These two folios measure only about 12 × 2½ inches, with four lines of writing, except on the reverse of folio 8, which has only
two lines. They clearly constitute a later addition made to replace the loss of the two original leaves. Their peculiar importance lies in the fact that they will enable us to identify with a close approach to certainty the exact value of the cursive letters. With one or two exceptions they seem to confirm the values given by me to those letters in my Report above-named.

In the Calcutta collection of Nepalese Buddhist canonical texts there is a copy of the Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra. In Rajendralāla Mitra's catalogue, p. 41, it is called a Dharani, No. B, 38. It consists of twenty-two folios, measuring 7 × 3 inches, with five lines on each page. In the Cambridge collection of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts, described by the late Professor Bendall, there are also three copies of the same Sūtra, of similar dimensions. I have not yet seen any of these four copies, but to judge from their dimensions their text must be identical with that of the manuscript in Dr. Stein's collection. A comparison of the short extracts from the texts, quoted in the catalogues of R. Mitra and Bendall, confirms that conclusion. The Calcutta and Cambridge texts are entirely in Sanskrit. They consist of a number of mantras, many times repeated, and interspersed with explanatory directions regarding their use. In Dr. Stein's text the mantras are given in Sanskrit (more or less corrupt), but the interspersed directions are translated into the "unknown language", and the translation is to all appearance a verbatim one. But whether this is so, or not, can only be determined when the five texts are fully compared. If my expectation should prove correct, we should have here at last an example of the long-desired bilingual text, the acquisition of which would form not the least of the merits of Dr. Stein's successful exploration.

By the time I return to Oxford I hope to receive the Cambridge and Calcutta manuscripts of the Aparimitāyuḥ
Sūtra; and it is then my intention to publish in a subsequent issue of this Journal, in parallel columns, the Sanskrit text of the Sūtra, as collated from those manuscripts, and the "unknown language" text of Dr. Stein's manuscript, as well as photographic facsimiles of all the leaves of the latter manuscript. This, it is hoped, will place, in a convenient form, all the available material in the hands of those scholars who may desire to work on the problem of determining this particular "unknown language" of Eastern Turkestan.

The manuscript of the Vajracchedikā consists of forty-four leaves, measuring about 10 × 2½ inches, with four lines of large writing in the upright Gupta type of Eastern Turkestani characters. It is, however, not quite complete: only thirty-three leaves survive; fols. 11–14, 16–19, 39, 41, and 43, altogether eleven, are missing. The pagination numbers are on the obverse sides. The text commences, on the reverse of the first folio, with a circle in the upper right corner, followed by siddham. The centre of the page is occupied by a large figure of the seated Buddha within two concentric circles. The obverse of the first folio is filled with a disorderly mass of writing in cursive characters of varying sizes, among which the words Kalparāja sutra and Vajara-chaidaki-prajñāpārā-saddham are legible. The reverse of the last folio has three lines, and in the centre another large figure of the seated Buddha within concentric circles. The first line gives the colophon ha-ki Vajrachedaka ntr-sā-yā Prajñāpāramma sa-māsye || which, apparently, represents the Sanskrit ārya-Vajracchedikā bhagavati Prajñāpāramitā samāpta of Max Müller's edition in the Anecdotum Oxoniensium, vol. i, pt. i, p. 46. Then, after a broad intervening blank space, follow the other two lines, which read sa-ddham Vajrachidakyi hī-ya-ttā, etc. The manuscript commences with a long introduction in the "unknown language", of which there is no Sanskrit equivalent in Max Müller's edition. The text
itself of the Vajracchedikā begins only with the second line of the reverse of the third folio, where its beginning is indicated by a circlet followed by saddham, exactly like that at the commencement of the whole manuscript.

In conclusion, I may quote, as a specimen, the conventional opening sentences of the two texts, printed interlinearly, the Sanskrit in roman and the "unknown language" in italic type.

**Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra**

Evāṁ mayā śrutam || Ekasmin samaye
Tathā mu-kum-jaśa pyū-stā || Si-ṇa be-ka

Bhagavān Śrāvastiyoṁ viharati-sama Jetavane
Gya-stā-bra-ysāḥ Śrā-vā-ṣṭā a-stā-vye-ji-vā Ri-spu-rā
Anāthapiṇḍasya [sāṁgha] jārāme mahataḥ

bhikṣu-sāṁghena sārdham ² ardhā-trayodasaḥbhīr
. . . . . ³ [ha-ṇsa] dvā-sse paṁ-jaśa ⁴

= bhikṣu-ṣātaiḥ sambhulaiś-ṣa Bodhisattvair
śau a-ṣri-ryau-jaśa u-phu-rā-kyau Bau-dhi-sa-tva
mahāsattvaiḥ . . . . [sārdham] || Tatra
mi-styau̲-bra-ysu-ṇa vu-ysyau-jaśa ha-ṇsa ² ||

khalu [etasmin samaye] Bhagavāṇa Mahājñāriyaṁ
. . . Tī-ṇa be-ka-mī Gya-stā-bra-ysā Mah-ju-ṣrī

---

¹ This is not exactly a translation of bhagavān. The element bra-ysā occurs again below in mi-styau bra-ysā = mahāsattva, and means a "being", sattva. The element gya-stā occurs regularly in the closing phrase of Buddhist canonical works, deva-amurṛyadhava, etc., in which it corresponds to deva. The whole word gya-stā-bra-ysā, accordingly, appears to mean a "divine being", or perhaps a "perfect being". And the phrase gya-stā-ṇa gya-stā in the Vajracchedikā would seem to represent Sanskrit devinān deva, "most divine," or "most perfect".

² The word sārdham = ha-ṇsa, is transferred to the end of the sentence in the Eastern Turkestani text.

³ Here and elsewhere the Eastern Turkestani text is shorter; the reductions are indicated by dots.

⁴ The Eastern Turkestani version here seems to follow a different Sanskrit text; apparently it means "twice five hundred".

⁵ Mi-sta corresponds to Sanskrit mahā. Compare mahatā, mahāsattva, mahānagarī in the two texts.

JRSA. 1910.

54
kumāra-bhūtam āmantrayate-sma || Asti Māmjuśrīh
upariśṭāyāṁ Aparimita-guṇa-saṁcayo
nāma loka-dhātuḥ ||
nām-ma lo-va-dā-va-ra ||

V AJRACCHEDIKĀ

Evaṁ mayā śrutam || Ekasmin samaye
Ta-ta mam-mā pya-stā || se-snye se-snye-tā

Bhagavān Śrāvastyām

Gya-stā-nā Gya-stā-bra-ysā Śrā-va-stā ksirā 3
viharati-sama Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍasya
ā-stā-vyā-ji-vā Ri-spu-ṛ-ṛ-bā-śra A-nā-tha-pi-ndi-hā-ṛū
[saṁgh-jārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṁghena sārdham
saṁ-khye-rma 4 mi-stā-na bi-lsā-gā-na haṁ-nsa
ardha-trayodasaḥbhir bhikṣu-saṭaiḥ saṁbhalaiś ca
dvā-si paṁ-ṛsā 5 sau ā-śrī-ṛyau-jsa

Bodhisattvair mahāsattvaiḥ || Atha khalu

|| Tti ... Gya-stā-nā

Bhagavān pūrv-āhna-kāla-samaye nivāsa
Gya-stā-bra-ysā brū-ha-kā ... na-va-ysye
pātra-civaram ādāya Śrāvastiṁ mahānagarīṁ
pā-ṛt-ṛa ci-va-ra pa-na-nā-ti Śrā-va-sta mi-stā-ki-thu
pindāya prāvikṣat |
pī-ṛdā trāṭa-da |

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

WIESBADEN.
May 16, 1910.

1 The consonant of this syllable is broken away.
2 The Eastern Turkestani version here seems to follow a different Sanskrit text; for sa-rbāṁ seems to point to Sanskrit sarva.
3 Kṣi-rā would seem to represent Sanskrit pura or nagara, "town."
4 Saṁ-khye-rma I take to represent saṁghārāma, though the usual Sanskrit text has only ārāma.
5 See n. 4, p. 837.
NOTE ON BUDDHIST LOCAL WORSHIP IN MUHAMMADAN CENTRAL ASIA

In the account of my first Central-Asian journey I have had occasion to call attention to numerous instances which the Khotan oasis and its vicinity present, of the survival of local worship from Buddhist into Muhammadan times. The accurate topographical indications which are furnished for that region by the records of the early Chinese pilgrims, especially Hsian-tsang, enabled me to prove there that practically all sites that they describe as sacred to the Buddhist population of their time are still to this day marked by Muhammadan ziarats of note, and that the popular legends attached to the latter often retain clear traces of the earlier Buddhist traditions related by the pilgrims.

The total absence about Khotan of stone suitable for building or sculptural use has always caused buildings, whether sacred or secular, to be constructed of materials such as timber, stamped clay, or sun-dried bricks, which are particularly liable to decay. Under the peculiar physical conditions prevailing within the irrigated area of the oasis and in its immediate vicinity, actual remains of earlier shrines constructed of such materials could scarcely be expected to survive in recognizable form. In consequence it was not possible to support the identifications of the sacred sites above referred to by such tangible archaeological evidence as I had so often come across in the course of my corresponding antiquarian researches in Kashmir, where Muhammadan ziarats are still in many cases built with the very stones taken from the earlier Hindu shrines.

1 This note, in Hungarian, was contributed to the Emlékkönyve presented to Professor I. Goldziher, Budapest, in honour of his sixtieth birthday, June 22, 1910.
2 For references see my Ancient Khotan, vol. i, Index, p. 611, s.v. Local Worship.
3 Cf. Ancient Khotan, pp. 195 seq.
to which they succeeded. The wider extent of my explorations of 1906–8 has enabled me to supplement those illustrations of the tenacity of local worship in Central Asia by instances where I could lay my hand on tangible archaeological proof, and a few of these I propose to present here.

Hsüan-tsang, the greatest of our Chinese pilgrim guides for that region, when recording his journey about 642 A.D. across the Pāmirs to Kāshgar and Khotan, tells us of an ancient hospice or punyaśālā which he reached after leaving the capital of Chieh-p'an-t'o, the present Sarikol, to the north-east and marching for 200 li or two daily marches across mountains and precipices. The position of that religious foundation is described as in the centre of an elevated plain "in the midst of the four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the Ts'ung-ling mountains". "In this, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and storms rage. . . . Even at the time of the great heat the wind and the snow continue . . . Merchant caravans, in coming and going, suffer severely in these difficult and dangerous spots." According to an "old story" which Hsüan-tsang heard related, a great troop of merchants with thousands of followers and camels had once perished here by wind and snow. An Arhat, or saint, of Sarikol was believed to have subsequently collected all the precious objects left behind by the doomed caravan and to have constructed on the spot a house in which he accumulated ample stores, as well as to have made pious endowments for the benefit of travellers in neighbouring territories.¹

Taking into account the topographical indications furnished by the pilgrim's own route and the distance and bearing recorded, I had previously arrived at the

¹ See Julien, Mémoires des contrées occidentaux, ii, p. 215.
conclusion that the site of the hospice would have to be looked for on the Chichiklik Maidan, the plateau-like head of a high valley, where the main route from Tashkurghan, the Sarikol capital, to Kashgar crosses the second great mountain range stretching south from the Muztagh-ata massif. But it was only on my recent journey that I was able to examine this route and to verify the conjectured location. I found that the curious level plain about 2½ miles long and about 1½ miles across, at the head of the Shindi Valley, situated at an elevation of over 14,000 feet and bordered all round by snowy ridges, corresponds most closely to Hsüan-tsang’s description. The accounts of my caravan men and my personal observations amply sufficed to convince me of the losses which this desolate upland of Chichiklik, exposed to the winds and snows, claims annually in animals and sometimes in men. Most of it was still under snow when I passed here in June, 1906. But a low knoll near the centre of the plain was clear, and when, attracted by the sight of a dilapidated Muhammadan tomb or “Gumbaz”, I proceeded to examine its top, I soon discovered there the foundations of a square enclosure some 35 yards on each side, built of rough but very massive stone walls and manifestly of early construction. The correct orientation of the lines of wall was by itself a clear indication of pre-Muhammadan origin. At the same time the decayed grave mounds I could trace inside and the reports gathered from the Sarikolis accompanying me left no doubt about the spot being now held sacred in Muhammadan eyes.

1 The hardships often suffered on this high plateau by travellers are strikingly illustrated by the record of another pious traveller, Benedict Götz, the lay Jesuit, who passed here in 1603 on his journey from India in search of fabled Cathay. He and his Kāfila started from Sarıkol, “and then in two days more they reached the foot of the mountain called Ciecialith (i.e. Chichiklik). It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death, and our brother himself barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here.” See Sir Henry Yule’s Cathay and the Way thither, ii, p. 502.
The Chichiklik plain, forbidding as it looks, must for a variety of topographical reasons always have formed a regular halting-place, and the central position occupied in it by the ruined structure is exceptionally well adapted for the purposes of a storehouse or hospice such as Hsüan-tsang describes, intended to provide shelter and supplies for travellers from whichever of the several passes they may come. How much time has passed since those walls have crumbled away to their foundations can no longer be determined. But every archaeological and topographical indication justifies our recognizing in them the last remains of the ancient structure to which Hsüan-tsang's record refers. Throughout Chinese Turkestan graveyards are invariably attached to supposed ziäruts of saints, and it is therefore safe to look upon the graves now found within the enclosure and the sanctity claimed for the ground as a distinct trace left by the legend which in Hsüan-tsang's days ascribed the foundation of the hospice to the action of a holy man.

Another instance of local worship surviving the change of religion was also observed in the mountains. It presents points of special interest for the student of folklore. While moving in May, 1908, from Aksu along the foot of the Tien-shan range to Uch-Turfan, I had heard vague stories about ruins of some mysterious town which was said to be sighted on clear days far away in the mountains south of the latter place, but to disappear whenever it was searched for. As I subsequently made my way through these barren mountains by a previously unsurveyed route towards the valley of Kelpin, it was easy for me to ascertain that these legends of an ancient hilltown, variously talked of as Shahr-i-Barbar, Shahr-i-Haidar, or under a Chinese designation as "The castle of the T'ang chief", had their origin in the remarkable appearance presented by a high and fantastically serrated portion of that range of the outer Tien-shan south of
Uch-Turfan which figures on previous sketch-maps under the name of Kara-teke. Its peaks, curiously recalling the Dolomites, rise above the Kara-shilwe side-valleys to heights of about 14,000 feet, and with their extremely bold pinnacles and precipitous rock walls bear a strange resemblance to ruined towers and castles.

The few Kirghiz who cling with their herds to what scanty grazing can still be found in the high valleys around, now almost waterless through progressive desiccation, know the line of these peaks by the collective name of Kāka-jāde, and regard them with superstitious awe. The stories they told me of dragons supposed to dwell among them and to issue forth at times in the shape of clouds raining fire and hail, curiously recalled the legends heard by the early Chinese pilgrims of the Nāgas dwelling on the heights of the Pāmir and above the Hindu Kush passes. But I was still more interested when information, elicited with some difficulty, reached me about a stone image to be found high up on the southern slope of that range.

Leaving my camp on May 13 at a point south of the Saghiz-kan Pass, where water was available in a rock cistern, I proceeded in search of the image with Mangush, the Beg of the local Kirghiz. After a ride of some 17 miles skirting high plateaus, we reached the grazing ground known as Chal-koide at an elevation of some 7000 feet, and right under the frowning crags of the eastern end of "Kāka-jāde's town". There, to my surprise, I found the rough stone enclosure of a regular ziārat crowning the top of a small rocky knoll, and within it the stone image reported. It proved to be a stèle-shaped slab about 3 feet high, rudely carved in flat relievo, with the representation of a male figure. Under the disproportionately large head the hands, folded upon the breast and holding a curved sword, could still be made out. The carving was too rude to permit of any approximately
safe dating, though the far-advanced weathering of the surface clearly pointed to considerable age. But that the image, whatever it was meant to represent, went back to Buddhist times was made highly probable by the discovery by its side of a small block of stone, apparently granite, roughly carved into the miniature representation of a stūpa, showing the conventional arrangement of bases and dome common to Central-Asian monuments of this class.

The most curious feature to me, however, was to see the enclosure around filled with all the usual votive offerings of orthodox Muhammadan shrines in these parts, horse-skulls, horns of Ovis poli and wild goats, rags fastened on staffs, etc. It was evident that worship at this shrine was very much a thing of the present, in spite of the Uch-Turfan Mullahs' protest against it of which Mangush Beg told me. Until recent years the cult of this queer ziarat was general among the Kirghiz of the neighbouring grazing grounds, and numbers of men used to come to it from distant valleys, good Muhammadans as all these Turki herdsmen have been for long generations. At the present day only the older men were said to cling to the custom of praying at the shrine; but even thus nobody dares to enter its enclosure. The carved figure is supposed to represent a female, Kuwaghiz by name, and the wife of some ancient hero called Kaz-ata, whose image pious eyes recognize in an inaccessible rock pinnacle high up on the crest of the range. This connexion clearly indicates that the curious shrine here surviving must have owed its origin to the worship of some striking natural feature or Swayambhū Tīrtha, as it would be called in Sanskrit, which we know so well from the folklore of India, ancient and modern, and which Buddhist local cult has always been ready to find room for.

The ease with which superstitious awe will revive local worship, even when extinct for centuries and among a population long completely converted to Muhammadanism,
may be illustrated by an instance which came under my observation in Chitral. It is true this mountain valley on the southern scarp of the Hindu Kush watershed counts now politically to India, but racial ties and the general character of its culture connect it very closely with the region of the Upper Oxus. Marching up the Yārkhun River in May, 1906, on my way to Wakhān and the Pāmir, I was able at the village of Charrun, close to where the Murikho Valley debouches, to examine a large boulder bearing the carefully incised sgraffito representation of a Buddhist stūpa with a short inscription below in Brāhmi characters apparently of the 6–8th century A.D. The boulder had been accidentally unearthed in a field not far from an outlying homestead some eight years before my visit. The villagers, though all good Shiāhs, had since built a hut protecting the stone, which is now worshipped as the relic of some “Buzurg” or great man of holy power. A legend that rapidly sprang up tells of a holy man who in old times had sat there and mysteriously disappeared, the stone being left to mark the spot, which has since the discovery of the rock carving become known as “the sacred corner”.

I was unable to ascertain whether previous to the discovery any latent tradition survived about the locality. But the ground showed plainly that the stone had lain buried for ages under alluvial deposits, which must have accumulated during periods when the terraced hillside, as in many places of Upper Chitral, had passed out of cultivation. All knowledge of the “Kāfīr” significance of the carving had disappeared in the meantime, the complete conversion to Islām dating back in these valleys to at least three centuries. Consequently no priestly protest whatever appears to have been raised when the local cultivators took pious charge of this relic of early Buddhist worship, and thus constituted themselves its safest archaeological guardians.

M. Aurel Stein.
The Antiquity of Vedic Culture

Professor Jacobi's second article on the Antiquity of Vedic Culture (above, pp. 456 seqq.), some parts of which have been replied to already by Mr. Keith (ibid., pp. 464 ff.), makes me wish for my part to add a few words to what I have said before on the same subject.

1. In the first part of his paper Professor Jacobi argues against my supposition, the reasons for which I have stated in this Journal, 1909, pp. 1095 seqq., that the gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nasatyas, mentioned in the Mitannian inscriptions, are proto-Iranian rather than Indian. Varuna, Professor Jacobi says, is nowhere mentioned in Iranian records. It need not be said that this was well known to me. But there is another fact, the importance of which seems to me to be underrated by Professor Jacobi—a fact indicating the probability, even before we knew those newly discovered inscriptions, that Varuna bore a part in prehistoric times in the religion of Iran, in spite of not being named in that country. This fact, which has been alluded to by Darmesteter and others and by myself in this Journal, 1909, p. 1097, is, that both in India and Iran a couple of gods are found, one of whom in either country is called Mitra, while the other one in Iran bears the name of Ahura, in India the name of Varuna.

Jacobi (p. 457) contends that although the first member of this couple of gods is identical, it does not follow that the second member on either side should also be the same. I do think that the distinguished Indianist in this matter gives way too readily to scepticism and passes over those particular circumstances that furnish an important factor for concluding that Varuna and Ahura are equivalent. For the association of Mitra with Varuna lies on quite a different line from those numerous fluctuating associations which so frequently in the Vedic hymns make a god appear united now to this god, now to that one, in
constantly new and ever-varying combinations. The Vedic Mitra, on the contrary, over and over again appears in a most intimate association, which grammatically is expressed by a Dwandva compound, with Varuṇa. Vedic texts, which upon the whole do not teach us much about the proper character of Mitra, give this, and this alone, as the predominant trait in his character, that he is the constant companion of Varuṇa. Considering the standpoint of the Veda this very close association would seem groundless and unintelligible; it is evident that Vedic India had inherited it from long bygone days.

Just in the same way we find in the Avesta the name of Mithra associated in a dual Dwandva with one, and only one, name of another god, Ahura. In the sphere of Zarathushtrianism such an association can hardly have originated, for in this religious system Ahura stood incomparably above the level of a god like Mithra. Thus with regard to the couple Mithra–Ahura also we have reason to believe that, as Bartholomae says,¹ this is "zweifellos eine aus arischer Zeit stammende Verbindung".

Consequently, in confronting the two couples Mithra–Varuṇa and Mithra–Ahura with each other, we are dealing with uncommonly fixed and uncommonly old associations.

Let there be added further that the Vedic hymns give most frequently to Varuṇa the epithet of asura, which is, as is well known, the precise equivalent to the Iranian ahura.² And further that, as Darmesteter has persuasively shown, the personality and the divine functions of Varuṇa are described by the Vedic poets in expressions that most remarkably resemble those which in the Avesta are employed with regard to Ahura. So in my opinion there is a far stronger basis for the supposition of Ahura and Varuṇa being equivalent gods than would appear from the rather brief statements of Jacobi, p. 457.

¹ Altiranisches Wörterbuch, col. 1185.
² This Jacobi (p. 457) has not failed to mention.
In a similar way I consider the Vedic Indra and the Avestan Verethrajan as derived from the same Indo-Iranian prototype. Jacobi states that in the Avesta Verethrajan and Indra are two distinct mythological persons, and that "it is just as likely that the Indians should have fused two gods into one as that the Iranians should have split one into two". Perhaps other students of the Rigveda will look with the same distrust as I do at a theory which would make of Indra and of the slayer of Vṛtra two different gods. For our present purpose, however, it is of no consequence how we judge on this question. For as in any case Indra appears by this name in the Avesta as well as in the Veda, I certainly do not see, even if this Indra should have originally differed from the slayer of Vṛtra, what difficulties would arise by assuming the existence of that proto-Iranian Indra who I believe is recognizable in the In-da-ra of the Mitannian inscriptions.

Professor Jacobi (p. 459) thinks it difficult to believe that two distinct peoples, derived from a common stock, can have preserved the same gods as in prehistoric times, when those people had not yet separated. With reference to this I think that the length of time of the separation of the two nations is a point of most considerable influence. The Zarathustrian gods naturally are very different from the gods of the Mahābhārata or the Purāṇas. But it is not reasonable to doubt that a few centuries after the separation of the Indians and the Iranians, before the great Zarathustrian reform set in, some of the principal deities may have remained identical with each other on both sides. Differences between the creed and the mythology of the western and of the eastern group of people will not have been lacking even at this time. But it is not in the least surprising if the few names we read in the Mitannian inscriptions do not reveal anything of these differences. Thus there is no reason
to conclude from the conformity of these names with Indian names of gods that the gods named in these inscriptions should, in spite of the geographical improbability, be Indian.

2. I now turn to the chief question at issue. Let us assume that those gods with Vedic names are indeed, as Jacobi believes, Indian gods; what conclusions are then to be drawn with regard to the problem of the antiquity of Vedic culture? After all that has been said before on this subject a few words will suffice. I believe that most readers of Professor Jacobi's first article will have had the same impression as I had, that he understands those inscriptions to be a decisive in favour of his own belief in "the enormous age of Indian civilization" (Journal, 1909, p. 722), as the Ceyl satisfactory to me—though I must say it is rather data indicate—to see that Professor Jacobi's real opinion, as we stated by him, is quite different, and that his claims as to the chronological significance of the inscriptions are much more moderate. Till recently, he says (p. 460), the oldest authentic date in Indian history was the date of Buddha's death, and now the oldest certain date is pushed back for well-nigh a thousand years. The progress in our knowledge pointed out by this is, in fact, far less substantial than it would appear after those words—the somewhat sonorous mentioning of a thousand years. For it was naturally clear to all of us, even before the discovery of the Mitannian inscriptions, that the period of the oldest Upanisads, and further back, of the Brāhmaṇas, and still further back, of the Rigveda Samhitā, and of the beginnings of Indian history that precede the origin of the Rigveda, must have extended through many centuries before Buddha. There will be few scholars—if there are any at all—who did not, and who do not, think it certain, or nearly certain, that nine hundred or a thousand years before Buddha the worship of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa was
firmly established among Indian sacrificers and poets. Now documents have been discovered which—if they refer to Indian gods, which I think they actually do not do—would state exactly the same things which, with tolerable certainty, we had inferred before.

Nobody, of course, will find fault with an historian who gladly accepts such a confirmation of his conclusions. But is it not saying rather too much to say that all this "gives an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization"?

3. Finally, I wish to make a remark on one point of minor importance.

Professor Jacobi (460) ascribes to me the opinion that in the calendar the full moon of Phālguna "marked the beginning of the hot season", which he very naturally finds acceptable. But if he will take the trouble to look at my statements in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 49, 475 seq., he will see that it is not the beginning of the hot season with which I have connected that full moon, but—for reasons there stated—the beginning of spring. I think it will be admitted that this makes a difference.

Hermann Oldenburg.

THE EARLY USE OF THE BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA

It appears to me that at least three issues are raised by Dr. Fleet's note, taken together with mine, in the last number of this Journal, p. 474 seq., viz.:

1. Was any method of reckoning from an assumed date of Buddha's parinirvāṇa (i.e. death) current in Burma before (say) 1165 A.D.? And, if so,

2. Was such method identical with the one used in Ceylon (and subsequently also in Burma) after 1165 A.D. (and in that case was it imported from Burma to Ceylon
or vice versa), or were there two systems, of independent origins, assuming different initial points?

3. What are the correct dates of accession and demise of the early kings of Pagān, especially Anawrahta, Kyanzittha, and Alaungsithu?

I am not in a position to give an answer to the last question. The first one I answered provisionally in the affirmative. The second I had to leave unanswered, but pointed out that there actually have been variations in the initial date of the Buddhist era used in Burma even after 1180 A.D., in fact up to nearly 1300 A.D. Dr. Fleet does not distinguish between the first and second issues. He appears to take it for granted that any method of reckoning from Buddha's death used in Burma must have arisen from the same source as the Ceylon method, and so he draws from the Ceylonese data available at present the conclusion that that source was Ceylon, and that the system was introduced into Burma about 1170–80 A.D.

That conclusion inevitably leads to the view that the Myazedi inscriptions of Pagān are not a contemporary record. I do not think this result would have suggested itself on the internal evidence of the record taken as it stands. It appears to me to involve certain difficulties. Quadrilingual inscriptions, set up (as in this case) in duplicate, must, I imagine, be rare at any time and place; so far as I know, the Myazedi record is the only instance of the kind hitherto found in Burma. Its existence may be explained by the circumstance that a recent expansion of Burmese rule had brought neighbouring alien races under its sway, and that the prince who performed the act of piety recorded in these inscriptions was anxious that it should be commemorated in a manner which would be understood by all the more important sections of the population comprised in the Burmese empire. But would anyone, after the lapse
of many years, have thought it worth his while to draft and set up in four different languages a statement of the fact that a long deceased prince had made a votive offering on behalf of a long deceased king? I do not think so: surely the principle of *cui bono* applies strongly to such a case as this.

That, no doubt, is a mere matter of opinion. But the Myazedi inscriptions do not stand alone. The great Shwezigon Talaing inscription (also of Pagān) supports the argument. This is a record of nearly 400 lines, and consists in the main of a very verbose and fulsome panegyric (thrown into the form of a prophecy by the Buddha himself, which is repeated with variations and comments by various other persons) in honour of a king Śrī Tribhuwanādityadammarāja of Pagān, namesake and probably immediate successor of the one mentioned in the Myazedi record. According to the Shwezigon inscription Buddha foretells that a certain ancient sage, the Risi Bisnū (Rsi Viśnū), is to be reincarnated (after several intermediate adventures that are here immaterial) as a king of Pagān, in whose reign the land will enjoy a golden age of prosperity and true religion. The language is so extremely eulogistic that it is, in my opinion, pretty evident that the inscription was set up during the lifetime of the king in question. The date when the Risi is to reappear as king is given variously as 1628 and 1630 “expired”\(^1\) after Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*, the latter figure being presumably a statement in “round numbers”, the former a more exact one. The phraseology appears to me to be ambiguous, as the date might refer either to the birth of the king or his accession. But in any case I think the king intended is Alaungsithu, who, according to Phayre, was a grandson of his predecessor Kyanzittha, and reigned from 1085 to 1160 A.D.

\(^1\) The original gives these dates (the second one twice over) in words, not in figures.
(These dates are presumably derived from dates in the Buddhist era given in Phayre’s Burmese sources, and are not therefore necessarily quite accurate. Other reasons for doubting their accuracy will be mentioned later on.) It looks, however, as if during the reign of Alaungsithu some method of reckoning from some assumed pari-nirvāṇa date was current in Burma.

The argument can be carried a step further. I have quite recently received an estampage of a newly discovered inscription from Prome. This record, which I shall call Shwesandaw I (as a second inscription was found near by in the same pagoda precincts) is also in Talaing and is evidently based upon the Shwezigon record. Only the first page is available, and that too in a much dilapidated condition, but it embodies the same Pāli gāthā, apart from slight verbal variants, as the Shwezigon inscription and the Talaing text goes on to tell (somewhat more concisely, though with a few additional details not given by the Shwezigon record) the same story about the prophecy. But what concerns us is that at the beginning, after an invocation, we have the following:—

2. . . . kāl S[a]k[arāj 4]87 Mrigasiras [???][?] 3. [??]k[i[??][??][??][?]] tūey Sukriwār || Uttar Pha[lguni ????]
4. [??][??][??][?] lagna || . . .

I am not sure that Sakarāj is the word intended: the stone is badly damaged here. Tūey is the old Talaing for “day”. In l. 3, where I have put half a dozen marks of interrogation there are, I believe, amongst other things one or two numerals which I cannot at present make out, the passage being blurred. But anyhow we have in l. 2 a year, probably of the Burmese era. Its first visible numeral is barely legible, but I think it is a 4, as it must be if the era is really the Burmese one. The other two seem to me to be clearly 87. That would put the inscription in 1125 A.D., which would, I imagine, be in the reign
of Alaungsithu, who is mentioned as king in Burmese Era 501 (1139-40 A.D.) in a Burmese inscription (Inscriptions of Pagan, etc., Rangoon, 1899, pp. 64-5). The fact that Shwesandaw I gives the month (+ November), and evidently also the lunar day (though this is unfortunately illegible), the day of the week, Friday, the nakṣatra, Uttara-Phalguni (as I suppose), and the lagna (illegible), should satisfy Dr. Fleet that this at least is a synchronous record. Well, in l. 21 seq. the prophecy says that in the 1630th year of Buddha's religion the Risi Bisnū is to come down from Brahmaloka and come into life as the scion of two families, one of which (that of his mother, I fancy, who was a princess of the Pagan royal family and daughter of Kyanzittha) is the Solar race (Adiccawā́nsa). The name of the other I cannot make out, as it is partly obliterated. The record goes on to say that he shall

1 There are also two longer ones, in Pali, set up by the king himself, which apparently are parts of one record. The second is dated in 503 Burmese Era (ibid., pp. 73-9).

2 As I have had no experience in the verification of Indian dates I submitted these particulars to M. A. Barth, of Paris, through my friend M. A. Cabaton. M. Barth very kindly took the trouble to make the necessary calculations, and informs me that in the month in question, in 1125 A.D., the moon entered this nakṣatra after sunrise on Friday, the 20th November. Assuming, then, that the year is really 1125 A.D., and that the months are amānta, as in the modern Burmese reckoning, it would seem that there are no discrepancies in the legible data and that this is really the date of the inscription. If the era of this record is not the Burmese one, I know of no other likely to have been used in Burma at this time which would be any more compatible with Dr. Fleet's position. The Śaka era and any parinirvāṇa era would be equally objectionable. If it were the former we should (having regard to the contents of these inscriptions) have to make the numerals 1087, and if the latter, 1687, instead of 487. The former would work out at 1165 A.D. and the revised parinirvāṇa era at 1144 A.D. If it is the last-named or some other parinirvāṇa era, cadit quæstio. Besides (M. Barth informs me) none of these years (except 1125 A.D. with amānta months) fulfil the given conditions of month, weekday, and nakṣatra.

3 The original gives this date in words, not in figures.

4 Or the family of the prince "Aditsa" mentioned by Phayre (History of Burma, p. 20) as a legendary ancestor of the Pagan kings.
become king (smiū dharmmarāja) in the city of Pokāmma, which is Arimaddanapur, i.e. Pagān.

I draw the conclusion that the Shwezigon inscription, on which this Shwesandaw one appears to be based, must be prior to November, 1125 A.D. In that case we have three records using a Buddhist era apparently before 1150 A.D., though one would be enough to establish the point, as Dr. Fleet concedes. Surely, the weight of evidence is in favour of the view that these are contemporary records. Of the three the Myazedi Talaing inscription appears on the whole to use the most archaic form of spelling, and on that ground has an additional claim to be considered the oldest of the three. I admit, however, that we know very little about the details of Talaing spelling at this period, and it seems to have been very variable, so the point is hardly one to be pressed. Still, on the facts as they stand, I take the view that the Myazedi inscriptions must be dated somewhere about the time of Kyanzittha's death.

When we come to inquire further what that time was and what was the initial point assumed for the reckoning then in use, we are met by the extraordinary discrepancies of chronology which Dr. Fleet has mentioned. I have admitted that I am by no means sure that the 1628 of the Myazedi record is 1085-6 A.D. I am not even positive that it represents the year of the death, and not the accession, of Kyanzittha, that monarch of so many irreconcilable dates. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in a recent letter to me, has expressed the view that Kyanzittha reigned from 1628 to 1656. It may be so. If my reading of the numerals in Shwesandaw I is right, it follows not only that the year 1630 of this Buddhist era was some time (I do not know how long) before 1125 A.D., but also (I think) that the king who came to the throne (or was reincarnated?) in that Buddhist year (or 1628) was reigning in 1125 A.D. If the 1630 (or 1628) refers to
Alaungsithu's birth, then Kyanzittha might well have reigned to 1656 of this Buddhist era. But if it refers to Alaungsithu's accession, then Kyanzittha must have been dead in the year 1630 (or 1628), whatever years A.D. these may have been. The former view seems to accord better both with the phraseology of the inscriptions (especially Shwesandaw I) and with the circumstances of Alaungsithu's birth as related in Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 38, though it upsets Phayre's chronology of this period. Either way, Kyanzittha must surely have been dead before 1125 A.D. and the Shwezigon and Shwesandaw I records can hardly refer to him. But all this does not help us much to fix the initial point of the era.

Having regard to the other two cases previously mentioned, where the initial point of the Buddhist era used in Burma was not the usual 544 B.C., I think that the evidence is insufficient to enable us to assert that this era as used in Burma in these early days was identical in origin with the Ceylon one. But it is consistent with the view that a method of reckoning from some assumed *parinivâna* date had existed in Burma independently of the Ceylon method, and was in use there before 1165 A.D., but was subsequently superseded by the Ceylon method. This conclusion seems to accord with the data of the inscriptions, and with the circumstance that Buddhism in Burma was not in the first instance derived from Ceylon. Why should not the Burmese, at any rate from Anawrahta's time (before their Reformation of 1181–2 A.D.), have used a *parinivâna* era, either invented by themselves or derived ultimately from the country from which they (or their Talaing teachers) originally got their religion?

C. O. Blagden.
Remarks on Mr. Blagden's Note

As regards Mr. Blagden's third issue, I am not prepared to go farther into the dates of Kyanzittha and other kings of Burma. While interested for various reasons in the Burmese calendar and reckonings, I am too much occupied with Indian topics to spare time for the details of Burmese history.

I certainly had not separated the first and second issues in the manner in which he has now stated them. It now seems (1) that he suggests that there existed in Burma before A.D. 1165 an independent reckoning from the death of Buddha which placed that event somewhere in the neighbourhood of B.C. 544, but not exactly in that year, and perhaps even as much as sixteen years earlier; and (2) that he is willing to concede, or at least to think it possible, that the reckoning which places the death exactly in B.C. 544 was devised in Ceylon shortly after A.D. 1165, and was carried thence to Burma in the decade A.D. 1170–80, and eventually superseded the reckoning existing there. This latter position is all that I wish to maintain. On my side I shall be glad enough to grant what he claims under the first issue, when the evidence is clear: at present it is not so.

Mr. Blagden has now brought forward two more Burmese inscriptions, which contain dates in a reckoning from the death of Buddha, and which, he claims, were framed and published before A.D. 1165.

One is a Shwezigon Talaing inscription containing a prophecy —i.e., a statement of fact put into a prophetic form— that a certain ancient sage was to be reincarnated as a king of Pagan 1628 or 1630 years after the death of Buddha; that is, in or about A.D. 1085–87. This inscription (it appears) is not otherwise dated, so as to show exactly when it was framed: nor is it explicit as to the king who was the subject of the prophecy. But Mr. Blagden considers it to be "pretty evident that the
inscription was set up during the lifetime of the king in question", because its language is so extremely eulogistic. He "thinks" that that king is Alaungsithu, for whose reign he quotes from Phayre, but with some hesitation, the period A.D. 1085 to 1160. And he says "it looks as if during the reign of Alaungsithu some method of reckoning from some assumed parinirvāṇa date was current in Burma." The whole argument is purely hypothetical.

The other is a newly discovered inscription, Shwesandaw I, which contains the same prophecy. This inscription, again (it appears), is not explicit as to the king who was the subject of the prophecy. But it does contain its own date. And the question is: does this date fall before A.D. 1165?

The details of this date, as given by Mr. Blagden, are the year [4]87 of the Sakkarāj or common Burmese era of A.D. 638, the month Migasira, the weekday Friday, and the nakshatra Uttara-Phalguni. With these details, the date has been calculated for him by M. Barth; with the result (see note 2 on p. 854) that it answers to Friday, 20 November, A.D. 1125. And the moon certainly may be taken to have entered Uttara-Phalguni during the forenoon of that day, and the day did fall in the waning (dark) fortnight of the Burmese Migasira, Sakkarāj 487.

But it is not easy to see how any safe conclusion, in any direction, can be based on a date the available details of which are as problematical as they are in this case. The figures 87 seem tolerably certain. But the figure for the century is not certain; nor even the name of the era: as regards the era Mr. Blagden says: "I am not sure that Sakkarāj is the word intended"; as regards the figure for the century he says: "I think it is a 4, as it must be if the era is really the Burmese one." These are somewhat

1 With these figures, this king's reign covered from at least one point of view that of his grandfather Kyanzittha: another problem in Burmese history.
dubious grounds for fixing the year as Sakkarāj 487. And the fixing of it is really based on the point (see note 2 on p. 854) that, in view of other possibilities which presented themselves to Mr. Blagden, M. Barth examined the date for the year 1087 of the Saka era of A.D. 78 and the year 1687 of the era of B.C. 544, as well as for the Sakkarāj year 487, and found that only in the last year could he place the moon in Uttara-Phalguni on a Friday in Migasira.

But, if we might take the century as 10 or 16, instead of 4, if we could thereby get a suitable result in some other reckoning, why may we not read it as 5 or some subsequent figure even if the year is a year of the Sakkarāj era? And is even the name of the nakṣattra certain? Mr. Blagden has marked it as Uttara-Phaḷ[guni]; indicating that the syllables ṭguni are either illegible or seriously damaged so as to be questionable. And a very essential item, the specification of the lunar day, is illegible. Also, as regards the fortnight, the position of the k which Mr. Blagden has deciphered may indicate sukka, the waxing (bright) fortnight, rather than kāḷa, the waning fortnight. But, if the fortnight should be the waxing fortnight, the nakṣattra cannot be stated as Uttara-Phalguni, unless the record makes a gross mistake: the moon can never be in Uttara-Phalguni in the waxing fortnight of Migasira. Perhaps the nakṣattra might be taken as Uttara-Bhaḷ[drapā]?  

When all or practically all the details of a Burmese, Hindū, etc., date are certain, we can determine whether that date was or was not correctly recorded; and then, if it is found correct, we can go on to see what may be proved by means of it. But we cannot, to any good end, take a seriously imperfect date (which this one is), make speculative calculations, complete the reading on a selected result which suits what we want, and then build up historical conclusions on that reading. We must have
a better date than this one, to serve as a basis for deciding that the Burmese had a reckoning from the death of Buddha in use before A.D. 1165.

J. F. Fleet.

NOTES ON THE MAHĀVAMSA

In preparing a translation of the Mahāvamsa I came, in a few cases, to results which require a slight emendation of the text as given in my edition of 1908. First I beg to correct a few misprints, viz., saṅghātiṃ (1. 74) into "tiṃ; jinasamagamā (2. 30) into "samāgamā; rajwāngana (5. 47) into rāj”; ānāpetvā (17. 35) into ānāpə.

The correct form of the doubtful word in 23. 11 and 35. 11, which puzzled me so much, and which I hesitatingly spelt sahoddu, has been happily found by Dines Andersen (on a postcard written to me, dated Copenhagen, September 8, 1909). It is, no doubt, sahodha = Skr. sahodha (BR. s.v.; Manu, ix, 270). Andersen quotes a passage from Dhammapāla’s Commentary on the Therigāthas, where the same word occurs in its genuine form: Satthukam nāma coram sahodham gahetvā (Pischel, Thig. p. 18447). In the MSS. of the Mah. the word is badly corrupted, and neither Turnour, nor Sumangala and Batuwantudawe, nor I, came to the right emendation. The short notice on the word in my edition (p. 356) must, therefore, be changed into “sahodham ganhāti (coram, etc.) = Ti. sahabhan-dakam g” (Mah. 23. ii, 35. ii), means ‘to catch (a thief, etc.) together with the stolen (goods)’. Cf. Skr. sahodha”. See JPTS., 1910, p. 137.

On p. 355, l. 29, I beg to insert the words “Sum. Vil. 1. 8010 on” before the quotation “Dighanik. 1. 1. 10”.

In 4. 30 I now prefer to read tampakkagāhim instead of ”gāhī. Cf. Introd., p. xxvi. There can be no doubt that the passage alludes to Cullav. xii, 2. 3, where we are
told that the young monk Uttara, Revata’s upatthāka, accepted the presents refused by his master, and went over to the party of the Vajjian monks. He was, on account of that, dismissed by the Thera. It is now also easily intelligible how the word sissaṇi could be interpolated.

In 5. 61, I think the comma must be put after āsi, so that yato tu so pathesī mokkhaṇi forms a connecting sentence.

A more important passage is 5. 169-70. Here the punctuation in the text of my edition is really misleading. The correct translation is: "The nephew of the king, the renowned Aggibrahmā, was the husband of the king’s daughter Samghamittā; her and his son was named Sumana. He (i.e. Aggibrahmā) also, having obtained the king’s permission, was ordained together with the sub-king." A comma must be put after sāmiko, and a full stop after nāmato (5. 170b). According to the text, as punctuated in my edition, one might refer the pronoun so in 170c to Sumana and not to Aggibrahmā, which would be nonsense.

Wilh. Geiger.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM "BHAGAVAN"

The contribution on this topic by Dr. G. A. Grierson in JRAS., January, 1910, pp. 159-62, is a good attempt made to approach the sense of the term Bhagavān (or Bhagavat), and then to find the nearest English word for it.

The term Bhagavān is an ancient one, which may be found in the Upaniṣads, and traceable further back to the Vedic deity Bhaga. And according to a grammatical rule, "vat" can take the place of "mat", so that Bhagamān becomes Bhagavān.

The intention of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, VI, v. 69 ff., is to
explain the ancient Mantra, the *Dvaduṣāksarī*, containing both the terms Bhagavān and Vāsudēva, the latter being traceable to the Viṣṇu-Gāyatri of the *Nārāyanam* in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad. In this explanation the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa takes up Bhagavān first and then Vāsudēva. Bhagavān, according to the definition contained in the verse 79—

\[ \text{Jñāna-sakti-balaiśvarya-} \text{vīrya-tējāmsy aśeṣataḥ} | \text{Bhagavac-chabda-vaicyāni} \text{vinā kēyair guṇādibhiḥ} \]

is "He who is full of auspicious qualities and devoid of inauspicious ones". That this conception of God is not a later one, enunciated by the Bhāgavata school, but is the oldest Vaidic conception, may be learnt from what is called the *Udbhaya-lingā-dhikaraṇa* in the Brahma-Sūtras, extending over III, ii, 11, beginning *Na sthānatō'pi*, to III, ii, 25. The word cannot therefore mean merely "blissful", qualified subjectively (JRAS., 1910, p. 160), or merely "holy", for either of these terms give but a part connotation of the word. "Blessed" would be better, if it may be understood as an abbreviation for "blessed-qualified". The word "Adorable" only draws out the root-sense, but completely ignores the contents of the definition as given in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, verse 79 (supra). Parenthetically, the words "used in worship" on p. 161 ought to be "used for others than Bhagavān for mere courtesy". I would therefore suggest the following terms with which to translate Bhagavān: "Blessed," "Excellent," "Best," "Perfect," "Glorious," and perhaps "Lord". I would leave to my English friends to weigh the different connotations these several terms carry in their lexicon, and choose the best.

Referring to the term Vāsudēva, it is often confounded with the son of Vasudēva (Kṛṣṇa), but read the several connotations of it in the Sahasra-nāma-bhāṣya. Similarly, *Kṛṣṇāya Devaki-putrāya*, of Chāndogya-Upanisad, III, xvii, 6, is by some confounded with Kṛṣṇa, the son of
Vasudēva. Sri Madhvācārya, in his commentary on this Upanisad, explains this clearly. There is also a Kṛṣṇa again in the Nārāyanam of the Taittiriya-Upanisad. This is, again, not to be confounded with Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudēva.

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February 7, 1910.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM “BHAGAVAT”

Dr. George A. Grierson has an interesting note on the correct rendering of the term “Bhagvat” as understood by the Bhāgavatas. He suggests that it should be rendered by “ADORABLE” to express the full connotation of the term. Certainly many would think that it is a fairly accurate rendering. But the present writer is of opinion that if we are to be still more accurate we must find out some word which would cover its full signification, and which would do full justice to its history. Such a rendering would convey all the ideas which underlie its employment in the whole range of Sanskrit literature.

As Dr. Grierson has very lucidly set forth in his highly interesting paper, “The Monotheistic Religion of Ancient India,” at the Congress of Religions, Oxford, September, 1908 (Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, 1909, pp. 115–26), on the authority of Drs. Bhandarkar, Garbe, and Barnett, the Bhāgavata sect has a very old alliance with the Sāṅkhya-yoga philosophy, and has therefore borrowed many important philosophical ideas from that old school of philosophy, which originated in the Upanisads and prevailed in the Purāṇas. Much of the phraseology of the Bhāgavata philosophy is identical with that in the Sāṅkhya-yoga system. We shall see that the term “Bhagavat” was also primarily a term belonging to

1 Vide p. 3, Dr. Grierson’s “Nāranyaniyam” (Indian Antiquary, 1909).
the Yoga Śāstra. In the Bhāṣya on the Yogasūtra, iii, 45, we find the expression न च शास्तोऽधिकं पद्ार्थविन्यासं करोति ! कथात्। चतुर्भुज चतुर्भुजामावसायिनः पूर्वविनिः तथा भूमिपु संकप्यातः। (Bālarāma’s ed. of the Yogadarsana, p. 259, ll. 3–6). Now Vācaspatimiśra does not paraphrase चतुर्भुजामावसायिनः, but paraphrases पूर्वविय by तत्त्वभावः परमेष्ठः (Bālarāma’s ed., p. 259, l. 18). This gives us a clue to the original sense of the term “Bhagavat”:.

That Vācaspatimiśra has very accurately rendered the term siddha by “Bhagavat”, and that his rendering has the approval of the Bhāgavatas, is shown by the two important stanzas from the Viṣṇu-purāṇa—

ऐवर्यं समवर्यं वीर्यं यशः सिंहः (vi, 5, 74)

and

वानोपिकनिष्ठवर्यं विभं जीवं भग इतीश्वरः। (vi, 5, 79).

The gist of the conception of “Bhagavat” by the Bhāgavatas can be therefore briefly expressed by स्वभावतः एव निरस्तनिर्भलोपगतिः समस्तैव भागवतमण्डलम्, as it has been happily phrased by Rāmānuja in his Srībhāṣya on the first sūtra of the Vedānta (p. 102, l. 6, Abhyānkarasastrin’s ed. of the Catuṣāṭrī). Rāmānuja is never tired of repeating this and several similar terms when speaking of Brāhmaṇ. The long epithets that are found to qualify परं ग्रहः पुष्करितसं नारायणाय: like श्रीव: पति: निर्वल्लह्यप्रत्यन्विकोक्त्वा-गीतं द्वारा नृत्य:। त्वाभविकानविधानं गीतं द्वारा नृत्यः:। प्रभुवसंस्कृत्वं गीतं द्वारा नृत्यः। इत्यादि; and so forth, at the beginning of Rāmānuja’s commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, is nothing but an amplification of the same idea. Hence, if we are to indicate in one word the idea of “Bhagavat” in the light of Yoga and Bhāgavata philosophy about the Supreme Being, we cannot do better

1 But the other editions at least read तत्त्वभावः, not तत्त्वभावः. —Ed.
than render it by "Perfect". This word does, I think, accurately express the idea as conveyed by the Yoga equivalent सिद्ध and by the Bhāgavata expression स्मायते एव निरस्तिनिविलुप्तिष्वगत्वं समस्तकालशाष्ट्राब्यस्कम।

The etymology of the word "Bhagavat" points to the same conclusion. Bhaja is derived from bhaj, "to divide," "to distribute," and therefore means "a share," "what falls to one's lot." That bhaga means "merit" or "quality" can be seen from the word subhaga, meaning "beautiful." If we understand the possessive मनुष्य in the sense of प्रासूत, then "Bhagavat" would mean "one endowed with praiseworthy qualities or attributes". "Bhagavat" can therefore easily mean "endowed with all good attributes (and nothing else)". In short, it can mean "a perfect being", which is also the sense of siddha.

In the Upaniṣads we find the word used as an epithet or a term of address to a spiritual teacher, e.g. मृगेन्यात जराशिन्याः पितरमुपस्सार। अधिष्ठानं भगवो ब्रह्मिनः (Taittiriya Upaniṣad, Bhṛguvallī), or to great adepts in spiritual science, e.g. यथ हैन यज्ञमान उवाच भगवद् वा यथै विचिद्विषाणीशुपि-स्निरिषिं चाक्रायण हृति होवाच। (Chāndogya Upaniṣad, i, 11, first passage). The rendering "perfect" can well fit in here.

It will not be uninteresting to note the uses of this word by Vācaspati, the author of the Yogabhāṣya, and his commentator, held in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha to be an authority in the Yogadarśana. I have noted down the pages and lines of the excellent edition of the Yogabhāṣya by Udāsina Bālarāma. In the following I should be supposed to refer to Vācaspati's commentary as having its own numbering of lines independent of the numbering of the lines in the Yogabhāṣya.

"Bhagavat" is an epithet of Patañjali in Vācaspati on i, 1 (p. 3, l. 1); ii, 46 (p. 185, l. 12). In Vācaspati on ii, 13

1 This seems questionable.—Ed.
it qualifies the Yogabhāṣyakāra. In Vācaspati on iv, 30 (p. 314, l. 4) it qualifies Akṣapāda or Gotama, the expounder of the Nyāya philosophy. In Vācaspati on ii, 35 (p. 180, l. 8) and on ii, 36 (p. 180, l. 5) it qualifies yogi understood. In Vācaspati on iii, 51 (p. 266, l. 7) and on iv, 22 (p. 306, l. 14) “Bhagavat” qualifies चरमदेहावस्थाय योजिन, i.e. “a yogin who is living like a mortal apparently, although really emancipated, and who is wearing his last body.”. In Vācaspati on ii, 15 (p. 133, l. 5) “Bhagavat” qualifies the author of the Gītā, who is called योगेश्वर in the last stanza of the Bhagavadgītā, otherwise styled Yogasāstra. In Vācaspati on i, 24 (p. 56, l. 11; p. 57, l. 3; p. 58, l. 10), on i, 26 (p. 63, l. 1), on i, 27 (p. 64, l. 11), on i, 38 (p. 83, l. 12), on iii, 1 (p. 194, l. 12), on iii, 6 (p. 197, l. 7), and on iii, 45 (p. 259, l. 12), “Bhagavat” is an epithet of ईश्वर or “God". The Yogabhāṣya always uses ईश्वर for God (see i, 24; i, 26; i, 27, etc.), and only in commenting on iii, 45 has it used the word पूज्यसिद्ध as an equivalent to God.

From Vācaspati’s use of the term “Bhagavat” it appears that it is possible to trace the history of the word. First it was used of great spiritual teachers and inquirers, as we find in the Upaniṣads. Then it came to be used as an epithet to those persons who had acquired spiritual powers. Then it came to be used of the emancipated souls, and then of God. The last sense is seen clearly in the use of the term for Buddha, the great teacher of Buddhistic faith. “Bhagavat” has come to be used as equivalent for Buddha, and this shows that the rendering “Perfect” suits very well here also, for Buddha means “the enlightened one”. It is quite true that in the Bhāgavata scriptures “Bhagavat” can very well be translated by “Adorable”, but then that rendering would be good in that limited sphere alone, while “Perfect” is applicable everywhere. “Adorability” is only a corollary to the idea of “Perfection”. It can easily be seen that this idea of
perfection is in the case of God the main idea in Yoga and Bhāgavata scriptures, if we compare the Yoga ideas of God as given in the Yogabhāṣya on the Sūtras, i, 24–8, and as expressed very concisely by the term पूर्वमिच्छ in भाष्य on iii, 45 (p. 259), with the ideas about God at the opening of Rāmānuja’s Bhāṣya on the Gitā. This cumulative evidence makes it quite clear that “Bhagavat” means “Perfect” even according to the Bhāgavatas, who are followers of Bhagavat (= Kṛṣṇa) called चोऽेस्वर at the end of the Gitā itself.

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March 31, 1910.

MAHISMATI, THE KAVERI, AND MAHESWAR

A few remarks may be offered in support of Dr. Fleet’s article on Mahishamandala and Māhishmati (p. 425 ante).

In the earliest times Māhismati was the capital of a vigorous kingdom, comprising a large stretch of the Narbadā valley, and continued to be so till the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.1 At some later period it fell under and within Avanti, as shown by the passage cited by Dr. Fleet (p. 447) from the Dīgha-Nikāya and the statement in the late Tirtha-yātrā-parvan that the Narmadā was among the Avantis.2 Its absorption into Avanti would have lowered its position, and no doubt led to its extinction; thus it is not mentioned (as far as I know) in the Narmadā-māhātmyas in the Purāṇas. Such was its position in Kālidāsa’s time, and his description of it and its king in the Raghuvamśa, which Dr. Fleet quotes (p. 444), shows incidentally that in portraying ancient times he did not follow the political geography of his day, but threw his mind back into ancient conditions with very considerable antiquarian knowledge.

1 The authorities are cited at pp. 35–6 ante, and JRAS., 1908, p. 313.
2 MBh., iii, 89, 8354–5.
Dr. Fleet further says (p. 442, note 7), "the Indian Atlas shows a 'Cavery R.' flowing into the Narbadā from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhishmati," that is, Mandhāta. There were two Kāverīs, as mentioned expressly in the Matsya Purāṇa, namely, the large river in the south and a second northern Kāverī.¹ This second Kāverī was a well-known tributary of the Narmadā, and its confluence was a famous tirtha called Kāverī-saṅgama, which is generally extolled in the Narmadā-māhātmyas. It is described almost in the same terms in the Matsya and Padma.² They say—The junction of the Kāverī and Narmadā is famed throughout the world; it destroys all sin; one should bathe there because the Kāverī is very sacred and the Narmadā is a great river; whatever benefit a man may gain between the Ganges and Yamunā (that is, at Prayāga), the same accrues to him when he bathes at the Kāverī-saṅgama; he obtains at the Kāverī-saṅgama merit which destroys all sin. The Kṛṣṇa also notices two Kāverīs, the southern river first,³ and then this stream thus—The famous river Kāverī destroys guilt; one should bathe and worship Śiva there; at its confluence with the Narmadā one is exalted in Rudra's world.⁴ The Agni ⁵ mentions the "sacred Kāverī-saṅgama", which is probably the same tirtha, though the reference is so brief that one cannot be sure it may not refer to the southern Kāverī.

A suggestion may be made regarding the claim of Maheswar to be Māhīṣmatī. In the Narmadā-māhātmyas Māhīṣmatī is not alluded to, because no doubt it had fallen into ruin and oblivion;⁶ the Kāverī-saṅgama (which is close to it) is highly extolled; and Māheśvara-sthāna is mentioned, not as having any connexion with Māhīṣmatī,

¹ 22, 46 and 64.
² Matsya, Anandāśrama ed., 189; Calcutta ed., 188. Padma, i, 16. Its sanctity is supported there with a legend about Kuvera.
³ ii, 77, 16 and 22. ⁴ ii, 39, 40-1. ⁵ 113, 3.
but as the place where Śiva devised how to destroy Tripura and where he fixed (or stayed) his arrow.¹ We see then that, when these māhātmyas were composed, Māhiṣmatī (Mandhāta) had been forgotten locally and Maheśvara claimed sanctity only on the ground of a brief legendary connexion with Śiva. We may well conjecture, therefore, that the brahmans of Maheswar, finding afterwards that the ancient glory of Māhiṣmatī was not located at or utilized by any place on the Narbadā, claimed it for their town on the strength of a similarity in the two names, and in the absence of any counter-claimant succeeded in appropriating it.

Māhiṣa-maṇḍala appears to be a Buddhist appellation. It does not (as far as I know) occur in the Epics or Purāṇas, nor is it mentioned in Monier-Williams’ or Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary.

F. E. Pargiter.

THE GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE IN INDIAN VERNACULARS

Mr. Lesny’s note (pp. 481–4 of the Journal for April) on the use of the genitive for the accusative in Marāṭhi will interest students of other vernaculars. His explanation is that the genitive is used in the case of living beings to avoid ambiguity, where there is no special termination to distinguish nominative from accusative. In Bengali the ambiguity only arises in the case of inanimate things, since living things have a dative-accusative termination in -ke. In using the double accusative, this ambiguity is avoided by boldly giving the accusatival termination to the (inanimate) direct object. For instance, “tini rātri-ke din, din-ke rātri karite pāren” (he can make night day, and day night).

¹ Mutya, Ānandaśrama ed., 188, 1–2 and 82 (Calc. ed., 187). Padma, i, 15, 1–2 and 71. These two accounts are very closely alike. The word uthāna is noteworthy and significant. It could hardly be applied to an ancient city, but rather suggests a new place.
But (and this is my excuse for writing) the genitive is often used in poetry and in common talk for the dative or accusative of plural nouns signifying rational beings. Thus, it is permissible to say “ai bālak-der dāo” (give to those boys), or “yāhārā e kāj kariyāche, tāhāder māra” (chastise those who have done these things).

In the singular number, an alternative to the dative-accusative termination in -ke is used. This only differs from the genitive in form in having an -e added to it. Thus, in familiar talk, you may say “āmā-re dāo” for “āmā-ke dāo” (give to me), or “tini āmā-re dekhilen” (he saw me), for “tini āmā-ke dekhilen”.

There can be here no question of avoiding ambiguity. May I make the purely tentative suggestion that the original termination for genitive, dative, and accusative was that which is now reserved for the genitive, and that the -ke, which now marks dative and accusative, was borrowed? In Kachāri (a Tibeto-Burmese language which was once the native tongue of many who now speak Bengali or Assamese) the genitive in -nī occurs in cognate dialects which have not come into contact with Indo-European languages, whereas the Kachāri dative-accusative in -ko or -kho was probably borrowed.

Generally, the case terminations are used by Bengalis in a way that seems somewhat loose to the European, a fact that adds to the idiomatic flexibility and picturesqueness of their language. This too may be due to borrowing.

J. D. A.

"GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE" CONSTRUCTION IN MARATHI

In support of Professor Thomson’s theory as regards the origin of the genitive construction, Dr. Lesný has quoted a few sentences from Marāṭhi reading-books and shown that the construction in question has been “the outcome of nothing else than a desire to avoid ambiguity.”
Dr. Lesný seems to have misunderstood the Marāṭhi construction, which he calls the genitive-accusative. There is no genitive construction in Marāṭhi, and the rule, too, quoted by him from the Rev. G. R. Navalkar's grammar, regarding the use of what he (Dr. Lesný) calls the genitive case with reference to living beings, is not accurate.

As in Sanskrit, there are seven distinct cases in Marāṭhi. Some terminations have been taken, it seems, from Mahāraṣṭri, the parent dialect, and others from Sanskrit and other sources. The accusative terminations are, really, स, ला, तें in the singular and स, ला, ना, तें in the plural, i.e. identical with those of the dative, and they have to be distinguished from them by their use in the sentence. Thus, in the sentences (1) पोरास घेऊन जा and (2) रामास बुप्यें दे, the first form, पोरास, is in the accusative because it is the object of घेऊन; the second form, रामास, is in the dative because बुप्यें is the object. On some occasions the terminations of the accusative are not used (as in the case of inanimate objects), but not always. The Rev. G. R. Navalkar has departed from the older grammarians in giving the rule quoted by Dr. Lesný about the use of the inflected accusative (which Dr. Lesný calls genitive) with reference to the living objects. That rule is inaccurate. We can say either पोरास घेऊन जा or पोर घेऊन जा. In the case of inanimate objects also we frequently find the supposed rule violated. Thus—

ने वठों विख्यातमप्रस्थाते। कोष अन्यप्राप्ती निइतः।
सांतकों नुरियें बैंते। मायाराती।
(जनिन्यरी, बङ्गाल ९६ चौबो २७).

"At that time (i.e. when the supreme unity of Âtman and Brahma is realized) who retains (lit. protects) the sleep of false knowledge together with the dream of the world? Then (lit. where) the night of ignorance (माया) undoubtedly does not exist."
Here निःत्रित, though an inanimate object, is used in the inflected accusative.

जया पुळवाचि मनः संहोणि गेलि मोह मानः
वर्धानौ जैसि घनः सिकावागितां (चा. चा ५५ चो २८५).

"The man whose mind (lit. the mind of which man) ignorance and pride have left, as clouds leave the sky after rain."

Here, in the same verse, the verbs संहोणि गेलि and संहोणि जातात govern the inanimate objects मनः and सिकावागितां, one in the uninflxed and the other in the inflected accusative. Such instances, both in ancient and in modern Marathi, are common, though in some cases the inflected accusative gives a different meaning or makes it ambiguous. As, for instance, ती वाघ मारतो = "he kills a tiger", but ती रामाय मारतो is ambiguous. It may mean either "he kills Rāma" or "he beats Rāma", more often the latter. Here the difference in meaning is due most probably to the association of ideas. The idea of "killing" goes well with the idea of "tiger", but not so well with the idea of "Rāma". Thus it is clear that no hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the use of the inflected and uninflxed accusative case.

As regards the genitive proper in Marathi, we have the termination चा in the singular and चा with a nasal on the preceding syllable in the plural, which is most probably derived from the Sanskrit खा, the intermediate stage being ख्र, which is found both in Maharāṣṭri and in Marathi (as in मुखा). The terminations of the inflected accusative, सा, ना, are derived by the Rev. G. R. Navalkar (whom Dr. Lesný has followed) from the Sanskrit ख्र and नाम. But the remaining two terminations जा and ते cannot thus be derived from any Sanskrit terminations. The termination जा has come from the postposition जागो, and so सा also might have come from another postposition.
bhū with the accusative

In confirmation of the view which I have expressed² as to the apparent cases in which the root bhū is construed with the accusative, it may be worth while to quote a few cases which illustrate the view of the construction as really nominative. In the śatapatha brāhmaṇa³ it is said: 

\[\text{yaśo bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān ādhatte, he becomes}\]

¹ [These etymologies seem doubtful. As regards the general question it is perhaps worth while to remark that the "genitive" in question is syntactically a dative: see the Linguistic Survey, vol. vii, p. 24.—F.W.T.]
² JRAS., 1910, p. 525.
³ ii, 2, 3, 1; iv, 2, 4, 9, etc.
glorious who knowing thus," etc. That *yaśas* is a nominative, the abstract for the concrete, seems to me certain, and the probability is increased by the fact that the Kāṇva recension in one place has *yaśasvī* for *yaśas*. Then, again, the same work has *yaśaḥ syāma*, where an accusative is impossible.

My view is also confirmed by the fact that it is the view taken, without recognition of any possible alternative, by Geldner. He cites as a parallel to a passage in the *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa* (र्यम् हा वत जायते यो 'स्ति) a verse of the *Atharvaveda*: अपरिमयम् अप्रतितम् यद अस्मि. It is true that Ludwig and Whitney alike amend अस्मि to अद्वि, but I do not think that this is either desirable or necessary.

A. Berriedale Keith.

Another Parallel to the Story of Candrahāsa

The Jaina version of the story of Candrahāsa will be found in my translation of the *Kathākoça* (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series (6)). In the note on p. 172 I have given one or two parallels, and referred to my paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1881 (vol. x, pp. 190–1). Dr. Gaster seems to be aware that the story of Fulgentius is found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* of Somadeva. In this connexion I may perhaps be permitted to refer to the note in vol. i of my translation, p. 162, and to a supplementary note on p. 630 of vol. ii.

C. H. Tawney.

Originality in Mughal Painting

We find the following statements made by well-known writers, some of whom perhaps merely echo each other:

1 Eggeling, SBE. xxvi, 303, n. 3.  
2 xiv, 1, 1, 3.  
3 *Vedische Studien*, iii, 133, n. 2.  
4 i, 7, 2, 1.  
5 vi, 117, 1.  
6 *Der Rigveda*, iii, 444.  
7 Translation of the *Atharvaveda*, p. 366.
The Mughal paintings are merely "debased Persian";
"Persian painting dies away in India"; "except as regards the costume of the persons represented, they have nothing to do with Indian art. All are purely Persian." Another writer, after quoting a passage from the A'in-i-Akbari, remarks: "This interesting passage proves that the Mughal school of painting was inspired by European as well as Persian models. The comprehensiveness of the scheme of colour in the Fatehpur Sikri frescoes is clearly a result of the study of European art. Although the imitative Hindus attained conspicuous skill in the assimilation of foreign methods, no genuine school of painting was founded by Akbar's well-meant efforts. India has never produced an artist of original genius in either painting or sculpture."

One would scarcely have thought that the very last words of the quotation, which is stated to prove foreign inspiration, were these: "This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them." Mr. Havell, on the other hand, somewhat depreciates Persian painting, and considers that the Mughal style shows that the true spirit of Indian art triumphed over the stiffness and mannerisms of contemporary Persian schools.

A just critique of the Indian painting is due to M. Gaston Migeon: "The Indian painters strove to express something individual, tending to approach painting rather than illumination. . . . Everywhere the landscapes, penetrated by a quite modern feeling for nature, present to us beautiful representations of light. In other cases the

1 Roger Fry, Quarterly Review, January, 1910.
2 L. Binyon, Painting in the Far East, p. 158.
3 Maindrén, L'Art Indien, p. 154. In Frilley's L'Inde the Mughal paintings are frankly labelled "Miniatures Persanes"!
4 Vincent Smith, Imperial Gazetteer, ii, 131.
5 Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 190.
artist has studied the human figure, to produce a portrait; the keenness of his observation, the mastery of his drawing, the firm line so well adapted to emphasize the special characteristics of a figure, have combined to produce works which equal the most beautiful miniatures of our Western schools.”

In discussing the originality of Mughal painting, it is easy to see a parallel in the question of originality in Mughal culture as a whole. Everyone knows that Mughal culture exhibits a combination of Persian and Indian elements. Yet the now too rare type of cultivated mind, exemplified in Akbar himself, nourished alike by the streams of Persian and Indian religious thought, romance, and art, was as truly original as could well be looked for. Akbar's genius consisted not in his opposition to the real spirit of the age, but in the fact that he embodied in himself its highest ideals and more or less unconscious tendencies, developed to their fullest extent. The mind of the age which found its truest expression in such a man was essentially synthetic, and not merely eclectic. In other words, its culture is original, inasmuch as it expresses its own character. To take a specific parallel, we find that in the time of Akbar there came into being a new architecture, combining two completely different styles, to produce what has been called an "improved third style"; and this architecture, as remarked by Von Garbe, is "entirely original". It is exactly the same with painting; the style of the Mughal miniatures is a new style, whether improved or not may be a matter of opinion, but certainly original.

At the same time it must be recognized that this new style was not fully evolved in the time of Akbar himself. Scarcely one of Akbar's own painters produced any work

1 Migeon, L'Art Musulman, ii, 56.
2 A. Müller, Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland, ii, 386.
3 Von Garbe, Akbar, Emperor of India, p. 25.
of real importance, because of the very fact that they were so largely occupied in imitating Persian mannerisms. Mughal painting as an independent style belongs to the seventeenth and not to the sixteenth century. The true Mughal style developed very rapidly after about 1600 A.D. The term "Indo-Persian" is only properly applicable to the early Mughal style: it does not rightly describe the later Mughal work, still less the painting of the Rajput schools.

I take it that originality in art means that the said art is an organic development, not superimposed as a mere fashion; that it is essentially a product of its own time and place; and that it expresses without affectation the real thoughts and feelings of its producers. Excellence in art means a capacity for giving noble and definite expression to whatever passion informs a given image (every work of the imagination is an "image"), and has nothing to do with science, as of perspective or proportion, except in so far as these contribute directly to the end in view. And style, as in literature, "is the man himself," or, in traditional art, the race. "L'art, mes enfants, c'est d'être absolument soi-même." Judged by these standards, originality and greatness cannot be denied to Mughal paintings.

It is difficult to understand the position of those who are unable to distinguish between Indian and Persian work. Typical examples of each style at least are easily recognized. It is rarely a matter of doubt as to whether a given drawing has been executed in India or in Persia. It is by comparing a large number of examples of Indian work with a large number of examples of purely Persian drawing that one can best gather what the fully developed Mughal style owes to Persian (and Central Asian), and what is due to indigenous, tradition. That this has not hitherto been done is shown by the fact that in most collections the Indian drawings are described as Persian. The indigenous element in Mughal painting and the work
of contemporary Hindu schools afford the best evidence available as to the character of Indian painting in pre-Mughal times.

A vital interest in contemporary life, and a renewed and intimate study of nature, alike in the drawing of human beings, animals, flowers, and landscape, distinguish the Mughal from the more formal Persian style. The Mughal art has less mannerism and is more directly concerned with the expression of character than the Persian. This applies as much to the drawing of animals as to the representation of human beings; in Persian art the wild animals are rarely sympathetically drawn, but in the Indian drawings they are, as we might expect, much more affectionately and intimately studied.

The styles are also distinguishable in their failings. Inferior Persian work is trivial or brutal. Inferior Indian painting becomes theatrical.

Another point to be observed is that the Persian art is essentially an art of book illustration; the Mughal paintings are separate pictures, sometimes grouped in a series, but quite as often independent. The Persian paintings are properly described as illuminations; the Mughal paintings are more pictorial, characterized by a reduction in intensity of colour, which is replaced by a wonderful tenderness of tone and a frequent suggestion of atmospheric effect. There is clear evidence, in some of the earlier work, of European influence. The method of mounting, too, generally with an equal margin on both sides, in place of the asymmetrical border of a book illustration, corresponds to the different way in which the paintings were preserved; those in the collections of the Mughal courtiers (after the time of Akbar) being kept loose in portfolios, or if bound together, rather as picture-books than as illustrated manuscripts.

It is not, however, sufficient to realize that the Persian and Mughal styles are easily distinguished; we have also
to recognize the existence of well-defined local schools of painting in India itself, and to learn to know them easily. It is perhaps hardly yet possible to assign a given work always with certainty to its proper district; but no one who cannot recognize the fact of the existence of the different local schools can have studied the Mughal work very deeply. The centre of interest for research is, in fact, already tending to shift from the question of the relation of Mughal to Persian painting to the more subtle matter of the differentiation of the Indian schools amongst themselves.

Of distinctively Mughal work, i.e. work showing a combination of Persian, Central Asian, and Indian tradition, and done mainly for aristocratic patrons connected with the Mughal courts (though not necessarily excluding Hindu subjects), the Agra and Delhi, Benares, Lahore, Deccan, and other schools are probably distinguished, while of purely Hindu work, the Kangra Valley, Jaipur, and Tanjore schools are quite distinct. In the present note I do not refer to these contemporary Hindu schools, except to propose for them the general designation of "Rajput," in place of the less suitable term "mediaeval Hindu." The work of these schools is probably nearly equal in amount to the work which is properly called Mughal, and has the additional interest of being entirely unaffected by Persian or other foreign influences. The Rajput paintings are characterized by a greater range of subject, a greater seriousness of content, brighter colouring, less interest in portraiture, and generally more idealistic treatment. They have been entirely ignored by almost all writers, though even from a purely archaeological point of view their importance is great as representing the continuation of the true "mediaeval Hindu" traditions.

It may be remarked that the influence of Turkestan on Indian art, so little referred to hitherto, must have been important. The Mughals themselves originated near
Samarqand, and there was for a long period constant communication between Samarqand and India. We need not doubt that, as M. Migeon remarks, “les grands Moguls de Delhi continuaient à faire venir du Turkestan ces livres à vives enluminures.” But we have in some portraits preserved in the British Museum positive proof that artists from Turkestan actually worked at the Mughal courts in India as late as the seventeenth century. In MS. Add. 18,801, entitled “Portraits of Hindu Princes and Chiefs” (included like all the other Indian picture-books in the Persian catalogue), there are a number of very beautiful drawings, mostly portraits, signed by the artists. A number of the best are signed by “Muhammad Nādir of Samarqand”; they include a portrait study from life, several more formal portraits and copies of portraits, and an exquisite small drawing of a hawk. A number of other signed drawings are perhaps by pupils or companions of Muhammad Nādir. These drawings are very masterly in their delineation of character, and seem to represent one of the elements producing the great change which came over the Persian style when transplanted to Indian soil. I should be inclined to regard the Turkestan element in Mughal art as of equal importance with the Persian. The indigenous element, however, in the developed Mughal style is probably more important than the influence of the Persian and Central Asian styles together; this is of course the case if we include in “Mughal art” the contemporary Hindū (Rājpūt) schools.

Some stress has been laid upon other influences traceable in Mughal art, particularly European and Chinese. These influences affected India largely at second-hand, through Persian art, but are quite unmistakable, and the result is sometimes quite charming. They may, however, be very easily exaggerated. The influence of Raphael (a name traditionally honoured in Persia), for
instance, must have been in India infinitely less than the influence of Japanese colour-prints on modern European art, and not improbably much less than the influence of Oriental art upon Italian at an earlier period. The Indian imitations of European paintings are not often of much interest as works of art. In point of fact, what most strikes us in Indian work of the Mughal period is the way in which it continually recalls pre-Raphaelite early Italian painting. We are constantly reminded of Giotto, Benozzo Gozzoli, Botticelli, Francesco Francia, and the earlier Italian woodcutters. We find expressed in both arts the same childlike purity of soul, the same gentle wonder at the beauty of flowers and animals, the same mysterious sweet serenity in the faces of women, the same worship of humanity as a symbol of the divine. And this is due not to borrowing but to similarity of impulse. For the human spirit is not so constructed that it can borrow a nobility of expression without possessing that nobility within itself.

It is not difficult to recognize historic causes making possible this similarity of sentiment. Just as the faint dawn of the Renaissance preoccupation with man and all his works combined with the Gothic spirit of devotion to produce the great art of the Italian primitives, so the exaltation of humanity characteristic of Islam, touched by the spirit of Sufi and Vedantic mysticism, made possible the efflorescence of a new art in the time of the Great Mughals.

This art, I maintain, is in the truest sense original, and exhibits the highest qualities of art, both in its informing spirit and in the perfection of its technique.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

CAMPDEN.
March, 1910.

1 See Burton, Arabian Nights, viii, pp. 5, 44.
AN OBSCURE PASSAGE IN BĀBĀR'S MEMOIRS

There is a sentence in the first chapter of Bābār's Memoirs which must have given his translators a good deal of trouble. Speaking of his father, 'Umar Shaikh, Bābār says, according to the accepted reading, "He was of a singular disposition (yatim shavār) (and) had many marks of branding on his person." Neither Erskine nor Pavet de Courteille has translated the last clause of this sentence. Erskine (or Leyden) has merely the words "He was a humane man", and Pavet de Courteille has "C'était un homme unique en son genre". I submit that yatim ( amat ) is a wrong reading, and that it has misled the translators and prevented them from understanding the rest of the sentence. For yatim ( amat ) I would read mutayyam, i.e. enslaved (by Love). The two words are very much alike in Oriental writing, and in the Haidarābād copy, p. 75 (three lines from the foot), the word looks just as like mutayyam as yatim. The same may be said of the word as it occurs in the India Office copy of the early Persian translation by Pāyanda Moghul. Further, it is very unlikely that Bābār would apply such an epithet as yatim to his father, for he twice uses it as an expression of contempt. On p. 43a of the Haidarābād ed. (second last line) he calls the Samarkand rabble shahr yatimlār, and again, at p. 91b, l. 4, he speaks of the same populace as the ābāš u yatimlār, "the idle and worthless rabble" of Erskine. Reading mutayyam the passage about 'Umar Shaikh may be translated, "He was of an amorous disposition (and) bore on his person many marks of branding."

The connexion between the two statements will be clear from the following passage in Chardin's "Travels", vol. ii, p. 253, of Rouen edition of 1723:—

"On connoit ces esclaves d'Amour à des brûlures qu'ils portent sur le corps, et particulièrement aux bras. Ils

The proper spelling of the name is undoubtedly Bābur, but in deference to usage I have spelt it Bābar.
le font avec un fer rouge, qu'ils se mettent sur la chair si fort, que la brûlure enfonce l'épaisseur d'une pièce de trente sols, ce qu'ils font au temps que leur passion est la plus ardente, pour témoigner à leur Maîtresse que le feu de leur amour les rend insensibles au feu même. Plus on se fait de ces marques, plus on passe pour amoureux. Il y a des gens que s'en font en tous les endroits du corps, particulièrement aux reins."

H. Beveridge.

The Language of Egypt

Mr. G. Robb, of the Education Department, Cairo, and a member of the Society, has had published, by Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., an interesting article on the language of Egypt. Among the foreign languages prevalent in the country he gives the first place to French, at the same time pointing out that English at present runs French very close. With regard to the native speech, he divides the Arabic in use into three classes—the Arabic of the common people, that of the educated classes, and the Arabic of the newspapers. The last closely approximates to the classical style, and there has been during the past six years a movement for the extension of classical Arabic. The present-day problem is whether the Arabic language is capable of serving as the medium of instruction in modern subjects. One may agree with the conclusion that there need be no difficulty on that score, as soon as a sufficient number of well-educated Egyptians shall have covered the higher fields of science in Europe, so as to enable them to treat of these subjects in their own native tongue. To the writer the idea that it is necessary to wait for the improvement of the education of the masses until the alphabet has become Europeanized and the spoken language replaces the literary language, has always appeared to be an
empty dream; and if improvement were to have to be deferred until a change had been made so foreign to the whole spirit of the country, the prospect would indeed be hopeless. Mr. Robb's opinion on this subject appears to be entirely sound, and it does not seem to be open to question that the Arabic language properly handled is an adequate instrument to convey any thought that is capable of being put into words by human intelligence.

THE STUDY OF THE CHINESE CLASSICS

The Board of Education has notified us that the Chinese Government has made arrangements to admit foreigners on equal terms with Chinese students to the course of lectures on the Oriental Chinese Classics in the University at Pekin. This concession will no doubt be highly appreciated by Europeans residing in China who wish to study the ancient literature of that country and the various topics connected with it.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


We see with pleasure the second volume of Professor Margoliouth's work followed, at scarcely a year's interval from our notice of it in the JRAS., 1909, pp. 773–81, by the first part of the third volume, which, in regard to variety of interest, in no way falls short of its predecessors. In its compass, which covers the letter Η down to and including the notice of al-Ḥasan b. Maimūn al-Naṣrī, the author has found occasion to give biographical notices of great importance, which provide, and that more copiously than do the works of previous writers, data of surpassing interest for the intellectual history of Islam. The earlier portions of the work made us aware of the wealth of material which Yāqūt was enabled to utilize by reason of his wide travel and his habit of getting into personal touch with his informants (see p. 65, l. 1). In the portion of the work now before us we find him availing himself of biographical material derived directly from informants, and frequently relying for his quotations on copies in the actual hand of their authors (pp. 12, 12; 14, 4; 19, 3; 58, 8; 131, infra; 169, 12); on p. 54, 9 ff., are recorded various autograph Simā'. He often gives us a scientific estimate of the nature of the material he has before him; if his copy be not wholly correct, he does not ignore the fact (p. 22, 2), nor does he maintain through thick and thin
the trustworthiness of his sources, but points out critically their deficiencies; and he expressly tells us when a work he cites from is not before him, but is quoted from recollection only (p. 85, 10).

Numerous biographies of noted philologists occur in the volume, e.g. Abū ʿAli al-Fārisī, the two ʿAskari, Abū Nizār the “Monarch of Grammarians”, Abu-l-ʿAlā al-Hamadhānī, etc.; but its pièce de résistance is the notice, amounting to a monograph, on Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (pp. 84–125). Here Yāqūt again makes copious drafts on Abū Ḥayyān al-Tauhīdī, from whose lost works so much valuable information was given in the preceding volumes, as we incidentally pointed out in reviewing vol. ii. In the present volume (p. 86, 4 a.f.) we again meet the Eulogy of Djāhīz (تقرير عمرو بن بكر), quoted already in vol. i, p. 141, l. 12, in an extract from it taken by Yāqūt from an autograph by its author. The material drawn from Abū Ḥayyān for the notice of al-Sīrāfī—valuable in the extreme as giving us an insight into al-Sīrāfī’s relations with his colleagues, and thus into the general intercourse of the learned world of the period—is taken from his كتاب الأستاذ (p. 92, 2). Especially are we indebted to Yāqūt for having preserved to us in this notice an account of the philosophic discussion which took place a.h. 320 at the court of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt at Baghdad between Sīrāfī and the philosopher Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus in the presence of a large assemblage of learned and eminent persons. It is a strong testimony to that development of a philosophic method (إنهاء اللسان على المنطق) in the domain of Arab philology which has been already treated by the reviewer in the ZDMG., 1877, vol. xxxi, pp. 545–9. In this discussion Sīrāfī sets out, as against his opponent, the reasons for not attempting to regard linguistic
matters from the point of view of a system of logic, and it was in a very similar spirit that Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarachiṣī (ob. A.H. 286), a pupil of al-Kindī, at an earlier date composed his كتاب الفرق بين شبه العرب والمنطق (Ibn abī Uṣāibīʿa, i, p. 215). The discussion as recorded by Abū Hayyān has been independently edited by Professor Margoliouth in the pages of this Journal, 1905, pp. 79–129, with text based on that of Yaʾqūt, a translation, and an illuminating introduction to which I would add this, that the discussion is also recorded in a brief and summarized form in the Muḥābasāt of Abū Ḥayyān, No. 22 (ed. Bombay, p. 21).

The biographical notices disclose many particulars of interest on Islamic questions, and to some of them I will draw attention. The story derived from Ibn Zūlāk, p. 8, i ff., of the application of a Ḥadīth to the career of the Jewish convert Yaʾkūb b. Killis, the favourite and vizier of the Fatimīde Caliph ʿAzīz, is a marked contribution to the character of that remarkable man, and supplements very happily the portrait given of him in Ibn al-Qalānīsī (ed. Amedroz, p. 32). Again, bearing in mind what we were told in vol. ii of the boundless conceit of the ʿṢaḥīb ibn ʿAbbād, it is peculiarly curious to find here this very vain personage requesting a correspondent, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, and that in decided contradiction to the contemporary practice so vividly depicted by Hilāl al-Ṣābī (ed. Amedroz, p. 148 ff.), to refrain in his case from using the customary exaggerated and inflated styles of address, and to restrict himself to the minimum possible. And it must have been a matter of rare occurrence for a born Moslem to be so familiar with Hebrew, as we are told was the case with the Egyptian philologer, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ẓīʿr (ob. A.H. 598), that a learned Jew should assert on oath that he would be taken to be a Rabbi (خمير). It is indeed recorded of many Moslem theologians, amongst others of Fākhīr al-Dīn al-RAzī, that they were well acquainted with the Taurāt
(ZDMG., vol. xxxii, p. 360; ZATW., vol. xiii, p. 315; cf. also Ibn Khallikân, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 757, de Sl. Eng., iii, p. 468, who says of Abu-l-Fath al-Mausili, ob. a.H. 639, that he expounded to Jews the Taurât), yet no complete knowledge of the Hebrew language should therefore be assumed in these persons, for their knowledge of the Hebrew Bible can be accounted for by Arabic translations. Certain it is, however, that the Hebraic linguistic ability of al-Hasan b. al-Zîr was considered in Moslem circles to be a phenomenal exception.

A very welcome addition to the information I was able to put together on the dogmatic Madhhab of the Sâlîma (ZDMG., vol. lixi, p. 73 ff.) occurs in this volume, p. 153, 3 a.f.; it tells us of the gross anthropomorphic conception which they formed of the Deity; and a representative of the Madhhab, Abû 'Ali al-Ahwâzi (ob. a.H. 446, in Damascus), is shown engaged in forming a special collection of hadith-sentences with a view to the propagation of false traditions calculated to further the coarse and materialistic conception.

Among passages of special interest in the volume may be instanced on pp. 169 ff. an exchange of satirical letters between Hasan al-Qattân and Rashid Waṭwât, the former accusing the latter of having wrongfully appropriated and plagiarized his works—an accusation which is repelled by Rashid Waṭwât so cleverly as to form a masterpiece of epistolary skill. It were an easy matter to go on noting details of interest—and indeed Sirâfi's digression on the treatment in law of nabîdh (p. 94) must not be passed over wholly unnoticed—but to continue thus would lead us too far away from the scope of this review.

Readers of the two earlier volumes will bear in mind the severe difficulties which beset the edition of the text, and the carefulness with which Professor Margoliouth assailed the imperfections of his MS., hitherto his sole material for this important work. These difficulties he has again
had to face in this volume, and he has been at pains, and with success, to correct in foot-notes with critical acumen many weak points of his text. In many cases he has very happily emended inadmissible readings, although in some few cases I should be disposed to retain those that yield an intelligible meaning. Such cases are: p. 19, n. 3; p. 109, n. 5; and p. 157, n. 1, where the phrase أنه لم يكن فيه بذاك is identical with that occurring in vol. ii, 276, 6, as amended by me, JRAS., 1909, p. 779, فيه referring to الشعر.

On the following passages I submit to the editor certain emendations, some in amplification of his own, and some expressing dissent therefrom. In some places it may be only a question of printers’ errors.

5 4 الناذر (Margol. العذال), read العذال.
7 1 Inasmuch as both the hemistichs terminate in النازح, the last word of the first should perhaps read البارح.
14 5 والفرش, والفرس, "hangings," more appropriate to the context.
19 12 لأنني, read لأن.
27 4 تربى has no meaning. The context requires some such word as تنبارى, which, although remote from the reading of the MS., is nevertheless possibly right having regard to its apparent condition.
30 penult. في غمنة, read رغمة.
33 4 "مها", "riding camel."
39 6 a.f "مربعة "% مریغأ.
63 4 الفتال, أتال. Cf. my Muh. Studien, i, 122.
70 10 ابي in apposition to الشاعر.
77 9 After insert ابن.
103 13 اقوا، اقوى.
105 7 إلى رقة، في دنى.
106 10 القيام بالقياس (perhaps as 81, ult.).
107 2 والاحتياج، والاحتباَب.
114 5 التشقيق، التشقيق، "this hair-splitting." Cf. Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv, 98، الذين يستفرون، الكلام تشقيق الشعر، also, of artificial mode of speech, ib. ii, 94، تشقيق الكلام من الشيطان، and cf. Ibn Sa'd, v, 64, 21، تكتسموا وإياَء وتشقيق الكلام.
118 4 بلِين، بلِين، read عليكم، عليكم.
119 12 Cf. Ibn Khallikān, ed.Wüst. Fasc. iv, 40, No. 326, and ed. Būlāk, i, 330, 8 a.f., where we are told of the philologist in question, Abu-l-
125 1 فرارك، فرارك.
127 10 العلوم، العلمون.
133 penult. النفس، النفس، "a litter."
135 12 gives no plausible meaning; I conjecture، "these two were the vilest of them," i.e. of the poets who repaid their Mæcenas' favours with lampoons.
134 5 a.f. In this metrically faulty hemistich we have the
135 2 Saoshyant of the Zoroastrians in the form of شوشَن. This is assuredly not the right reading, and the word occurs in a yet more corrupt form in
the Cairo edition of Djähiz' *Hayawān*, vi, 162, 3 a.f., سِرَقَسِين, and ib. vii, 78, 6, سِمَّيسِين, with, in the first passage, the added explanation, at variance with that in this text: يَخرجُ عَلى بقَرة ذَات قُرَون. An examination of good MSS. of Djähiz might produce the correct reading.

139 6 a.f. مَعْقوَلَانِهَا, read, in opposition to دون المنقول. مَعْقوَلَانِهَا.

148 10 تِمَيمِ بِن مُرّ "بِتَمِيم مُرّ", the highest link in ِحَرْمَاز' pedigree.

156 6 a.f. أَرْزِبَ عَلَيْهِم إِبْرَعَلْيِهِ. استنقاَمَت "استنقاَمَت".

166 7 الإِجْدَات "الإِجْدَات".

170 12 الرَكَاب "الرَكَاب".

172 5 a.f. "الرَكَاب".

With the volume now before me the contents of the Bodleian MS. used up to this point by Professor Margoliouth are exhausted. He will now give a sigh of relief, for in the further prosecution of his work he will not be restricted to this irksome subject-matter, but will have better and more trustworthy material at his disposal. The text will not proceed continuously; a gap will now occur extending to the notice of 'Ubad Allāh b. Muḥammad, at which point Professor Margoliouth will enter on a volume to be numbered V. For this part of the work he has had a good MS. placed at his disposal by Professor Muḥammad 'Abbās of Bombay, and we may therefore confidently expect that the further portions of this valuable source of history, by the publication of which the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial are rendering us in our studies a very material service, will at no distant date be placed within our reach by Professor Margoliouth.

I. GOLDSIHER.


In these works, the second of which is intended to be supplementary to the first, Mr. Keith deals comprehensively and exhaustively with the Āraṇyakas or “Forest-portions” attached to the two Brāhmaṇas of the Rig-Veda—the Aitareya and the Śāṅkhāyana or Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇas. He has edited with great skill and judgment the text of the whole of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka and of all that portion of the Śāṅkhāyana which was previously unpublished, viz. adhyāyas vii–xv, while he has fully translated and most carefully elucidated both of these obscure and difficult treatises. The task which he has thus successfully accomplished was one which demanded a combination of profound learning with critical ability, and also, it may be added, an unusual degree of patience.

In regard to the definition of the term “Āraṇyaka” and the original purport of the compositions so styled, two somewhat different views are held by scholars. Some, like Mr. Keith, suppose that the Āraṇyakas were intended to teach that mystical interpretation of the sacrificial ritual which, being regarded as too sacred for the common ear, was communicated to the elect in the solitude of the jungle (arāṇye). Other scholars, like Professor Deussen, hold that the Āraṇyakas were specially designed for the Brāhman in the third stage of his spiritual advancement,
when, after having fulfilled the duties of student and householder, he became a recluse (aranya-vāsin or vānaprastha) as a preparation for the fourth stage, in which, abandoning all contact with the world and with the religion of works, he devoted the remainder of his life solely to contemplation on the Supreme Soul, the Ātman. That the treatises, which specially deal with the doctrine of the Ātman, and are, therefore, particularly appropriate to this final stage, are the Upaniṣads, all authorities agree. The only debatable question is whether or not the Āranyakas properly so called and the Upaniṣads, which are usually embedded in them or appended to them, were definitely intended for two distinct classes of Brāhmans in two distinct stages of religious progress. If so, we must admit that these two classes of documents differ essentially in kind, and we must conclude that a less advanced philosophical position in any particular Āranyaka is not necessarily a sign of its earlier date when compared with any particular Upaniṣad. If not, we may readily assent to the guiding principle which Mr. Keith lays down, viz., that, in comparing these documents generally, we must take them as we find them, apart from any prepossessions of our own as to their character, and apart also from the manifest prepossessions of the commentators, Saṅkara and the others. "All that can be done now," he says (Ait. Ār., p. 40), "is to take the Upaniṣads [a term which he uses to include a work which some other scholars would call an Āranyaka] and endeavour to extract what seems to be the most natural meaning from the actual words."

Here the fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish between an Āranyaka and an Upaniṣad—between a work which is predominantly occupied with the mystic significance of the ritual and one which is predominantly purely theosophic in character; and this difficulty is explained by another fact, viz. that
the third stage of a Brähman’s career was in its very nature transitional—it was especially intended to bridge over the gulf which separates a religion of works (karma) from a religion of pure knowledge (jñāna). As Mr. Keith well remarks (Ait. År., p. 15), “No doubt the tendency was for the secret explanation to grow independent of the ritual until the stage is reached where the Āranyaka passes into the Upanisad.”

Now in the Aitareya and Śāṅkhāyana Āranyakas there are included certain treatises which are universally regarded as Upanisads. Aitareya Āranyaka, ii, 4–6, constitutes the Aitareya Upanisad. Adhyāyas iii–vi of the Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka form the Kauśitaki Brähmana Upanisad, while adhyāya ix consists of a portion of the Chāndogya Upanisad. The title Upanisad is also given to a mystical work on the Saṃhitā, Pada, and Krama texts of the Rig-Veda—the so-called Saṃhitopanisad—which appears in different versions both in the Aitareya, book iii, and in the Śāṅkhāyana, adhyāyas vii and viii. There remains a section of the Aitareya Āranyaka, ii, 1–3, which Mr. Keith, in this respect following Max Müller, classes as an Upanisad, but which Professor Deussen regards as “ein wirkliches Āranyakam, bestimmt, den im Walde nicht mehr ausführbaren Kultus durch die Meditation über denselben zu ersetzen” (Sechzig Upanishad’s, p. 13). This difference of opinion involves a completely different attitude on the part of these two authorities in regard to the position which this document (Ait. År., ii, 1–3) should be supposed to occupy in the history of Indian thought. Comparing its tenets with those of the Aitareya Upanisad (= År., ii, 4–6), which immediately follows it, and with those of other Upanisads, Mr. Keith shows that they contain no trace of certain doctrines concerning the Ātman which are characteristic of the earlier Upanisads, and therefore has no hesitation in concluding that “Aitareya Āranyaka, ii, 1–3, which forms
a unity, is the oldest Upaniṣad extant" (Ait. Ār., p. 43). At the same time, he fully admits that it "is intended in some degree to supersede sacrifice, or rather while assuming sacrifice to explain it mystically, the mystic meaning being the essential part ", a fact which led Professor Deussen to classify it definitely as an Āranyaka, and therefore to put it out of comparison, so far as any consideration of philosophical standpoint is concerned, with Upaniṣads strictly so called.

For the present, then, opinions will remain divided as to the validity of Mr. Keith's views in regard to this particular point. His main conclusions as to the relative dates of the two great divisions of the Aitareya Āranyaka, viz. books i–iii and iv, v, and of the two Āranyakas generally when compared with each other, will probably meet with fuller acceptance. He gives good reasons for believing that on the whole the Aitareya is earlier than the Śāṅkhāyana, and that the first three books of the Aitareya are considerably older than the last two. As concerns this latter question, his careful examination of the evidence afforded by the language and the employment of the tenses is particularly interesting and satisfactory. After a thoroughly well-informed discussion of the chronological questions connected with this period of Sanskrit literature, he comes to the conclusion that the first three books of the Aitareya Āranyaka must date from the period between 700 B.C. and 550 B.C., and that there is no reason to doubt the traditional attribution of books iv and v respectively to Áśvalāyana and Śaunaka, both of whom probably flourished about 500 or 450 B.C.

The contents of these two Āranyakas, as is the case, indeed, with the literature of this period generally, are of the most varied character and of the most unequal value. They are characterized by a simplicity which is sometimes beautiful but more often puerile, combined with a mysticism which occasionally seems to reflect the
awe felt by early thinkers in the presence of the Unknown, but which more frequently appears to us utterly perverse and irrational. For example, we find in Ait. Ār., ii, 3, 3, a passage beginning Sa esa puruṣah samudrah, which compares man to the ocean, that eternal emblem of unsatisfied desire, and in a few short sentences describes his restless ambition in a somewhat striking manner—"whatsoever he gaineth, beyond that doth he strive," etc.; but the section in which this passage occurs is immediately followed by one which Mr. Keith, with some justice, stigmatizes as "unusually foolish" (Ait. Ār., p. 218, n. 1). Again, the observation that "A child when it first speaks utters the word of one or two syllables, tata or tāta," may be generally true; but that it does so because Prajāpati "uttered this as the first word" is the statement of a mystic, while the asserted connexion of this early form of speech with the Sanskrit pronoun tad, "this," is that of a primitive philologist (Ait. Ār., i, 3, 3, p. 181). In the same way it may be that "in sleep a man breathes bhūr bhāh"; but it does not necessarily follow that he does so because he is thus reproducing the Sanskrit root-noun which signifies "being" (ibid., i, 8, p. 210); although, in regard to this question, it must be remembered that in quite modern times certain of those philosophers who seek to pierce beyond the phenomena of language in their quest to discover its sources have seriously maintained that the root bhā- may have been intended originally to represent the actual sound of breathing.

Ait. Ār., ii, 3, 8, contains certain triṣṭubh verses which appear to summarize the substance of the preceding prose portions, after the manner of the gāthās in many Pali works. Mr. Keith is probably correct in supposing that, like the gāthās, these verses are older than the corresponding prose, which should thus be regarded as an amplification of their subject-matter. These verses are, as Mr. Keith points out, somewhat irregular and decidedly
ancient in their form. It may be observed, however, that one of the supposed irregularities (v. p. 223, n. 1) disappears on examination. The last line of verse 4 is printed as

svargaḥ lokam apyeta vidvān,

but when read in accordance with the ordinary principles of Vedic prosody it would be

svargām lokam api eti vidvān,

a tristubh of normal form. The other irregularity referred to in the same note (on the assumption that “1” in “the first verse of 1” is a misprint for “3”) is

yaḥ vāca om iti yacca neti,

a ten-syllable line as it stands. This irregularity must probably be accepted, unless, indeed, we may suppose that the syllable om, which is undoubtedly pūta in the Brāhmaṇas, can be scanned as a dissyllable—

yaḥ vāca ā3um iti yacca neti.

The historical importance of the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad, which has already been mentioned as occurring in both Āranyakas, lies chiefly in the fact that, as Max Müller first pointed out in his edition of the Rig-Veda Prātiśākhya, it presupposes at this early date (700–550 B.C.) a familiar acquaintance with the three pāthas of the Rig-Veda. It also contains incidentally some interesting glimpses of the progress of early grammatical study. But as for its contents—surely they must plumb the very lowest abyss of human imbecility! The text of this production, as it appears in the Śāṅkhāyana especially, is in many places corrupt, and the sense—if, indeed, one may use the word at all in this connexion—is often obscure. If the Saṃhitā “Upaniṣad” is thus irksome and wearisome to the reader, what, indeed, must it have been to the editor and translator?

Another subject which occupies considerable portions of both Āranyakas (Ait., books i and v; Śāṅkh., adhyāyas i, ii)
is the Mahāvrata ceremonial, which is interesting as preserving, long after they had ceased to be significant, many traces of a primitive nature-worship which find their counterparts in the folk-lore and the observances of uncivilized man in very diverse parts of the world. To the discussion and explanation of this ceremonial Mr. Keith devotes the appendix added to his translation of the Śāṅkhāyana. He concludes that, in its origin, "the Mahāvrata is a ritual of the Winter solstice, and that it combines within itself the characteristics of a spell to produce the heat of the sun and the fall of rain, so as to bring about fertility for the land, while more directly still it is designed to stimulate human and animal productivity." (Śāṅkh. Ār., p. 85).

Mr. Keith's volumes suggest so many points of interest that it is difficult for a reviewer to know where to stop. But this notice, long as it is, must not conclude without mention of what many scholars will regard as the most characteristic and the most important feature of Mr. Keith's work—the extraordinarily full notes which accompany his translation of the Aitareya. In these the subject-matter and the language of the two Āranyakas are illustrated and elucidated with a profusion of varied learning which is truly marvellous. Some of these notes deal with special points almost in the manner of an excursus, and sum up all the evidence which can be brought to bear on difficult questions in a concise form which makes them exceedingly valuable for reference. Many of the difficulties which fill later Vedic works of this kind must remain unsolved or only partly solved for the present; and after the scholar has done his best with the material at his disposal, he must often conclude with Mr. Keith, "This may be correct, but it is very obscure." (Ait. Ār., p. 184, n. 1). It would certainly not be easy to name anyone in recent years who has done more to dispel this obscurity than Mr. Keith; and if he has not always
succeeded, he may solace himself with a text taken from Aitareya Áranyak, ii, 4, 3—Parokṣapriyā iva hi devāh, “For the gods love mystery.”

EDWARD J. RAPSON.


It is impossible, within the limits of space here available, to do full justice to a work of nearly one thousand pages teeming with innumerable matters of detail. Colonel Gerini’s monograph, besides discussing the Ptolemaic geography of the region specified in the title, deals at great length with a number of problems of its historical geography. It contains a vast amount of material drawn from the most diverse sources, many of which are quite inaccessible to the ordinary reader, and will therefore be of great utility as a work of reference and a storehouse of learning on the matters to which it refers. In this respect its usefulness is much enhanced by the excellent index which has been provided. Indeed, without the index we should have considerable difficulty in finding our way through the book, the more so as it includes a long list of Addenda and Corrigenda containing much important material that has been made available during the several years that elapsed while the work was passing through the press.

Any criticisms that I may venture to offer must therefore be read as subject to what has just been said. The book, as is but natural in a work of its kind, offers an immense number of points for criticism. Indeed, one would like to see a series of articles dealing seriatim with all the many different issues that it raises. I cannot, of course, attempt anything of the sort; and I am somewhat
apprehensive lest in singling out particular matters for mention here I may seem to be doing less than justice to the author's extensive scheme of work. For the pains-taking labour, original research, and wide reading which the book displays on every page there can be nothing but commendation. But in appraising the actual results I confess that I have been frequently dissatisfied and unconvinced. No doubt much of this feeling of inconclusiveness is inevitably due to the nature of the subject: many of the results are bound, at best, to be more or less matters of opinion. But in a great many cases Colonel Gerini's hypotheses appear to me to be too bold. It is his business to seek for explanations, and he is apt to be satisfied with plausible conjectures and inferences of very doubtful validity. In particular, his etymologies are often of the wildest character: in fact, he frequently offers us three or four to choose from, leaving the impression that any one of them is as good as any other. The critical inference in such cases must necessarily be that none of them can be accepted with any degree of confidence. The matter is made worse when an inference (which may or may not be right) is stated as if it were an indubitable fact. These seem to me to be very serious faults of method.

Let me give a few typical instances. The etymology of place-names is very generally, for obvious reasons, a matter of some doubt; I therefore select a few cases, of no special importance in themselves, where it is possible to come to a pretty definite issue. On p. 403 (in the note) the author tells us that bārut, the ordinary Malay word for "west", is "the mere Malay corruption" of the Mon (Talaing) equivalent palāt or palait. Now the Malay word is an old Malayo-Polynesian word found in numerous languages of the Archipelago with various meanings which point back to its having originally denoted the south-west monsoon or a storm from that
quarter; and there is not the slightest ground for connecting it etymologically with the Mon word, which is derived from a verb meaning "to extinguish", and refers therefore to the setting of the sun. On p. 261 (note) the author suggests that the term rāksasa may perhaps survive in a corrupted form in the name of the Rayat Utan or Jakun (it should, by the way, be Jakun) tribes of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula and in the name of the Rochor River at Singapore. He ought to know that rayat is an Arabic word (رَياَث), and cannot therefore have anything to do with rāksasa. As for the river-name, there seems to be no reason why it should be connected with it either. The word rāksasa appears in Malay as raksasa, not rochor. In discussing the etymology of the place-name Perimula Colonel Gerini (p. 110) suggests as possible a derivation from the Sanskrit pulina, "sand-bank," through a supposed compound pulina-māla, which he thinks might mean a long succession or accumulation of sand-banks. As to this I am in no position to offer an opinion. But when he goes on to surmise that his hypothetical pulina-māla is the origin of the Malay word permātang (pērmatang is the usual spelling) one must really cry a halt. By no conceivable process can the latter word be derived from the former, even assuming that pulina-māla had a real existence. Sanskrit words in Malay do not suffer such violent changes; and pērmatang is a native Malay word for which it would be useless to seek a Sanskrit origin. (Favre and Wilkinson are probably right in connecting it with batang; see their respective dictionaries.) I cannot think that such etymological speculations as these are of any scientific value. Again, if it be true (as stated on p. 80) that the Shelaheth sea of the Arab geographers and navigators is merely a transliteration of the Śrī-lohita of the Rāmāyāna, then clearly the former cannot be etymologically identified with the Malay sēlat,
"strait." For this last is a native Malay word derived from a Malayo-Polynesian root, and so ancient in the language that it appears to be the origin of the Malay sālata, "south." I am not prepared to say whether the Indian or the Malay term (or neither) is the original of the Arabic one; but it is impossible that both should be. For the place-name Bēsynga the author (pp. 75 seq., 509 n. 2, 729, 750) has suggested various etymologies, eventually giving the preference to one which would derive it from a Mon expression bī ciû, meaning "elephant-river", and identify it with the Irawadi, apparently on the ground (inter alia) that Indra's elephant was named Airāvata. One would like to have some evidence that the Irawadi was in fact ever called "elephant-river". Besides, Airāvati was a river-name in Northern India, from which country so many of the place-names of Indo-China have been bodily transferred. Surely the most that can be said for the suggested derivation is that it is not impossible. On the other hand, I note that the Mon name of the Salwin River is Bī Sālōn, which is just as likely to have been the original of Ptolemy's Bēsynga, and agrees somewhat more closely with it in geographical position (though that is not a point I should be disposed to make very much of).

I have mentioned these cases of what appears to me to be rash etymology because they are to a certain extent representative and constitute an unsatisfactory side of the author's treatment of his subject. Hypothetical identifications are a favourite topic of his. Let me now turn to matters in connexion with which I consider his work really valuable. Here, among much else that is good, I would especially draw attention to the useful compilations which he gives of the historical and geographical data relating to various places that have been mentioned by different ancient authorities. The data relating to Palembang and Samudra, for example, have been collected
in chronological order and are presented in a form which is eminently convenient for reference and gives a great deal of useful information in a small compass. The same has been done for several other places, and all this is good work which will be of great assistance to further research. No doubt there may in certain cases be differences of opinion as to Colonel Gerini's novel views on some of the places which he deals with in this manner. I am not prepared to accept offhand his contention that Java in the old authors never means Java and that Malayu is always the Malay Peninsula. After all, Java has a very ancient civilization of Hindu origin, and if the island remained unknown to the old Arab navigators the circumstance is very remarkable, for with its superior soil and higher culture it would surely have been a better mart for them than Sumatra, which they knew so well. Malayu, in the fourteenth century Javanese poem Ngarakertagama, certainly means Sumatra and nothing else: I do not think Colonel Gerini mentions this fact, which is a material piece of evidence. However, these matters are arguable, and there is a good deal to be said on both sides.

A much more fundamental point is the question which has been raised by Professor Barth (and others) as to the author's whole method of dealing with the Ptolemaic data. It has been said, quite truly, that even in regions much nearer home, where the information at the old geographer's disposal must have been much superior to that which was available from Further India, Ptolemy's maps exhibit the most extraordinary distortions of the actual shape of continents. How, then, can a method of correction be sound which in some cases reduces such glaring errors to within a few minutes of latitude and longitude? The verdict ingeniosius quam verius is a natural one under the circumstances. Yet I think it is mistaken. Ptolemy's data were plainly of varying
degrees of accuracy. He endeavoured to combine them into a consistent whole. In doing so he was unfortunately influenced by certain preconceived ideas (as, for instance, that the coast of China ran southwards from the Gulf of Tongking), which introduced additional errors into his picture. The result is that his maps are much distorted. Nevertheless, if anyone will draw up, as I have done in order to test the point, a map of Further India based purely on Ptolemy's statements, he will see that the main points of the coastline are perfectly recognizable. The same may be seen on Colonel Gerini's map, though there the numerous details tend to make the recognition more difficult; but there can be no doubt as to the leading features of the outline. That being so, it only remains to be seen how far the intermediate stations partake of the general errors of distortion which in varying degrees affect the whole plan. If, for example, the south-eastern point of Indo-China is clearly discernible on Ptolemy's map and likewise the Gulf of Tongking, it follows that places on the coast of Annam must be looked for somewhere between these two points.

That is what Colonel Gerini has done all over the field; and he has succeeded in several cases in showing that the places mentioned by Ptolemy do in fact (when allowance has been made for his errors of reckoning) coincide quite closely with actual ancient sites. He infers (in my judgment quite correctly) that some at least of the Ptolemaic data are based on accurate observations, astronomical it may be, which in those cases would have given results approximating very closely to the truth if Ptolemy had not modified them so as to fit them into his general scheme. In other words, if we had Ptolemy's data instead of his conclusions, we should be able to construct from them a much more correct map of Indo-China than he has done himself. Surely there is nothing antecedently improbable in this view; and when we find that in
reconstructing the Ptolemaic map on these lines Colonel Gerini has in fact found that well-known ancient sites do actually fit into the positions which we know they ought to have occupied in the Ptolemaic map, it follows that his method is in its main lines at any rate a sound one. There remain, of course, a number of places with regard to which the data were less accurate, and no doubt there is a possibility of error in such cases. I cannot, for instance, understand why Colonel Gerini does not accept Ptolemy's Sabana as being situated on the extreme southern point of the Malay Peninsula (or some closely adjacent island, such as Singapore) instead of looking for it somewhere on the west coast of the Peninsula. Surely, if the trade-route ran round the Peninsula, Sabana would represent the point where ships going to the Far East turned into the China Sea, which would be the natural spot for a trading station. These are matters of detail in regard to which I conceive there is room for much difference of opinion. But they do not seriously affect the main lines of Colonel Gerini's work of reconstruction.

This notice will have served its purpose if it draws the attention of students to a work which in several respects is of great importance and deserves to be critically studied. Probably very few readers will be prepared to accept all the author's conclusions; but no one who reads the book in a discriminating spirit can fail to gain much valuable information from it.

C. O. Blagden.

WURZEL UND WORT IN DEN INDONESISCHEN SPRACHEN.

This little monograph deals in Dr. Brandstetter's characteristically accurate and systematic manner with the roots and stem-words of the Malayo-Polynesian
languages. The essence of the matter is this. The normal type of an "uncompounded" word, actually used as such, in this family is disyllabic. These disyllabic words are, broadly speaking, the atoms of speech, for they cannot be split up into smaller portions capable of being used. But they are not really atoms, but rather molecules. For on comparing a series of them we find in many cases that a common syllable runs through the series, while the other syllable differs in each word. Thus in Old Javanese there is a series singul, argul, turgul, and agul, all words bearing more or less allied meanings. The natural inference is that these are all built up from a root *gul. Speaking generally, that is the subject-matter of the work. It deals with the extraction of these roots from the actual stem-words, describes the nature of the roots, shows how they are built up into stem-words, and describes the stem-words which are thus constructed.

The matter is not so simple as it looks. Although scholars are now agreed that the Malay-Polynesian languages were in fact constructed originally from monosyllabic roots, there is still some difference of opinion as to the precise nature of the process by which these roots have been formed into the disyllabic stem-words which are the normal type of these languages as we know them. Recently a view has been put forward that two processes have chiefly to be considered, viz. (1) the amalgamation or juxtaposition of two roots, e.g. (I take it arbitrarily as an illustration, not as an actual instance) that singul is the product of two roots *sin and *gul, and (2) that the root has become disyllabic by doubling its middle vowel and intercalating a semi-vowel, or some similar process, so that from root *tain one would have words like *tayan, *tawan, and so forth. This is not the "orthodox" view, it is a recent theory, and it remains to be seen whether it can stand the process of investigation, and how much of the ground, if any, it can cover. The established view is
that the usual morphological process has been of a different kind, viz. that from the monosyllabic roots stem-words have been built up by means of formative syllables, usually prefixes, sometimes infixes, more rarely suffixes. Such formative syllables, though they are also in a sense roots, differ from what Dr. Brandstetter calls roots in that they cannot perform the functions of the latter: they are not capable of becoming the nuclei of words of substance. But they are sometimes identical in form with the agglutinated affixes which in the modern stage of these languages express grammatical relation or differentiate parts of speech.

It is no part of my business here to appraise the relative importance of the different modes of formation that have been suggested. I note that Dr. Brandstetter, while apparently not taking into account the supposed process of internal doubling of the vowel, etc., which has just been alluded to, recognises that the root is sometimes itself doubled and occasionally joined to another root to form a stem-word. But he lays the chief stress on the method of construction by formative syllables, especially prefixes. To that extent he is at one with the established view. The fundamental difficulty, of course, which one must face, is that on this theory the number of different formative syllables so used is very large, and it is very difficult to attach definite functions or meanings to them. What is really certain is that, whatever their ultimate origin, they had in many cases already become attached to the roots they now affect at a very remote period, in fact, in the common Malayo-Polynesian mother tongue from which the hundreds of existing languages of the family have branched off.

Another great difficulty lies in the nature of the roots themselves, using the word root here as the author does. Not only do we find roots which, while apparently identical in meaning, vary somewhat in form, e.g. in the
vowel or in the initial or final consonant, but we have the
converse case of absolute identity of form combined with
entire difference in meaning. All these circumstances
make the analysis of Malayo-Polynesian words a very
difficult matter.

I have said that as a rule the simple words in
actual use in these languages are for practical purposes
irreducible dissyllables. But there are certain exceptions.
In particular, in some languages more than others,
interjections are apt to be monosyllabic. Dr. Brandstetter
makes considerable use of these, and treats them as if
they necessarily displayed the crude form of the root.
It is, of course, quite possible that in many cases they
really may have preserved actual ancient roots unchanged.
But one is tempted to ask whether in some instances, at
any rate, these modern monosyllables may not after all
be nothing but abbreviations of stem-words and their
monosyllabism a secondary phenomenon. I should be
inclined to answer this, at least theoretically, in the
affirmative; and it is about the only point on which
I am not prepared to accept implicitly the conclusions
Dr. Brandstetter has arrived at.

For the rest, this monograph (like all Dr. Brandstetter's
work) is a model of careful, scientific research, and marks
a step in advance in the study of his subject. Both for
the new facts it gives and for the illustration of method
which it affords all students of comparative philology
should be grateful to its author.

C. O. Blagden.

The Brahui Language. Part I: Introduction and
Grammar. By Denys de S. Bray, I.C.S. Calcutta,
1909.

The Bráhúis have long been a puzzle alike to ethnologists
and to students of language. Having their home in the
heart of Baluchistan, and possessors of a physical type which Sir Herbert Risley ¹ characterizes as Turko-Eranian, their language nevertheless shows clear evidence of relationship with that of the Dravidian nationalities of Southern India. Their origin is a mystery. They themselves believe that they came originally from Aleppo, but this is a mere tradition with nothing to support it. Little can be gathered from their general physical type, for few peoples have undergone so great racial intermixture as they. Intermarriages with Pathâns, Baloches, Persians, and Jattâs have all contributed their quotas to the turbid stream, and but few tribes even pretend to a pure descent from their original forefathers who migrated (as they say) into Baluchistan from the far North-West. So mixed is the race that every Brâhûi is at least bilingual. The present Khan of Kalat, for instance, when a child used to talk Brâhûi with his mother and Baloch with his father and brothers, and some of the tribes hardly speak Brâhûi at all. Thus, the Mirwaris, true Brâhûis though they are by repute, speak Baloch almost to a man.²

Leaving the ethnological question to one side, as hardly relevant to the matter in hand, we may assert that the Brâhûi language has been discussed with more success. Lassen ³ was, so far as I am aware, the first to class Brâhûi as Dravidian, but Caldwell,⁴ though admitting an infusion of Dravidian forms and words, hesitated to follow him to his conclusions. On the other hand, Trumpp,⁵ writing in 1881, said decisively that in his opinion “there can no longer be any doubt about Brâhûi being a Dravidian language”. In spite, however, of the authority of Lassen

² Mr. Bray, in the work under review, p. 6.
⁴ Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 1st ed., p. 11.
⁵ Grammatische Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Brâhûis, Munich, 1881, p. 5.
and Trumpp, ethnologists have always shown an unwillingness to accept a classification that runs so counter to the physical characteristics of the tribe, and accordingly, in preparing the fourth volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Dr. Konow and myself took up the question *ab initio*. The result of our inquiries will be found detailed by Dr. Konow on p. 627 of that volume. The linguistic evidence compelled us to follow in the steps of Lassen and Trumpp, while we have ventured to advance a little further in the same direction by pointing out that the points of agreement are strongest between Brāhūi and the Dravidian languages spoken in Northern India—Kuruχ and Malto. The framework of the Linguistic Survey does not admit of prolonged philological discussions, and the brief summary of reasons for which space was found has not received the assent of all scholars.¹ We can therefore the more cordially welcome the appearance of Mr. Bray's excellent work.

Hitherto the materials for the study of Brāhūi have been scanty enough. That mighty linguist, Leech, gave a short epitome of the grammar in 1830.² Bellew, in an Appendix to his *From the Indus to the Tigris*,³ also provided a short grammar and vocabulary. Alla Bux's *Handbook⁴* and a reading-book by Captain Nicolson,⁵ both appearing in 1877, marked a considerable advance, but their usefulness is impaired by the employment of the Persian character, with a minimum of vowel points, for representing the Brāhūi words. Finally, in 1881, Trumpp published his *Grammatische Untersuchungen* already mentioned. His work, though most valuable, did not profess to be based upon original materials. It was

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¹ e.g. Professor Vinson, in the *Revue de Linguistique*, 1907, xl, p. 201.
² JASB., vii, 538 ff.
³ London, 1874.
⁴ *Handbook of the Biroahi Language*, Karachi, 1877.
⁵ *Meanee, etc., being a Compilation of Extracts from Napier's Conquest of Scinde, Grant Duff's Mahratta History, etc., etc., translated into the Biroahi Language*, Karachi, 1877.
a summary of the information collected by his predecessors, and a discussion of the linguistic problems revealed by it. The brief sketch in the Linguistic Survey lays no claim for credit on the score of furnishing new facts, and it has been quickly followed by Mr. Bray's book published in 1909. Here we have, for the first time in connexion with Brähui, the inestimable advantage of first-hand observation combined with trained scholarship.

Mr. Bray spent four years in Baluchistan amongst the Brähuis, and has thus been able to pursue the study of their language independently of the work of his predecessors. He devotes most of his Introduction to the consideration of the linguistic affiliation of Brähui, and it seems to me that the proofs which he now brings forward must convince even the most sceptical among previous critics of the Dravidian theory. Its Dravidian relationship, in the light of the facts collected and collated by Mr. Bray, stares one in the face. Whether we consider phonetics, number, case-relation, numerals, pronouns, conjugation, the formation of negative and causal bases, or even vocabulary, there can be only one verdict. As he says, "The Brähui language is sprung from the same source as the Dravidian language-group; it has freely absorbed the alien vocabulary of Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi, and other neighbouring languages, but in spite of their inroads its grammatical system has preserved its sturdy existence."

The book under review is labelled "Part I", and contains the Introduction and Grammar. Part II, it is understood, will consist of a full vocabulary. This will supply a real want which is much felt by students in the bypaths of philology. The Grammar is a great advance on anything that has hitherto been published regarding the language. So far as it is possible for anyone, except Mr. Bray himself, to judge, it is most complete. Specially important is the section devoted to phonetics, which
exhibits considerable care and discrimination. The transliteration follows the usual Indian system and is consistent throughout. Brāhūi phonology has peculiarities of its own that merit study. Not the least noteworthy, if it really exists, is the insertion of a euphonic \( \gamma \text{ain} \), to prevent a hiatus between vowels, and of similar euphonic \( n \) and \( t \) between certain nominal forms ending in a vowel and the verb substantive. If the \( \gamma \text{ain} \) is really euphonic, we may compare the reverse change of \( gh \) to \( y \) in the modern pronunciation of Irish words. As, for instance, the name of the town of Drogheda, called by the local people “Droyeda”, where the \( y \) corresponds to the euphonic \( y \) between vowels in Prakrit. I have not sufficient knowledge of Brāhūi to say that Mr. Bray is wrong in classing these letters as euphonic, but the presence of the \( \gamma \text{ain} \) (used, as it is, only with substantives and adjectives) suggests to me the influence of Eranian forms of speech, in which the pleonastic nominal suffix \( ka \) has often developed into this letter. Compare, for instance, Avesta \( ka\text{ufa}(\text{ka}) \), Pahlavi \( kōf \) or \( kō\text{a}-k \), a hill, with the Persian \( kōh \), a hill, and the Balōch \( k\text{ofa}-\gamma \), a shoulder. The \( n \) and the \( t \) might also be similarly explained as pleonastic suffixes.

After the discussion of the phonetics of the language, accidence and syntax are dealt with together, and not separately, each part of speech being treated with a fulness and completeness that leave nothing to be desired. Mr. Bray’s book will be useful, not only to students of language, but also to those whose official duties take them into Baluchistan, for it is built on eminently practical lines. It adds one more to the list of philological works that have been composed by members of the Indian Civil Service, and have been liberally and wisely printed and published by the Indian Government. All that remains is to express the hope that it will soon be followed by the Vocabulary which is intended to form the second gathering of the fruits of Mr. Bray’s studies.

G. A. Grierson.

To the student of Japanese literature, as well as to all interested in "things Japanese", these monumental volumes are absolutely indispensable. The first is a bibliography of Japan from 1859 to 1893, with a facsimile reprint of Léon Pagès' famous Bibliographie Japonaise depuis le XV\textsuperscript{e} siècle jusqu'à 1859; the second continues the work down to the middle of 1906, with additions and corrections, and a very valuable supplement to the Bibliographie. The whole work is a marvel of patient industry and accurate presentation. Not merely the books published on Japanese subjects are fully catalogued, but the periodical literature on Japan is given as well. This latter portion of the task must have entailed immense research, and, as far as my examination goes, is thoroughly accomplished. I find, indeed, articles of my own authorship enumerated of which I had completely forgotten the existence, nor have I found a single omission of any contribution, of which I am aware, due to the pen of any writer on Japan known to me. The entries are arranged under categories of subjects, and include works by Japanese authors in European languages on subjects not relating to Japan in particular—a most useful and interesting section—lists of periodical and official publications in foreign languages printed in Japan, of Western periodicals dealing with Japanese subjects, lists of Japanese works of which texts or translations are published in the West, an index of authors, and a special catalogue of Swedish literature on Japan from the Middle Ages to the present day, by Miss Palmgren of the Royal Library in Stockholm. In a word, the two volumes form a complete presentation of all the literature on Japan accessible to the Western reader from the sixteenth century to 1906. It needs only to be supplemented by a translation of the Gunsho Ichiran and its last complement to give a view of the whole of the literature of and on Japan, and I trust
the author of these volumes may be induced to undertake a task peculiarly within his province, and one of no great difficulty. I ought to add that in the second volume will be found a most valuable and interesting—indeed, unique—descriptive catalogue of the art relics of old Japan, from the earliest times to the end of the Tokuyawa period, preserved in the great Buddhist temples of Nara and Kyōto.

F. Victor Dickins.


Mr. Thurston's long and honourable career as Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum eminently fitted him to be entrusted with the charge of the ethnographic survey sanctioned by the Government of India in 1901. His daily experience in the Museum had for many years familiarized him with the racial and tribal life of the peoples of South India in all ages, from the urn-burials, dolmens, and pottery of the far-off Iron Age to the caste customs of the present; while he had already for seven years carried out for his own purposes systematic anthropological investigations amongst the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris, and had instituted researches into the religion and practices of the various classes inhabiting the city of Madras. It was only natural, therefore, that upon him should be conferred the responsibility of conducting the new survey. In this work he was ably assisted by Mr. Rangāchāri, M.A., of the Government Museum.

The work thus begun and steadily carried on has resulted in the publication of seven bulky volumes, replete with valuable information and accompanied by a large number of photographic reproductions. With regard to the latter it must be said that in many cases they leave much to be desired, and that it is hardly creditable to our
Government that at the present day a standard work of reference should have been illustrated in any style but the very best.

Topinard's definition of anthropology and its allied sciences may be summed up thus—Anthropology is the general study of man; ethnography the study of particular aggregations of men; and ethnology proper the study in combination of all aggregations of men; the term "ethnology" combining in itself the two last. The survey conducted by Mr. Thurston was professedly ethnographic, and we should not therefore expect in these volumes any such generalizations or comparisons as belong more especially to the province of ethnology proper; it is necessary to call attention to this point lest anyone should be disappointed in not being able to obtain from them information wider than that which was embraced in the scope of the survey. There is, however, a certain amount of anthropology and a little ethnology in the Introduction, a table of head-measurements being given, with a short discussion on prevailing types.

The subjects are treated separately and in alphabetical order—a convenient arrangement for ordinary reference, but one which will hardly satisfy those who desire to compare the customs of different tribes, or to trace the prevalence of some one custom amongst the scattered masses of the population of the Madras Presidency. A carefully prepared index would afford much assistance in this direction. At present there is none.

A good specimen of the contents of these volumes will be found in the notice of the Kurumba and Kuruba tribes. It has long been a subject for dispute whether these two are branches of the same tribe or whether they belong to two totally different ones. At the present day they are sharply differentiated from one another, the former being dwellers in the forests, hunters, gatherers of wild honey, uncivilized and undomesticated, while the latter are a part
of the ordinary agricultural population of the country, cultivators, shepherds, weavers, stonemasons, and the like, living with the rest in villages and towns. The author of the Madras Census Report of 1901 supported the theory advanced by some writers that these tribes are all really one, that "Kurumba" is the Tamil and "Kuruba" the Telugu and Kanarese form of the same name, and that in the name alone exists the difference, members of the same original tribe being civilized when they came to live amongst the rest of the people, and uncivilized when they clung to the forests. Mr. Thurston, however, holds a different opinion, and in proof of his correctness appeals to the results of his anthropological examination of a large number of individuals of both tribes, especially in the matter of their stature and nasal index. From this point of view he points out that the domesticated Kurubas who are found in the villages of Mysore, Bellary, and Kurnool are physically different from the jungle Kurumbas of the Nilgiri Hills, who, he considers, are allied to the Kādirs\(^1\) of the Ānaimallai Hills, the Paniyans of Malabar, and the Mala Vēdans or Hill Vēdans of Travancore. He believes that the jungle Kurumbas are the remnant of the primitive Dravidian tribes of the south, driven into the hills long before the seventh century A.D.; while the civilized Kurubas belong to a totally different race. These last claim to be a branch of the agricultural Kāpus or Reddis, the largest and most influential caste in the villages of South India, cultivators, farmers, and landholders. It is curious, however, to notice that the practice of erecting stone dolmens over their graves still exists among some classes of Kurubas.

According to some authorities the Kurubas are the descendants of those agriculturists that formed the bulk

\(^1\) Why "Kādir"? Surely the spelling should be "Kādar", from kāḍu-var, "forest-folk."
of the rural population under the Pallava kings, a dynasty that was in great power from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., and by whom the aboriginal Dravidians, their descendants being the Kurumbas, were driven into the hills.

Mr. Thurston enumerates and describes the divisions, subdivisions, and exogamous septs of these tribes, and enters into a full description of their customs and religion; but he refrains, as he appears habitually to do, from any attempt at generalization.

Proper names throughout this work are of course spelt in the manner now authorized by the Government, but it is sad to see that some relics of bygone barbarism still remain. Take, for instance, the name of the River Krishnā. Nothing could be easier than to retain for ordinary use the correct spelling, though without the diacritical marks. This is a form that was in common use among Europeans, and was well established, until the Government of the day commanded a reversion to the antiquated anglicism “Kistna”—in the spirit apparently of those who thought it well to write “Cow-door” for Kāvudāru, or “Shorecoat” for Shorkōt. Did anyone ever hear of an avatāra of Vishṇu in the form of “Kistna”? A few misprints have naturally crept in, but they are not numerous.

Mr. Thurston and Mr. Rangachārī are to be congratulated on the successful completion of their task. Perhaps the former will favour us before long with a short general treatise on the ethnology of South India.

R. Sewell.

[ Copies of this work can be obtained from Messrs. Fisher Unwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace, W.C., the officially appointed agents for publications of the Indian Government.]
THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES. By L. K. ANANTHA
KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

The first volume of this work now published forms
a valuable addition to the ethnographic series of South
India. Mr. Thurston's seven volumes cover most of the
ground, but Mr. Krishna Iyer's contribution to our
knowledge is especially useful, inasmuch as it consists
of a study of tribes and castes spread over a small area
by a resident of the country peculiarly fitted by his birth
and position to deal with the subject. As Mr. Beddoes
in his Preface remarks, "He has had several great
advantages. Thus, in the first place, he belongs to India
by race and nativity; and had he not been so, it is hardly
conceivable that he should have acquired such a vast mass
of information on subjects which natives are usually very
unwilling to discuss with Europeans." The high order of
his English scholarship is manifest in every page of this
work. Cochin and Travancore are tracts exceedingly
interesting to the ethnologist, including as they do
amongst the mass of the population a number of castes
unknown in other parts of India, with customs, habits
of dress, and social life peculiar to themselves. From
early ages mountain barriers and wide-spreading forests
have cut off the inhabitants of this region from the rest of
the Peninsula; and their history is in a manner unique
and often has to be studied apart from that of their
neighbours. A future volume will no doubt deal with
the higher castes, the Brahmans and the Nairs; the
present one treats of the lowest tribes inhabiting the
forests and plains—the Kâdars, Malayans, Parayans, fishing
castes, and the like—and in some respects these are the
most interesting because the most primitive. Mr. Keane's
remarks in his introductory note are much to the point;
ethnographic work has been begun none too soon, since
"Hinduism is steadily invading the haunts of the jungle
peoples and thus gradually effacing many of the most
characteristic traits in the life of the childhood of mankind." It is in the persistence to the present day of so many of these primitive types, doomed no doubt to disappearance, and that perhaps in the near future, that the great value of such records as these consist.

Mr. Krishna Iyer's volume contains a number of excellent photographs, mostly taken by himself, generally showing the racial types but occasionally giving us views of the scenery of the hills, rivers, and villages; and with regard to these we may express our regret that in comparison with them Mr. Thurston's illustrations are often so poor.

We select for notice a few of the author's articles. The inhabitants of the hills, Kādars and Malayans, are described as wild and inoffensive tribes, shy, with no savage cruelty of disposition. The Kādars are evidently dying out, for at the last census they numbered only 310. They are essentially hunters, trackers, and honey-gatherers. The women make good wives and are models of constancy. The men are polygamous, but polyandry is unknown in the tribe. The son succeeds to the property of the father, and in this the Kādars differ from many of the other west coast castes. Their religion is a rude animism. Their dead are buried, and though dolmens, menhirs, and stone circles are found in the hills of Cochin the Kādars of to-day never erect any monument over their deceased relatives. They are extraordinarily expert in tree-climbing and fearless in their descents over precipices in the hunt for honey, wonderful trackers and daring elephant-catchers. They seem altogether to be a very attractive people, "quite simple, unsophisticated, and utter aliens to vice and trickery. They are plain and straightforward in their dealings, never tell a lie, and never deceive one another." They never shirk work, are quiet, submissive, "obeying the slightest
expression of a wish, and very grateful for any assistance or attention."\

The Malayans are divided into two sub-tribes—Nāttu Malayans, probably the original inhabitants of the hills, and Konga Malayans, who seem to have immigrated from forests further east. In some places their huts are built above ground, a number of bamboos being cut to an even height, and the flooring constructed on their stumps. They are divided into clans. Among the Nāttu Malayans a nephew succeeds to the property of his maternal uncle, as with many other peoples of the west coast; but among the Konga Malayans the son inherits his father’s possessions.

The Parayans have by some writers been classed as members of a hill-tribe, but Mr. Krishna Iyer holds to the opinion that this is not the case, but that, on the contrary, they have from a remote period been exclusively agricultural labourers. Though now outcasts from every caste, the Parayans preserve and cherish the memory of former greatness, regarding themselves as descendants of the original owners of the soil; and this may well be the case.\(^2\) The author’s description of the black magic and Oṭi cult of the Parayans (pp. 76–81) are interesting and valuable, but he goes rather too far in his assertion that the Parayans of the Tamil Districts “adore Śiva and Vishnu”. Setting aside the more highly educated of this tribe it would be safe to assert that the ideas of the masses regarding the supernatural are still confined to belief in the powers for good or ill of a multitude of local deities, village goddesses, and malignant demons. The Parayans are complete outcasts, and in Cochin, as in other parts of India, their near presence is a pollution to any

\(^1\) The author evidently considers that this description is a truly apt one, for he repeats the same words three pages later.

\(^2\) Mr. Thurston (vi, 81 ff.) gives many good reasons for supposing that this belief is not without foundation.
caste-men; but, as might be expected from the geographical position of this tract, this pollution carries further than in the rest of the Madras Presidency. In Cochin it appears that a Parayan may not approach within half a furlong of a caste-man. British administration, with its strong tendency to extend justice to all alike, has to a large extent broken down these deep-rooted prejudices, and even Brahmans have to submit to the presence of Parayans within a few yards of their persons in our courts and offices.

The author's account of the manners and customs of the fishing castes and their devices for catching fish is very interesting, and the illustrations are excellent.

Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer's next volume will be welcomed, not only by ethnologists, but also by the general public; for apart from the scientific results obtainable from the present one it contains much that without exaggeration may be classed as good reading.

R. Sewell.

DER RIGVEDA IM AUSWAHL. (ERSTER TEIL, GLOSSAR; ZWEITER TEIL, KOMMENTAR.) By KARL F. GELDNER. Stuttgart, 1907 and 1909.

It need hardly be said that anything from Professor Geldner's pen dealing with the *Rgveda* is of the highest value to Vedic studies, and the selection of hymns which he has chosen for study includes many of the most interesting and important of the hymns of the Samhita, while the glossary not merely covers the uses of the words noted which occur in the hymns included in the selection, but in many cases extends to the whole of the *Rgveda*, and includes notices of other texts, such as the *Maitrāyanī Samhitā*.

It must, however, be regretted that imperative considerations of space have prevented the discussion of the
views of other scholars on the hymns of which Professor Geldner treats. The *Rgveda* is on the whole a most difficult and obscure work, and progress to its adequate interpretation must needs in large measure be through careful enumeration and criticism of opposing views, just as the elucidation of classical works has been effected through constant critical work. Of course Professor Geldner in arriving at his own results has tested the renderings of others, and we must regard what he gives us as his deliberate opinion of what is the true sense of the passage. But no reasons are given for his decisions, and we miss the statement of grounds which might enable us to dismiss for good as impossible a variant interpretation. Moreover, though no doubt students of the selection may be expected to have the *Vedische Studien* available, some needless trouble might have been saved by brief references, both in the glossary and the commentary, to the relevant passages in the *Vedische Studien*.

A good example of the disadvantages of this method is seen in Professor Geldner’s comment on *Rgveda*, x, 33, 34. He accepts the version of the *Anukramani* that these hymns are by Kavaṣa, and he ingeniously shows that the reference in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹ to Kavaṣa as a *kitava*, “gambler,” is supported by the diceing hymn, x, 34, where Kavaṣa, in his opinion, bemoans his fate. But he rejects the view of the *Anukramani* that in x, 33, Kavaṣa consoles the prince Upamaśravas for the death of Mitrātithi, his grandfather, and instead explains the hymn as a lament of Kavaṣa because he had fallen into disgrace with his master Upamaśravas, and had been cast like Trita² into a pit by him, and he considers that the true story had early been forgotten. Now what ground is there to accept the mention of Kavaṣa as author of the hymns as correct? It is not early: on the contrary, as

¹ ii, 19. This point is not found in the Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa, xii, 3.
² Compare x, 33, 2, 3, with i, 105, 8.
the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa does not recognize him as author of x, 34, it may safely be said that the attribution is late and improbable. Nor is the evidence better for the authorship of x, 33. It is true that a Kavaśa appears in the battle of the ten kings, but it is not certain that he was a priest: he may have been a king, as Hopkins thinks, and the most that can be said for any connexion between a Kavaśa and Kuruśravana is that the latter was a descendant of Trasadasyu, who was a Pūru king, and the Pūrus were on the same side as Kavaśa in the battle of the ten kings, which, however, must be regarded as long anterior to the date of Kuruśravana. It seems clear that we must give up the name Kavaśa as that of the author, and it is also clear that the new Itihāsa invented by Professor Geldner has no sure foundation. The hymn seems certainly elegiac in tone, but instead of being inconsistent with the account of it given in the Anukramaṇi that fact is surely a confirmation of the notice. It seems from the first part of the hymn that the death of Kuruśravana took place in circumstances of disaster, and in consoling Upamaśravas the poet may well have had little on which he could dwell with satisfaction. Nor is there any reference to a pit in which the singer was cast; it is true that the Nirukta treats the word parśavah in RV. i, 105, 8 as meaning the sides of a hollow, but the sense is not probable nor necessary, nor does Geldner himself accept it. The poet is sorely afflicted, but the death of his master and the defeat of his people are adequate to account for all that is stated in the hymn.

1 RV. vii, 18. 12.
2 JAOS. xv, 290 seq. Mr. Pargiter (JRAS. 1910, p. 50) takes Kavaśa as a Rāsi, and identifies him with the father of Tura, who consecrated, according to one version, Janamejaya. The conjecture is not a probable one, if only on chronological grounds, and in thinking (p. 49) that the Bharatas were enemies of Sudās Mr. Pargiter is following an improbable and now practically antiquated view of the relationship of Sudās and the Bharatas.
3 RV. iv, 38, 1 seq. 4 iv, 6. 5 Vedische Studien, ii, 184, n. 3.
Professor Geldner suggests a new interpretation of the well-known crux, RV. x, 18, 14. He thinks that the verse is to be considered as the thought of the dead man: "the gods shall place me on a day to come (i.e. on rebirth in a mother's womb) like the feather of the arrow in the shaft." The idea is ingenious, but I do not think that it can be said to be more than that, and it is open to the objection that it assumes that the idea of rebirth is to be found in the Rgveda.\(^1\) This is extremely doubtful, though, if we consider that the verse is a later addition, as is in all probability the case, this objection is not fatal, but the version has the capital defect of being less convincing even than the ordinary interpretation.\(^2\)

Very clever is Professor Geldner's attempt to make sense of RV. iii, 31. Following the confused notice of Yāska,\(^3\) he thinks that the beginning of the hymn contains a double metaphor from Indian family law. The father who makes his daughter a Putrikā, i.e. one whose son is appointed to perform the obsequies of his maternal grandfather,\(^4\) profits by the arrangement, but the son-in-law loses; or again, if the father has a son, the daughter and her husband have no share in the inheritance; similarly, the priest carries out all the toilsome part of the sacrificial ritual, but the patron alone profits by the offering, a broad hint for the latter not to forget the Dakṣinā for the priest. But unhappily the interpretation breaks down on the actual wording of the hymn, and it is probably best to admit—as does, in fact, Oldenberg\(^5\)—that we have, as too often, a passage the sense of which will always remain doubtful. It is worth noticing that while Professor Geldner accepts here a line of

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\(^1\) As to this cf. my remarks, JRAS. 1909, p. 575, and see Oldenberg, Rgveda-Noten, i, 303.

\(^2\) Cf. Lanman, Sanskrit Reader, p. 386.

\(^3\) iii, 4. Cf. Brhadderatā, iv, 110.

\(^4\) Cf. Jolly, Recht und Sitt, p. 72; Die Adoption in Indien, pp. 16, 17.

\(^5\) Rgveda-Noten, i, 239 seq.
interpretation based on Yāska, he deliberately rejects that authority's interpretation of RV. i, 124, 7, as also referring to the Pātrikā. He may well be right in doing so, and in that case the Pātrikā may be dismissed from the Rgveda. As a matter of fact the practice has a somewhat modern and artificial character, and it is at least noteworthy that it is not found mentioned in any certain passage in the literature before Yāska, the Brhaddevatā and the Dharma Sūtras.¹

Another addition, and not a very probable one, is made to the list of animals named in the Rgveda in the shape of the bull Dāsadyu, called śvaitreyā as the offspring of a śvitrā cow, which was used in battle and secured the victory.² It is idle to deny that the reference to Dāsadyu is quite inadequate to determine who he was—he has been with some probability identified³ with Bhujyu because of the appearance of the word tugriyāsu in the passage and the fact that Bhujyu was the son of Tugra, and is called Tugrya—but the theory of a fighting bull is not made even probable by the quotation of a story of a fight between two bulls created by the gods and Asuras in the Kāthaka Sanskritā,⁴ and the native tradition, for what it is worth, takes Śvaitreyā as the metronymic of a man, not of a bull.

On the other hand, Professor Geldner is not apparently anxious to accept the view that the thirty-four lights referred to in the Rgveda⁵ are the five planets and the Nakṣatras, and he recognizes that the poetical description of the moon as vidhānām dadrānāh samane bahūnām

¹ e.g. Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xxviii, 20; Vasishtha Dharma Sūtra, xvii, 17; and see Jolly, Recht und Sitt, p. 73.
² RV. i, 33, 14, 15.
³ Cf. Bergaigne, Religion Védique, iii, 11; Baunack, KZ. xxxv, 527; Ludwig, RV. v, 472.
⁴ xiii, 4. (Geldner's mode of citation by page and line is regrettably inadequate, though the citation by book and chapter is also unsatisfactory.)
⁵ x, 55.
has nothing to do with the path of the moon through the Nakṣatras, which are unknown to all save the latest parts of the Rgveda, such as the wedding hymn of Sūryā.

On the other hand, Professor Geldner desires to assimilate the ancient chariot to the modern cart of Bihar described by Dr. Grierson in his standard work on the customs of that province, and he therefore identifies the somewhat mysterious āni of the Rgveda with the wooden support of the frame of the chariot which was fastened to the axle outside the wheel. This is no doubt conceivable, but the evidence is strongly in favour of the āni being the lynch-pin or something similar. Nor is it probable that the technical expressions of politics, udāsīna and pārṣṇigrāha, applied in the Mānava Dharma Śāstra to denote a king who is a neutral between two hostile kings, really serve to explain madhyamaśī in the Rgveda, where the sense “arbitrator” seems at once plausible and adequate.

The selection, fortunately, includes some of the most interesting of the historical hymns of the Rgveda, and the series of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha hymns is satisfactorily explained, due recognition being given to Hopkins' clear proof that in RV. vii, 18 there is a deliberate allusion to Viśvāmitra by his successful rival. The only unsatisfactory part of the treatment of the hymns is the maintenance of the view that RV. iii, 53, 21. 24 contain a reference to Śakti’s murder by the Viśvāmitras. It is also quite probable that Geldner’s view of RV. vi, 27, which sees in Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Śrījaya Daiva-vāta allies, not one prince, is preferable to the usual identification of both men which Zimmer urges, and it is satisfactory that Geldner adheres steadily to the view

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1 Bihār Peasant Life, § 167.  
2 Cf. my Aitareya Aranyaka, p. 237.  
3 RV. iii, 33, 53; vii, 18, 33.  
4 vii, 158–207.  
5 RV. i, 35, 6.  
6 JAOS. xv, 262.  
7 Cf. Oldenberg, Rgveda-Noten, i, 254.  
8 Altindisches Leben, p. 133.
that neither Persian (Parśu)¹ nor Parthian (Pārthava)² is found in the Samhitā. Nor does he accept Hillebrandt’s³ theory of the reference to the burning of the widow with her husband in the Rgveda⁴ as an interpolation from the ritual of the Puruṣamedha, or human sacrifice. As he well puts it, the widow shows, by approaching the dead body of her husband and lying beside it, that she is prepared to die with him, but she does not actually immolate herself; the Vedic age no longer practised the burning of widows, but the forms of the custom remained. And, again, he is probably right in accepting the hymn vii, 103 as a satire⁵ on a Brahmin school; probably the Vasiṣṭhas were making fun of the Viśvāmitras, for the verse vii, 103, 10⁴ does seem to repeat directly iii, 53, 7⁶ (sahasrasāvē prá tiṁanta āyuh), and he accepts in that hymn the meaning of dvādaśa as “the year”, no doubt deliberately rejecting Jacobi’s view that dvādaśa means the twelfth month.

In grammatical questions Professor Geldner shows the same boldness which he has evinced in the Vedische Studien. One general objection may be made, perhaps, to the principle which he adopts: it is no doubt true that grammatical irregularities are found in the Rgveda, but it is surely a matter of principle never to assume such irregularities when a reasonable sense can be made on the basis of the ordinary syntactical usages. For example, in RV. i, 50, 2, āpa tye tāyāvo yathā nākṣatrā yanti, he says that tye is attracted to the gender of the object compared, and he compares RV. i, 191, 5 for the comparison. But though nākṣatrā is given in the Padapātha, and though Oldenberg⁶ is inclined to agree with the

¹ RV. x, 33, 2. ² RV. vi, 27, 8. ³ ZDMG. xl, 701. ⁴ x, 18, 8. ⁵ See Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 495, and cf. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 151. ⁶ Rgveda-Noten, i, 48.
Padapātha, it seems to me that Geldner was better advised in his Glossar in giving nāksatras as both neuter and masculine. RV. vi. 67, 6 presents clearly a masculine nāksatras, and when it is remembered that the Nakṣatras have some of them masculine names it is really not unnatural that nāksatras should be found as a masculine, and the evidence for the neuter gender of nāksatras is not Rgvedic.\(^1\) Of course such an attraction is not impossible,\(^2\) but to assume it because of the interpretation put on a form by the Padapātha is hardly desirable.

In some passages\(^3\) Professor Geldner sees the use of the participle as a finite verb; but in none of the cases cited can it possibly be said that the construction must necessarily be accepted, and unless some better examples can be adduced the construction must be considered to be doubtful. Professor Geldner himself does not accept the view in the case of jagavān in Rgveda, x, 10, 1, and Professor Oldenberg,\(^4\) who is willing to accept the construction, does not quote any of the passages cited by Geldner in his list of examples of the usage. Or, again, is it really necessary to see a double relative in either RV. x, 52, 1 or iii, 32, 14? In the former passage we have viśe devāḥ sāstāna mā yāthēkā hōtā vṛtō manāvai yān niśādya. But is the construction really yāthā-yād as Professor Geldner supposes? Surely it is rather yāthā-manāvai yān niśādya (manāvai). There are two quite distinct sentences, the second of which may either be taken as parallel to the first: "how being chosen as Hotṛ I shall be minded, what I shall think when I sit down," or as a temporal clause, "how I shall be minded, when sitting down I think"; in neither case any double relative really

\(^1\) Weber, Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naksatras, ii, 268.
\(^2\) Cf. Aitareya Aranyakas, v, 1, 1, with my note.
\(^3\) RV. i, 116, 2 (śādānā); ii, 38, 8 (jārābhurānāḥ); iv, 7, 10 (dādyānam); vii, 18, 12 (pranāḥ). See Pāṇini, iii, 2, 106, and compare my remarks, ZDMG. liii, 346; JRAS. 1910, 227.
\(^4\) Rgveda-Noten, i, 428.
occurring. In iii, 32, 14 the need to recognize a double relative is still less great, as Oldenberg’s note amply shows. Similarly, while the singular verb with a “neuter plural” is a possible phenomenon, it is surely needless to find it in RV. x, 10, 2: salakṣmā yad viṣurūpā bhavāti, where the obvious sense is given by the feminine. It is true that the Vājasaneyī Samhitā has salakṣmā and viṣurūpam, the Padapātha explaining salakṣmā as meant. But the correctness of the Padapātha is far from being beyond doubt, and the Taittirīya Samhitā has salakṣmānaḥ and viṣurūpāḥ, which conclusively supports the possibility of the feminine, for salakṣmā as a feminine is open to no substantial objection. Or, again, to assume, as Geldner does, attraction of the instrumental into the accusative in i, 147, 3 = iv, 4, 13, is hardly legitimate; the passage runs yē pāyāvo Māmateyām te agne pāśyanto andhān duritād ārākṣan | rārākṣa tān sukṛto viśvavedā dīpsanta id ripāvo nāha debhuh || The sense is surely satisfactory that the guards themselves are guarded by the god; the instrumental rendering would weaken, not confirm, the force of the passage, and Oldenberg has abandoned his doubts as to the possibility of the rendering.

It would be easy to multiply indefinitely the points of

1 See e.g. i, 81, 2; 162, 8, cited by Geldner: Delbrück, Vergl. Synt. iii, 230.
2 vi, 20.
3 It is rather curious that Geldner should not simply take salakṣmā as a masculine form used for a neuter as he does, Kommentar, p. 72, n. 2, in the case of raksahā, vii, 8, 6; amitrāhā, x, 170, 2; rghāvā, iv, 24, 8; and cf. ojasvī, Maitrīyaṇī Samhitā, iv, 3, 8. But the examples are all dubious; the nominative of ḥan in the neuter is difficult to form (cf. Oldenberg, op. cit., i, 419; Lanman in Whitney’s translation of the Atharvaveda, p. 968), and if ojasvī and tejasvī in the Maitrīyaṇī are not merely slips, due to ojasvīni and tejasvīni immediately preceding, there remains the obvious possibility of rendering them as nominatives, “the man who has the instruments (i.e. the ratainah) becomes powerful as regards his kingdom,” tad not matching yasya but being adverbial, which is perfectly legitimate.
4 i, 3, 10, 1 (the words are there in reverse order).
5 Rgveda-Noten, i, 147.
6 SBE. xlvi, 171.
interest raised by this valuable commentary, but it must suffice to note that Geldner offers a new but not very probable\(^1\) version of the crux in iv, 24, 9, about Vāmadeva’s sale of Indra; that he thinks that the order of the hymn containing the conversation of Agastya, the Maruts, and Indra is i, 170, 166, 171, and not as Sieg\(^2\) takes them, and that he corrects tacitly but certainly rightly his former attribution to Sāyana’s brother of the remarks of Mādhava cited by Sāyana on Rgveda, x, 10; it is quite certain that the older Mādhava Bhaṭṭa is meant in that passage.

A. Berriedale Keith.


Benfey has, perhaps, hardly received the recognition in this country due to his great merits as a philologist and as a Sanskrit scholar. Philology, indeed, is not a study in which a scholar can hope to reap the full reward of his labours: its progress is so rapid, and it is so impossible to effect any work in it which can be said to be really permanent, that a philologist must expect to be superseded at an early date and to become little more than a name. It is not, then, wonderful that Benfey’s Sanskrit Grammar, and his numerous lesser contributions to Vedic grammar, which were to have formed part of a complete Vedic Grammar, historic and comparative, should remain known mainly to scholars, but it is somewhat surprising that his great merits as a Vedic and Indian scholar should have been to some degree ignored. His edition of the Sāmaveda in 1848 was the first scientific edition of a Vedic Saṃhitā, and the work is still a model of editing. It was accompanied by much critical matter, by a translation, and

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\(^1\) Cf. Oldenberg, p. 419.

\(^2\) Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda, pp. 108 seq.
a glossary of a merit which is still absolutely very high, and which, in view of the date of publication, must be deemed to vindicate beyond question Benfey's claim to be reckoned one of the greatest Vedic scholars of Germany. His article on India in Ersch & Gruber's Encyclopædia had appeared eight years earlier, and though, like all articles in Encyclopædias, it never exerted the influence to which it was entitled, it has always been regarded by competent judges as of the greatest value and interest. It is impossible to doubt that his reputation would have stood much higher had he devoted himself to Indian studies, but no doubt philology would have been the loser.

His daughter's volume is one of great interest and excellence. It depicts a life of untiring industry and devotion to learning, based on the motto which he wrote in the album of his daughter Theodore—*Etsi nihil habet in se gloria cur expetatur, tamen virtutem tanquam umbra sequitur*. The letters to his wife, née Fanny Wallenstein, who survived him for twenty years, dying in 1902, reveal a nature of singular kindness, simplicity, generosity, and uprightness, and his letters to his brother Rudolf display a wealth of tenderness and affection not unworthy of the man who readily sacrificed his slender patrimony to render possible the early marriage of his sister.

Benfey died in 1882 of an internal malady: happily his last days were free from pain, and his faculties were unclouded, though it was with regret that he left a life in which he felt that there yet remained for him useful work to do. But he had accomplished much; he had materially affected the studies which he loved, and he was sure of a recognition of his work and talents, which his daughter's biography, written with much dignity and simplicity, will unquestionably enhance.

A. Berriedale Keith.

This little book adds another to the many valuable volumes published in Germany dealing at once in a popular and a scientific manner with questions of Oriental study. Their appearance testifies to the existence of a wider and more discriminating interest in matters Oriental than is to be found in England, an interest which renders it worth the while of so accomplished a scholar as Professor Oldenberg to cater for its needs.

Of the three essays here collected the first is a refutation of the thesis, put forward by the late Professor Pischel in his Leben und Lehre des Buddha, that metta in Buddhism corresponds to and plays the part of love in Christianity. The matter is in great measure one of terminology, but so far as there is a real difference in the views of the two scholars the opinion of Oldenberg certainly seems preferable. Metta, as he shows from the evidence of the canon, is not one of the most prominent of the qualities to which Buddhism attached importance, and the metta which is exhibited is the feeling of friendship to the whole of existing things, a state of calm affection, not the active exertion of good will. It is, indeed, a mental condition not far removed from the indifference to the universe which was the aim of the Vedāntin, and it betrays an unmistakable resemblance to its source, the Yoga of the Brahmin ascetic. It is not, of course, to be denied or doubted that the Buddhist texts know the frame of mind which is parallel to the love of the Christian, but it does seem certain that such love was not the Buddhist ideal end, and after all it would be idle to expect that this could be the case. There is no correspondence between the Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa and the doctrine that God is love.

The second essay deals with the Sutta Nipāta as evidence for the thought of primitive Buddhism. Professor
Oldenberg\textsuperscript{1} still holds that this collection is of very old date, and that part of it may approach nearly the time of the death of the Buddha himself, while he recognizes in it two passages referred to by Aśoka. It is hardly probable that this view is correct: at least the evidence for it is of remarkable paucity and far from being cogent. But at any rate the text is of great interest and of some beauty, though it may be doubted whether anything in the Suttas equals in depth of thought and felicity of expression the stanzas scattered through the Upaniṣads, which form the model for the verses of the Sutta Nipāta. But in Professor Oldenberg they find a sympathetic interpreter and a most skilled translator, and as a brief exposition of the Buddhist life in the early centuries before the Christian era it would be difficult to praise too highly this brief essay.

Not the least interesting of the essays is the last, a sketch of historical literature in India. It is true that the times have changed since it could be said that there was no history in India, but despite a considerable amount of historical information it is clearer than ever that India has never possessed an historian. The best part of the Rājataraṅgini is no more than a mere chronicle, relieved from dreariness only by the not inconsiderable poetic skill of the author, and raised above the rank of the European mediaeval chronicles mainly by the noble language which serves as the medium of expression. It is perhaps impossible even with absolute accuracy to ascertain the causes of the phenomenon, but Professor Oldenberg rightly emphasizes the necessity of a great national life for the writing of great history. India has never been a nation, and India has never had an historian of the first rank.

A. Berriedale Keith.

\textsuperscript{1} pp. 26, 69, where he attributes the oldest form of the Buddhist texts to about 400 B.C.

It is now thirty-two years since Garbe's text and translation of the Vaitāna Sūtra were published, and the mass of work done on the Atharvaveda and the ritual literature generally fully justifies the new version which Professor Caland presents to Vedic scholars. But it is right to note that the comparison of the new with the older work brings out clearly the great ability shown by Garbe in his version, the defects of which were due not to deficiencies in his scholarship, but to the imperfect means at his disposal. Nor does Professor Caland seem justified (p. iv) in his view that Garbe considered the Sūtra as an independent description of the Śrauta ritual for an Atharvavedin: at least, I cannot find any such view in Garbe's preface to the text or translation, and it is not consistent with the remarks on pp. v, vi of the former work.

Professor Caland repeats and enforces his thesis that the Vaitāna Sūtra is not, as Professor Bloomfield\(^1\) thinks, later than the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. I have already on other grounds\(^2\) stated my objections to Bloomfield's ingenious but unconvincing argument. It is clear that the Vaitāna Sūtra in two passages\(^3\) refers to the Brāhmaṇa. In the first of these passages the Anubrāhmaṇins are mentioned: it is not certain what is meant; Garbe leaves the word untranslated, and Caland renders it as those who recognize the "secundāre Brāhmaṇa" as an authority, without explaining what the secondary Brāhmaṇa is. It would seem reasonable to render Anubrāhmaṇin by "those who follow the Brāhmaṇa"\(^4\), which would of course be

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1 JAOS. xix, 1 seqq.; Atharvaveda, pp. 102 seqq.
2 Aitareya Aranyaka, pp. 25, 26.
3 xvii, 11; xxxi, 1. The passages referred to are Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i, 5, 12-14; i, 4, 1-6, respectively.
4 Pāṇini, vi, 2, 42, is the source of the view that Anubrāhmaṇa means a secondary Brāhmaṇa.
a recognition that the Sūtra did not regard the Brāhmaṇa as the only authority. Bloomfield adds as an argument for the derivation of the Gopatha from the Vaitāna the fact that the former text refers to two classes of plants in the words āṭhavravabhis cāngirasibhis ca without specifying either, while the former class is defined in the Kausika Sūtra and the latter in the Vaitāna Sūtra. But this argument has no cogency: the Brāhmaṇas frequently refer to matters only explained in the Sūtras, without it being reasonable or possible to deduce that the Brāhmaṇa is borrowing from the Sūtra. Similarly, no stress can be laid on the argument from the citation of Pratikas: it is true that the Gopatha sometimes cites by Pratika verses found in the Vaitāna in extenso, but it is fairly clear that the mechanical argument is dangerous and unsatisfactory in this as in other cases. Nor, again, do I see that Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i, 2, 18, is based on Vaitāna Sūtra, v, 10, any more than vice versa. Moreover, Professor Caland seems to be right in referring the frequent use of the optative in the Sūtra as opposed to the more normal indicative to borrowing from a Brāhmaṇa, when the ritual is not described, but the optative is used in the directions which are given by the Brāhmaṇa. Again, in the Sūtra, xvi, 5, the expression purā pracaritoḥ is found; it is impossible not to recognize in this “a borrowing” from a Brāhmaṇa; the Sūtras do not independently exhibit in Sūtra passages like this such a construction.

Professor Caland is somewhat unfortunate in his treatment of the last book of the Atharvaveda. He twice asserts (pp. v, vi) that the book consists entirely of

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1 Atharvaveda, p. 105.  
2 i, 2, 18.  
3 viii, 16.  
4 v, 10.  
5 Cf. Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, xxx, 4–8, 249; Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1907, p. 224, n. 1, with Knauer, Das Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, ii, 22 seq.; Festgruss an Roth, pp. 61–4; Winternitz, Mantrapātha, pp. xxx seq.  
6 Cf. Vaitāna Sūtra, xx, 21, with Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, ii, 4, 10.
verses from the *Rgveda*, though he, of course, knows that this is not the case.\(^1\) Nor is it quite accurate to say that none of *Atharvaveda*, xx, is found in the Paippalāda recension; Lanman\(^2\) gives the true facts. Nor is it fair to treat Whitney's\(^3\) reference to the *Atharvaveda*, xx, as incorrect. All that he said was that book xx "stands in no conceivable relation to the rest of the *Atharvaveda*, and when and why it was added thereto is a matter for conjecture". Both statements are perfectly true: it is indeed now—as it was long ago\(^4\)—an accepted theory that this book is a Saṃhitā for the Brāhmaṇācchāṃsin priest, but that is merely a conjecture, and it is nowhere stated. Nor does the theory place the book in any real relation to the rest of the *Atharvaveda*; the connexion is a formal and external one, and this is no doubt what Whitney was referring to. Moreover, it must be noted that the ritual of the Brāhmaṇācchāṃsin as described in the Sūtra does not wholly agree with the notices of the *Rgveda Sūtras*, and it is hardly very helpful to refer (p. vi) to the possibility of the ritual of a lost *Rgveda Šākhā* finding place for the twentieth book of the *Atharvaveda*.

Professor Caland doubts whether it is proved that the twentieth book of the *Atharvaveda* was known to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. But the doubt seems quite needless. It is true that in one passage\(^5\) the Brāhmaṇa refers to a hymn of the *Atharvaveda*,\(^6\) which has seven verses, as *sadṛcami", consisting of six verses," this being the number it has in the *Rgveda*.\(^7\) But not only is it quite possible that the statement is merely a quotation from the

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\(^{1}\) For the facts, see Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, pp. 95 seqq.
\(^{2}\) In Whitney's translation of the *Atharvaveda*, p. 1009.
\(^{4}\) See Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 96, n. 3, for the older views, and Garbe's text of the *Vaitāma Sūtra*, p. viii.
\(^{5}\) ii, 6, 2.
\(^{6}\) xx, 12 (misprinted xx, 22 on p. viii).
\(^{7}\) vii, 23.
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but, as Caland himself points out, the last verse of the hymn in the Atharvaveda is a Yājñā verse, and such verses are regularly not held to be part of the hymns proper. On the other hand there are two cases where the Atharvan form of a Re verse is cited, and it is gratuitous to suggest that possibly the citation is from a lost recension of the Ṛgveda. Moreover, Caland overlooks the clear reference in the Gopatha, pointed out by Bloomfield, to the twenty books of the Atharvaveda, which really decides the question once for all. It is important to note this fact, as one of the most certain things about the Atharvan literatures.

It is needless to say that the translation displays a great mastery of the technique of the ritual, and in many places shows an advance on the work of Garbe. Here and there Professor Caland seems needlessly anxious to alter the text: for example, in xxxviii, 2 he wishes to read methate for methane, but the latter word is quite adequate in sense and the conjecture is needless. In xxxviii, 6 he suggests pratipraśnāt for pratipraśne, but this alteration is most improbable and unnecessary. In xviii, 17 he wishes to omit the word yajamānaḥ from the text because the parallel passage in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa has it not, and according to other sources the Yajamāna has his place west, not south, of the Brahman, but these reasons are far from conclusive. In xvii, 4 he conjectures māpagāyata for māpagāyā,
followed by *tanüpāt sāmnah*, and renders "von den Leben-enthaltenden Re weicht beim Singen nicht ab, (nicht) vom Körperschirmenden Sāman". But this is harsh: the supplying of *mā* is not indeed impossible, but it is not by any means probable, nor is the plural necessary, for the parallel in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*\(^1\) has the plural in a different context and has no cogency for the *Vaitāna* passage. Or, again, in xvi, 17 it is useless to "conjecture" *yas te drapsah patito 'sti* for the *drapsah pātito 'ty asi* of the text. We have here a case—like those indicated by Winternitz in the *Mantrapaṭha*—in which the traditional text has been hopelessly corrupted before the Sūtra was produced. One can replace, if desired, what should be the proper text, but it is not reproducing the text of the Sūtra. Nor is it possible to see any useful purpose served by a conjecture like *prājās* for *prājām* in *prājām jinva*\(^2\) in xxv, 1. Again, in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 4, 8, *yad kusīdam* is so obviously a Pratīka that the suggestion (p. 70) to take it as an object of *yātayeran* is quite out of the question. In xx, 6, on the other hand, the reading *ṛtupātram* for *ṛtupātre* is palaeographically quite possible, but the locative cannot be said not to be possible, for the draught partaken of was in the beaker. On the other hand, in xxxvii, 15 no note is taken of *ācaksate* following in the apodosis on *yadi-prapadṛṣṭa*: possibly *ācakseta* may be read, but much more probable is that we have an example of an irregularity\(^3\) which I have elsewhere exemplified. In ix, 12 Professor Caland reads *āṣīta* for *āṣīda*: the correction is an easy one, but not cogent, for the nominative *brahmā* may easily be defended by parallel cases which are found elsewhere.\(^4\)

\(^1\) ii, 2, 14; cf. also Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 120.
\(^3\) JRAS. 1909, pp. 152, 755.
\(^4\) Ibid. 1908, pp. 1124 seq.
In ix, 18 the conjecture *yajamānāryajanāh* is possible, but hardly necessary.¹

A. Berriedale Keith.

*Amurrū, the Home of the Northern Semites*, a Study showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are not of Babylonian Origin. By Albert T. Clay, Ph.D. Philadelphia: the Sunday School Times Company, 1909.

Much has been said about pan-Babylonism—the doctrine first started by Professor Fried. Delitzsch, which teaches us that all Israelitish civilization, and all the beliefs of the people, were of Babylonian origin. Naturally this has aroused much opposition, and the more moderate Assyriologists have done their best to combat it, and bring about what they consider to be a saner view of the case. At the same time there is, it must be admitted, much to be said in favour of the pan-Babylonian view, though other explanations of the circumstances involved are possible. The Semitic nations, including the Babylonians and the Israelites, must have come from a common stock, and therefore, in all probability, had the same beliefs and legends. How many of these are their common property, and how many originated in Babylonia and spread thence into the districts around, is naturally a matter of considerable uncertainty, though careful study of the circumstances in which they were probably evolved may furnish solutions of the difficulties.

¹I take this opportunity of saying that I regret to hear from Professor Caland that I have done him an injustice in thinking that he was responsible for the absence of punctuation in the Kāthaka Sanshīta (see JRAS. 1910, p. 518), which must be attributed to von Schroeder alone. But I still think that the plan adopted by Professor Caland in his edition of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (see vol. i, pp. xii, xiii) is unfortunate and of little value.
The explanation of the opinions held by Winckler, Zimmerm, Jensen, Jeremias, and others, which Professor Clay gives in his introductory remarks, are exceedingly interesting. In Winckler’s opinion the earth was, with the Babylonians, a reflection of the heavens, whose influence, reacting upon its counterpart, revealed the past, present, and future to those who could read the signs. Astrology, therefore, was the great test and fore-shadower of ancient Semitic history, and was practised by Israel, as by all the other Semitic nations. All the patriarchs and leaders in Israel, moreover, resolve themselves into solar and lunar mythological personages. Zimmerm, the author points out, pays more attention to analogies and to the Old Testament stories which have parallels in Babylonian literature. Even Christianity is indebted to Babylonia for its events in the life of Christ. The birth of the Saviour had its origin in the fabled birth of Merodach, and in His regal origin as well as His passion parallels are found. His death is suggested by that of Merodach and of Tammuz, and the idea of His descent into Hades comes from that of Ištar, the spouse of Tammuz,¹ etc.

It is against these exceedingly attractive but often improbable theories that Professor Clay’s book is directed. Treating of the Creation-story, he points out that Biblical cosmology places Eden in an alluvial plain, recognizing, however, the water of the sea as the primeval element—conceptions similar to those found among the Sumerians and other peoples. Nothing is said, moreover, in the Sumerian version of the Creation-story ² concerning the fight between Merodach and Tiawath, the chief theme of the Semitic Babylonian Creation-myth.

¹ This might with much greater probability be regarded as taken from the legend of Merodach, who descended into the place of the departed to comfort the rebellious gods in prison (Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1908, pp. 60 ff., 77 ff.).
² See JRAS., 1891, p. 398.
This, the "Merodach-Tiawath." myth, which belonged to the library of Aššur-bani-āpil (c. 650 B.C.), Professor Clay regards as a late and elaborate attempt to explain the origin of things. Such is practically the opinion expressed some years ago by Sir Henry Howorth at the Society of Biblical Archæology, and is supported by the fact that no copies of the legend earlier than that date have as yet been found. It is therefore probable that it originated with the Assyrians, though to that the objection might justly be made that the great hero of the legend is Merodach, the chief of the later Babylonian pantheon. Moreover, it is also to be noted that negative evidence is not always trustworthy, and the finding of no earlier copies of the legend than those of the time of Aššur-bani-āpil may only be due to the fact that we have not been lucky enough to light upon them. That the hero of the legend is Merodach would only suggest that it was composed during the period of the dynasty of Babylon, when that city, of which he was patron, assumed the position of capital of the Babylonian empire.

In the chapter upon the Antediluvian Patriarchs, as given by Eusebius, Professor Clay rightly criticizes the comparisons which have been made by various scholars between the forms of their names as quoted by that author and those found in the Babylonian legends. It is doubtful, however, whether the comparisons with similar Phœnician names are to any great extent more satisfactory. The identification of Evedoreschos with the Sumerian Enweduranki may be regarded as satisfactory, and there is every probability that Otiartes, for Opartes, is rightly identified with Ubar-Tutu or Umbara-Tutu, especially as Xisuthros is undoubtedly the Atra-hasis of the Babylonian inscriptions. This would seem to suggest Babylonian (Semitic and non-Semitic) etymologies for

1 Οτιάρτης for Οναρτής, the π having been separated into τι.
them all—in any case, I am inclined to withhold judgment until we have more light.

Naturally, it is the Flood-story which would seem to furnish the greatest proof of the ancient connexion of Babylonia with the western Semitic states, on account of its close resemblance. All the events are to be found in the two accounts, and in the same order. Babylonia, as the land of the two great rivers, with their interlacing and interconnecting canals, was also the land of floods, and many an inscription speaks of "the great waters", which from time to time brought destruction in their train from the mountains whence the rivers flow. Professor Clay acknowledges that it is difficult to say whether the Flood-story travelled from Babylonia to Palestine or the reverse. He points out that the Bible version has some distinctively Palestinian traits, such as the olive-leaf (the olive being a tree of that country) and the fact that the vessel is called an "ark" instead of a ship. It is certainly a curious thing that the hero of the flood in Genesis is Noah, whilst in Babylonia he was called Ut(a)-napištim and Atra-hasîc—names containing the element Niḫ occurring in Assyro-Babylonian, why should the Babylonian patriarch’s name differ from that found in the Hebrew version?

Concerning the comparison of Yahwah with Addu or Adad many interesting things are noted. The name Yahweh, Professor Clay says, is found on a tablet said to have come from Kish, and now in the Morgan Library Collection, and also on a tablet belonging to Professor Fried. Delitzsch, in both cases in the oath-formula. The form it there takes is Ya-wu-um. Though I should like to believe that this is the long-sought Yahwah (Yahweh), I should expect rather some such form as Ya-wa-um or Ya'-wa'-um. Yawum is apparently simply another form of Yaum, the Hebrew Jah.

That Yah was the god of Canaan or Palestine, and
likewise Addu or Hadad, are also facts which can be substantiated. Dr. Hayes Ward has contended that there was some connexion, not between the two names, but between the two deities, and Professor Clay quotes the well-known Biblical text in which the Syrians say that their (the Hebrews') god is the god of the hills, thus again connecting Yahwah and Hadad. As god of the country of Amurru he was also called Amurru (or, as the Aramaic docketts published by Clay show, 𒀭𒅕, i.e. Awurru). He also gives good reason for believing that the name became shortened to Úru, and is found not only in Uri (Akkad), but also in Uru-salim (Jerusalem) and Uru-milki, "Uru is my king." And this brings me to a point touched upon by Professor Clay, namely, that Abraham dwelt in Ur-Kasdim, "Ur of the Chaldees." Was this Amurru (Awurru, Úru) of the Chaldees? It would seem to be very probable, and in that case Babylonian influence in Palestine would be reduced to that of any other state, and no more. To all appearance, however, Professor Clay does not go so far as this, but merely argues that Ur of the Chaldees is simply the district called Amurru (Awurru) in the neighbourhood of Sippar (see JRAS, 1897, pp. 595 and 597, ll. 2 and 3 of the translation). I have already spoken of the possibility of the non-Semitic Uri (i.e. Akkad) being Ur-Kasdim, in answer to objections by my friend Mr. Rassam against its identification with Mugheir. He would prefer the old identification with Urfa or Edessa.

The identification of the Amurru or Awurru in Babylonia with Ur of the Chaldees leads Professor Clay to suggest that the name read by many as Šargani šar ali should in reality be Šargani šar Uri, the sign for "city" (ālu) having likewise that reading. Sargon of Agadé therefore called himself "Sargon, king of Ur." This is in strange concord with Eusebius as quoted by Eupolemus, who speaks of Abraham as having lived in "a city of
Babylonia called Camarina, which, by name, is called the city of Urie, and which signifies a city of the Chaldeans". Camarina suggests that Eusebius identified Urie with Uriwa (=Ur, now Mugheir), but it is Uru, as represented by the sign for "city", which would signify especially "a city" in Babylonian, the language of the Chaldeans, as that author implies.

It is a book full of interesting suggestions, and will probably attract much attention.

T. G. PINCHES.

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**Le Style Administratif chez les Assyriens; Choix de Lettres assyriennes et babyloniennes, Transcrites, traduites et accompagnées de notes, avec 39 planches. Par Maurice Zeitlin. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1910.**

This little work, which is dedicated to M. Edmond de Rothschild, Founder of the Chair of Assyriology at the Séminaire Israélite de France, consists of 13 pages of introduction, followed by six sections consisting of translations and texts. Three letters refer to "Justice"; two to foreign affairs; five to home administration; six to public works; five to religion; and seven to astronomy and astrology.

All who have had to do with texts of this class, which are written in the vernacular, know how difficult it is in many cases to get the right sense. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Assyriologist should find in this work different renderings from those to which he had been accustomed. This is exhibited by the very first document, in which the words *égirtu ša tašlimāti* are translated "Lettre de grâce". The following is the author's rendering and translation:—
1. E-gir-tu ša taš-li-ma-a-ti
2. ša šarru be-li u-šal-lim-u-ni
3. ša ana al Ab-ai-u u-še-ša-an-ni
4. at-ta-na-šu us-sa-hi-ir us-si-ri-ba
5. lu-še-šu-u-ni lid-di-nu-ni

"La lettre de grâce que le roi, mon maître, a eu la bonté de m'accorder afin que l'on m'autorise à sortir de la ville d'Abaiu, je l'ai remise, je l'ai fait circuler, je l'ai présentée. Qu'on me libère, qu'on me laisse libre, conformément à sa teneur, que je sois sain et sauf."

Many years have passed since the present writer translated this inscription, but he did not venture (perhaps wrongly) to publish it, on account of the doubt attaching to some of the words. Tašlimāti to all appearance meant state of being safe and sound, and the rendering which the context suggested was "safe-conduct". But was this correct? For the sake of comparison I copy, with modifications, from the notes which I then made.

"Letter of safe-conduct, which the king my lord has vouchsafed, which Ššāau has delivered. I may be helped, may go about, may be received; let them cause to come forth, let them give (?) = 'let them buy from, let them sell to (me)' ). By the right of (this) safe-conduct let me be held safe."

In all probability M. Zeitlin's rendering is, in some respects, better than that here given as an alternative, the latter having been made when much less was known of the language than at present.

The texts concerning foreign affairs refer to espionage, and a frontier incident. The former is from Bēl-iddina, who sends news concerning Urštāa (Urartáa), the "Araraites",

1. m.š-a-a-n, cf. Cuneiform Texts, xix, 42, 9 ed. I at first thought that the third character was , in which case the name would have been Arktšūu ("the Erechite"), but there are no traces of the interior wedges to be seen.
brought by the Andiites and the Zikirites. It is an inscription of such unusual forms as iqṭībūni (for iqṭībūnī), i-iq-ti-bî (for iqṭībi), and italic possibly for ēṭēlu (so the author seems to read), though it is not improbable that sense might be obtained by reading īri, possible in consequence of the polyphony of the Assyro-Babylonian syllabary. The second text of this section refers to the same district, and the writer announces to the Assyrian king that he had sent the prefect who was under his orders to Ararat, with a message to the following effect: "Now we are peacefully inclined—as for you, you capture our fortresses, and what am I to do? Suppose I on my side did harm within your boundaries and in your fortresses!"

Besides the letters described above, perhaps the "Protests of the Governors" (Protestations des syndics) is the most interesting. These were officials in the city Milkia, to whom the king had given the order: "As far as the mountains," apparently meaning that they were to proceed thither. They were willing to perform the service required of them, though it was very difficult (dāna adannis). Away from "pioneers" and "lavandiers", however, they could only do it if the king gave them šamna gabra, which the author translates by "l’huile fortifiante", but whatever may be the precise meaning, it probably refers to their pay, which they desired to receive when entering their country.

On the whole, the texts are correctly given and transcribed, but the glossary would have been more serviceable if it had been ordered under roots, and not under the initial of each word as it appears in the inscriptions. The meanings also might have been added, with references to the texts where the words occur.

M. Zeitlin's renderings make, on the whole, very fair sense, and show that he has a great future before him as an Assyriologist.

T. G. Pinches.
THE TÜZUK-JAHANGIRI, OR MEMOIRS OF JAHANGIR.

We are indebted to Mr. Rogers and Mr. Beveridge for a valuable contribution to the history of the Mogul Empire in India; and it is to be hoped that the remainder of the work, completing Jahangir's reign (1617–27), will follow at an early date. If this were done, we might hope soon to have an uninterrupted series of original authorities for that period. We already possess two versions of Bâbar's Memoirs (1526–30); Humâyûn (1530–55) is represented by C. Stewart's Memoirs of Jouher, Aftabehi; Mr. Beveridge's translation of the Akbar-nâmah (1555–1605) is completed, at any rate in manuscript; twelve years of Jahangir's reign (1605–17) are dealt with in the work before us; Professor Jadunâth Sarkar has long been working at Aurangzeb's letters, and has begun, we hear, a formal history of Aurangzeb's reign (1658–1707). I myself have collated and put in order the materials for the years 1707–38, and of this compilation the portion covering the years 1712–21 has been published. Shâhjahân (1627–58) will soon be the only emperor of whose reign there will be no detailed account in English, a total neglect for which it is hard to account, as his reign was the most magnificent and one of the most interesting of the whole dynasty.

In his Preface Mr. Beveridge touches briefly on the curious literary problem connected with the Memoirs of Jahangir. I cannot say that he, any more than his predecessors, Sir H. M. Elliot and Mr. Dowson, has given a satisfactory solution. The subject is gone into at greater length in Elliot & Dowson, History of India, vol. vi, pp. 251–5, 256–64, 276–83. Major David Price, in his Memoirs of Jahangeer, 1829, 4to, reproduced the more or less spurious version; the present translation, founded on
Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s edition of the text, gives us what seem the real Memoirs as written down or dictated by Jahângir.

Jahângir evidently takes as his model the autobiography of his great-grandfather, Bâbar, and he could not have chosen one more worthy of his emulation. Of a record which is so multifarious in its contents, it is impossible in our narrow space to give any satisfactory summary, and I must confine myself to a mention of the general impression left by perusal of the book. For instance, it is greatly to the credit of his sense of candour that Jahângir avows his responsibility for the murder of Abûl-Fazl, his father’s wazir. He also admits that he drank sometimes to excess, and allows us to see that he was much of a free-thinker, sceptical and rationalistic after the modern fashion, in his attitude to all miraculous stories; and at times cruel and vindictive, qualities of which Akbar was not entirely devoid. In spite of the Jesuits’ dreams that Jahângir was a Christian in all but name, we may be certain that he was as far from Christian belief as his father Akbar had been. At the same time he was not a good Muslim; perhaps, if it be true that he was never circumcised, not a Mohammedan at all, strictly speaking. As symptoms of his unorthodoxy we may refer to the non-Mohammedan practice of dating the years of his reign from the vernal equinox, the use of the old Persian solar months, and the practice of being weighed twice a year on his lunar and solar birthdays.

Jahângir was ardently devoted to the chase and an admirable shot; his prowess as a tiger-slayer is frequently and lovingly detailed. He had also a fine taste in jewels, of which he often speaks. One very pleasing feature of this record is that Jahângir, in writing of his father, is invariably respectful and sometimes tender, and we like him for it. On the whole he reveals himself as a man of strong character, a vigorous and successful ruler, not
so wise a statesman or so great a soldier as his father, Akbar, nor so attractive a human being as his great-grandfather, Bābār. Quite early in these Memoirs we learn how he suppressed the rebellion of his son Khusrū, when he certainly acted with the greatest vigour; but it is to be regretted that he weakly placed that unfortunate prince in the hands of his brother Khurram, who connived, to say the least, at his death by poison. Von Poser, the German traveller, who was in India at the time, says: “But who can approve his (Khurram’s) hideous fratricide of Chosroe? Certainly it is a saying that whoever is ready to use force against right, will do so for the sake of a crown. But can any crown stay firmly on a head which has within it neither honesty nor trustworthiness?”

At the time this volume brings us to (1617), Khurram (Shāhjahān) was in high favour and being loaded with honours and costly presents. Jahāngir was intensely gratified by his son’s successes against the Rānā of Udhepur, and could hardly reward them sufficiently. If the continuation is published, we shall see the favourite of 1617 turned into “The Wretch” of 1622, a fugitive from his father’s wrath, and seeking shelter in the kingdom of Bijāpur. Such are the vicissitudes of greatness in the East!

Having read this book as if I were a corrector of the press, naturally I have found many discrepancies in transliteration, sometimes on the same page, and some positive errors, as for instance ghari (p. 2) for the Hindi word gharī, a measure of time, which is correctly spelt on pp. 83 and 85. We also find “Kharakpur” (pp. 146, 175) for “Karakpur”. I need not pursue the subject further. Such defects as these seem inevitable in all work of this sort, and do not detract substantially from its value. Perhaps it will not be out of place, however, if I devote the remainder of my space to the more salient
points which have struck me during the perusal of the book.

On p. 67 Jahāṅgīr speaks of a ballī, a boat-pole, and the editor in his Errata, p. 447, proposed to read lagī. This latter word is, no doubt, used east of Allāhābād; but ballī is quite a common and well-known word further west (Platts, Dictionary, p. 166). In the Maṣāṣir-ul-umārā, ii, 172, Rāwal Sāl Darbārī (p. 17) is styled Rājah Rāe Sāl Darbārī, and this would seem preferable. An explanatory note on the duties of a Buḥūtātī, translated "Master of Works" (pp. 22, 45), seems needed. He belonged to the Khānsāmān's or Lord Steward's department, had charge of Crown buildings and Government town lands (nuzūl), he prepared bāzār price-lists, kept the Lord Steward's accounts, took possession of confiscated property and escheats, and was collector of the jīzyah or poll-tax. Of the Patr Dās (Rajah Bikramājit), on p. 23, there is a biography in the Maṣāṣir-ul-umārā, ii, 139; the fact might have been noted. With reference to the description of the karkaraq-khānah on p. 45, n. 3, I would throw out the suggestion that it was the storehouse for velvet in the piece, and not made up: see the Dastūr-ul-insāh of Yār Muḥammad (Calcutta, 1270 H., 1853 A.D.), p. 231, where we have Toshah-khānah (jamā parchahā’ī az harr qism), followed by karkaraq-khānah (Makhmal, qatā’i-parchahā). On p. 79 the Manjholi referred to must be the Salempur Majhaulī in the south-east of the Gorakhpur district, the head-quarters of the Bisen Rājputs, one of whom, on becoming a Mohammedan, founded Salempur on one side of the Gandak, while the Hindū rajah continued to live on the other side in Majhaulī, the ancient capital. The phrase on p. 82, "certain opposition and disloyalty on rough land," is correct literally for mukhālifathā wa nā-daualat-khwāhīhā dar zamān-i-nā-hamvār, but hardly seems to express the obvious sense. Who are the "Khatūr" tribe (p. 100) settled between Ḥasan Abdāl and Aṭak?
The Khar o Dalah-rāk of the text (p. 48) is equally unsatisfactory. The word chaunkandi (text, p. 65; trans., p. 137) seems a Hindi word meaning in itself “four-cornered”, although Jahāngīr adds the adjective murabba, “quadrangular.” It occurs to me as probable that Jahāngīr meant to say chaunkhambī, “four-pillared.”

For “Bhoj-hāra” (p. 140, l. 14) I would suggest “Bhoj, Hāḍā”, the second word being the tribal name of the Rājputs who hold Bāndī and Koṭah; there are biographies of Rāo Bhoj of Bāndī and his son Ratan in the Maḥṣir-ul-umrā, ii, 141, 208. The Ujjainiya of p. 173 is more precisely the modern district of Shāhābād, the home of the Ujjainiyah Rājputs, whose chief representative is the Rajah of Dumrāon. The hunting preserve Somonagar of p. 202 may be identical with the Samūgār, renamed Fathābād, the site of Aurangzeb’s victory over Dārā Shukoh in 1658. Should not Siwistān (p. 203, n. 2) be identified rather with Sībī at the mouth of the Bolān Pass than with Sīhwān? A passage in the Ā’in-i-Akhbār seems to be accepted by Jarrett, ii, 337, n. 4, as supporting this view. If so, Sībī is hardly in Sind and certainly not on the Indus. Although the text (p. 101) has Dāṣud, Karānī (translation, p. 207), yet should it not be Kararānī? This is the name of the Afghān tribe to which the man belonged, and it is so given on his coins; see H. N. Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1907, vol. ii, p. 182.

Although quṭās (p. 218) means the yak, would it not be more appropriate to the surroundings to read “yaks’ tails”? On p. 224, l. 3 from the foot, I would propose to read “Qannauj”, the actual pronunciation, in place of “Qanuj”; and were not “Iṭiqād Khān, Yamin-ud-daulah” rather the titles than the names of Abū’l-Hasan (p. 224,

1 Possibly کھاتر (khatur) is a misprint for کھاکر (khakar, i.e. ghakar).
n. 2)? With reference to the meaning of "jewels" given to tūrah on p. 225, I would call Mr. Beveridge's attention to the Bādshāh-nāmah of 'Abd-ul-ḥamīd, Lahori, ii, 258, where a gift of a tūrah to the widows of Yāmīn-ud-daulah is explained as "nine pieces of unsewn clothing," and Platts, Dict., p. 342, says the word is used in India for presents of food and so forth. I would point out the discrepancy between p. 218 and p. 227 about the name of the Rajah of Kumāon; in the one place he is called Lakhmi Chand and in the other Tek Chand: which is correct? Mr. Beveridge, on p. 239, n. 2, questions the reading birādarī of the text; but this seems to me a possible reading, in the not unusual meaning of a mansābdār's troops recruited from his own tribe or clan. I consider that this is the meaning intended in this passage.

If I mistake not, the true name of the sect referred to on p. 253, n. 1, was Raushānī, possibly because its founder was from the country of Raushān. The form Raushan (The Enlightened) was Akbar's perversion of the word, in order to give point to his scoff that they were the Tārikās (The Benighted). As for the suggestion referred to on p. 451 of reading paṭṭā-bāzī instead of pūltā-bāzī (p. 285), I withdraw it so far as I am concerned. I believe now that pūltā-bāzī is correct, from पुलता, pluti, springing in the air, capering (Platts, Dict., p. 267). The passage on p. 279, where Jahāṅgīr states the large extent of land he had given away, would be more satisfactory if qulbāh (plough) and kharwār (ass-load) could be taken as terms of land measurement. It seems a little ridiculous to boast of having given away twenty-six "ploughs", articles costing a rupee or so each; and it should be noted that the text itself (p. 137, l. 1) has qulbāh-i-sirāvat, "ploughs of cultivation," which could be rendered "plough-areas of land for cultivation". I am nearly certain that "plough" is used somewhere in India
for the area of land which can be cultivated by a man with one plough; persons of wide experience whom I have consulted are of the same opinion, but I have not been able to find any recorded authority. In the case of kharwār I have been more fortunate. Sir Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, p. 243, tells us that "Land measures are calculated, not by the length and breadth, but by the amount of seed required by certain areas of rice cultivation. It has been found that the kharwār corresponds exactly to four British acres."

Is not the word chentsce used by Olearius (p. 294, n. 3) intended as the equivalent of خنجر, khanjar, a sword, our word "hanger". On p. 297, l. 24, the word phup has a query attached to it, and n. 2 suggests the substitution of phūl. But phup is also a good Hindi word for a flower; see Platts, *Dict.*, p. 283, पुष्प, pahup, phup, from Sanskrit pushpa. The words "head butler" seem hardly an adequate indication of the position of a Mīrzsāmān (also called Khānsāmān), the fourth or fifth in dignity of the great officers of state; and the word designates not a "rank" but an "office". "Lord Steward" would be a better equivalent than "head butler". The verses on p. 322 from the Introduction to Sa'di, Shīrāzi's Gulistān, seem to represent the original somewhat inadequately—

Az dust o zabān kih bar-āyad  
Ki, z 'uhdah-i-shukr-ash ba-dar-āyad.

This I take to mean—

"Who can succeed with hand and tongue  
In paying his debt of thanks to God?"

Also see J. T. Platts, *Gulistān* (1873), p. v, to the same effect.

The words khāliṣah-i-sharīfah are rendered on p. 350 by "private domains". Is that correct? As I understand
the matter all lands not granted for jagirs or other allowances belonged to the khālisah or imperial fisc. In other words, all lands under direct management and collection were khālisah (H. H. Wilson, Glossary, p. 275). The word kaulā on the same page is a Hindi word for a kind of orange (Platts, Dict., p. 849, kamlā, kaulā, kaunlā). To make the sense clear, kaulā ought to be preceded by ʿ(wa), “and,” as in the text, p. 173, l. 9.

The tradition of milk flowing in the River Sipra at Ujjain, as mentioned by Abūl-Fazl in the Ājn-i-Akbārī (Jarrett, ii, 196), and by Jahāngīr in these Memoirs (p. 355), is also reported by the German traveller Heinrich von Poser, who was at Ujjain for three days in July, 1622. He was told that in Rajah Bikramājit's time the phenomenon happened twice a month, but the miracle ceased after a scavenger had washed his inferior parts in the stream. The miracle, so von Poser was assured, had been renewed from 1614 during the government of Daryā Khān, Afghān. Similarly, von Poser gives the story of the grass-cutter's spud turned into gold, which appears here on p. 364, and mentions the recluse Jadrūp of p. 355. The traveller says: "In another direction is a house cut out of the side of a hill, in which the still living Tschatrub Gussera [Jadrūp, Gusāin] dies to the world. This man is a Baniyā recluse, who endures the severest poverty by the power of devotion, so much so that during one day and one night he does not consume more grain than he can lay hold of with his five fingers."

On p. 357 zunnār is given as "girdle or thread"; it would be more precise to call it "Brahmanical thread", zunnār being the Persian equivalent of the Hindi janeo, just as zunnārdār is of "Brahman". It strikes me, and the context supports my view, that "revenue collector" for sazāwal (p. 373) misses the special meaning intended. A sazāwal was in those days a man, generally selected for
his brutal manners and foul language, who was sent to hurry the movements of a procrastinating official or secure the execution of some unpalatable order. Instances of this use of the word are numerous.

On p. 380 would not "Chief Taster" be a better rendering of Bakāwul-begī than "Chief Steward", his particular duty being to see that the monarch's food was not poisoned (see P. de Courteille, Dict. Turk. Oriental, p. 158). As to the variants (p. 419, n. 2) of "Māṭar" and "Nāṭar" for "Bābrah", does not the alphabetical order of the mahāls in the Ā,īn (Jarrett, ii, 257) show that "Bābrah (Babrah)" must be correct? With reference to the queries attached to "Nabu", "Nannū", "Nanhū", on p. 429 (l. 23), the nickname of Muẓaffar Shah III of Gujarāt, I notice that the contemporary author Abū Turāb Wāli uses the form "Nanū" (edition E. D. Ross, pp. 106, 110). The events connected with the rising of Muẓaffar Shah's adherents in 992 H. (1584), their occupation of Aḥmadābād, and the defeat of the new Mogul governor, I'timād Khān, outside its walls, are fully detailed in the work just referred to (pp. 103-10).

In conclusion, it will be accepted, I trust, as a proof of the value attached by me to this work, that I should have devoted such close attention to it, and pointed out what in it seems to me to be doubtful or to require further elucidation. Such criticism, to which I have mainly confined myself, in no way implies a non-recognition of the great zeal, energy, and erudition applied by Mr. Beveridge to the execution of his task; and it will be a subject of great regret if any delay occurs in the publication of the rest of these Memoirs, with his valuable annotations.

William Irvine.

May 23, 1910.

In these four volumes, containing some 2000 pages pleasantly written and sufficiently illustrated, M. de la Mazelière has given the Western world the most complete history of Japan hitherto presented—a history which is much more than a collection or sequence of mere annals; it is a philosophical and comparative account of the people, government, literature, religions, arts, and administrative systems of Japan from the dawn of history to the restoration of the latter sixties of the last century. For a work of such magnitude the materials available to one unversed in the difficult script and language of the Dawnland are the translations and essays of men like Aston, Brinkley, Chamberlain, Satow, and members of the later school of Japanese scholars, mainly German and American, whose contributions are contained in the volumes of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, the Mittheilungen of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, and the various publications of the French school of Oriental languages. If such materials are insufficient they are at least manageable; Japanese, Chinese, and Korean sources are practically inattackable in their immensity and variety; their "voluminousness", in the words of Professor Chamberlain, "almost negatives the possibility of any European ever properly ransacking them." The Dai Nihonshi, compiled under the auspices of a Mito prince early in the eighteenth century, extends to a hundred volumes, and is written in as pure Chinese as the Japanese can command; and the principal modern collections, Dai Nihon Komanjo (On the Antiquities of Japanese History) and Dai Nihon Shiryu (Materials for the History of Japan), will when completed comprise more than 500 volumes. In addition there are innumerable diaries, memoirs, and biographies more or
LE JAPON, HISTOIRE ET CIVILISATION

less authentic, the endless archives of the Tokugawa Government extending over nearly three centuries, and the numerous collections of nikki (journals) of the 260 odd daimiotes of the Bakufu regime, all awaiting even the preliminary work of classification. It may perhaps be doubted whether any history of Japan will ever be written at all comparable with Western histories in accuracy and fullness of credible detail, not merely in view of the enormous mass of unsifted material, but also in connexion with the special difficulties of decipherment of the various and varying scripts in which they are composed, and with the lack of original documents earlier than the seventeenth century. Much, however, is being done by the new school of historical investigation that has come into existence in Japan, and is beginning to appreciate European scientific method as well as to be free from the curious persecution which not many years ago caused one of the first historical authorities in Japan to be dismissed from his professorship because he expressed some doubts as to the authenticity of the accepted chronology of primitive Japan; and something has already been accomplished in the carefully written and, as far as possible, authentic history published recently under the auspices of the independent Waseda University, the creation, I believe, of the retired statesman Count Okuma. It is not too much to say of M. de Mazelière's work that it will accomplish for the European reader a notable portion of the task undertaken by the author of the Waseda history for the Japanese student of the chronicles of his country.

It cannot be said that up to the “Christian century” the history of Japan presents any particular interest or offers any warning or instruction to men. It is the record of a continuous struggle towards some sort of peace through the overlordship of one or more among a mass of ever-changing chieftains—kept together after a fashion, nevertheless, by the sanctity of the Mikadoate, notwithstanding
the adverse influence of Buddhism. The Japanese State did not result from an aggregation of states like China in the third century B.C., neither did it ever break up into separate states like the Roman Empire. A certain unity has been curiously preserved through the storms of ages, a nucleus of authority from which broke off a number of locally independent and extending powers that yet never became wholly disassociated from the primitive centre, and which in the fullness of time were to unite themselves with it in the powerful island empire of the present day. The first steps of real advance in this direction was taken by the earlier Shoguns, followed by Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu in their contemporary and successive efforts, crowned by the Tokugawa Shogunate of the last-named, which was a preface lasting two hundred and fifty years to the existing empire of the Tennō Mutsu. But the Tokugawa Shogunate was in truth an episode, though a long one; the shorter period, known as the Christian century, was a step in more regular development and anticipated the reforms of the nineteenth century. One can hardly imagine to what heights of power Japan might have risen but for the retrograde course Ieyasu and his successors impressed upon her in the seventeenth century. All this is clearly shown by M. de Mazelière with abundant comparative illustrations from the history of the West, which after a very interesting and in large measure novel fashion connect the history of Japan with that of the rest of the world, and are interspersed with reflections that reveal the author as a learned and enlightened student of the philosophy of history, and especially of that of the Far East in particular and of the Orient generally. Japan was never a soulless despotism—local autonomy prevented that—and though the people at large were not directly taken into account the numerous body of the Samurai more or less represented the interests of the whole state
from Kagoshima to Awomori. I have not attempted in this brief notice any criticism of M. de Mazelière's work; it must suffice to say that it is an eminently readable digest of the materials at his command, well worthy the attention of Orientalists as well as of the general reader.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.


A hearty welcome will be extended to this latest born of Oriental reviews—Der Islam—which on May 10 last started, it may be hoped and anticipated, on a long and distinguished course. The first number opens, in due course, with an article by the editor, Professor C. H. Becker, on "Islam" as the problem to be treated in its pages—and not, as the Professor neatly puts it, "the problem of Islam." He points out the many popular uses of the term—viz., a collection of political units, a political theory, a civilization, and a creed—conceptions which both overlap and interact, and the last, although great and far-reaching in its influence, yet in Western idea largely exaggerated. For the Professor emphasizes the vast differences between a religion to be pushed on until it overcame all rivals, and the practical outcome of the idea, in Asia and in Northern Africa, of an upper stratum of colonizing believers, and, below them, a tributary native population unconverted and unmolested in their unbelief. Indeed, the force which prompted the Arab exodus was not religious but economical, and in this connexion the Professor refers to Prince Teano's recently advanced theory of inaridimento, with which he expresses himself as completely in accord. But although religious conviction did little more than aid
the advance of Islam, it was the eventual means of bringing the masses into its fold through the "unremitting labours of Muslim missionaries" (quoted from the *Preaching of Islam* of Professor Arnold). To the victors, however, the result of this religious success was that whilst they multiplied, the number of the tribute-paying vanquished diminished. For religion, and not race, became the badge of unity, and, when the Maula system formed a ladder from one class to the other, the marked superiority, both intellectual and material, of the ascending class made itself felt until the aristocratic Arab system became transformed under the Abbasids into an ordinary Oriental despotism where there were neither conquerors nor conquered, but all bowed alike before an absolute master. Under these altered conditions conversions proceeded apace, and political absolutism was in due course combined with a religious system equally absolute. But it was not religion which brought about political unity; it was the pre-existing civilization of the land, itself the outcome of Hellenic culture transmitted in its Aramaic form from the conquering Alexander and his successors. To regard Islamic questions of to-day rather from these points of view than from one restricted to the Koran and the Life of the Prophet is declared to be the object of this publication, and it is one well worthy of encouragement.

There follow a few interesting pages by Professor Goldziher on the origin of the title "Ikhwān al-Ṣafā", which he traces to the story in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of the Ringed Pigeon, told in response to the royal command for a story about true brotherhood, how it arose and how it profited. Its moral, that mutual fidelity and support serves to ward off dangers, becomes, when regarded as an allegory, a symbol of the release of soul from matter, and of its rise into the region of pure spirituality. On this account the name was adopted for the brotherhood.
The remaining articles, which can only be mentioned, are: an elaborate illustrated study by E. Herzfeld on Islamic structural art, to be continued; then two short articles, one by G. Jacob on the result of Persian and Turkish influences on that art; the other by E. Littmann on the recent and apparently considerable encroachment of Islam in North Abyssinia on Christianity. The concluding article is one by M. Hartmann on the position of Germany towards Islam, its proper aims, and the means by which to attain them. This is a question on which foreigners may abstain from any expression of opinion. Incidentally the writer, in a solemn foot-note on p. 77, recalls to the memories of those fortunate enough to be present a humorous episode at the Algiers Oriental Congress of 1905, in which the protagonist was, in fact, the Cairo editor Shawish. Altogether it is a very successful first number.


Writers on military affairs have occupied rather an inconspicuous position in Chinese literature; but amongst the few works¹ coming under such a heading is one of particular moment by Sun Tzü. It is really the oldest of the class, and not only so, but also the oldest military treatise in the world. The author lived in the sixth century B.C.

During her long history China has passed through many of the stages of existence and conditions which have been experienced by us in our shorter epochs of political life. This standard work was written during China's feudal

¹ Wylie in his Notes on Chinese Literature gives only some fifteen or sixteen in all. Out of a total of 11,382 works by 625 authors, given in a biographical list of books in the former Han Dynasty, 790 by 53 authors are classed as military.
state. It seems fitting that this treatise on warfare should have been produced when all the little states that composed the China of that period were in strife one with the other. In this arena of constant internecine warfare Sun Tzu received his training.

It is evident that he must have been an ardent student of the principles that underlay the successful appeal to the sword, the bow and arrow, the spear and shield in ancient China. The whole book shows it to be the result of keen observation of military tactics, a methodic study of military operations, in which the author took a prominent part.

Scanty knowledge is obtainable of the life of Sun Tzu, and what is given is not always reliable. Mr. Giles has thoroughly investigated all notices of the author, subjecting the information available to a critical test of its value. An attempt to construct even an outline of Sun Tzu's life must be based almost wholly on conjecture, the resultant of which is barely a page of inferences.

There have been two former translations of Sun Tzu, one in French and the other in English. We have not seen the former, but from the specimen given of it in the introduction to the present volume it was apparently a poor affair. The latter had the advantage of being written by a military officer, who, however, unfortunately was not a Sinologue. Our present translator is most scathing in his denunciation of the omissions and mistakes and blunders which he detects. One hundred and seventeen or eighteen times in the course of 175 pages reference is made to the former translation, and nearly always to animadvert strongly on it.

The care with which the present translator does his work is most commendable. Mr. Giles has already earned his laurels in the field of translation from the Chinese, and the present work will add to his reputation. At the very beginning of the book we have a much better
rendering of the first word than has appeared in former translations—in fact the proper rendering for it—and this augurs well for what follows. It is impossible in a short notice to go through the whole, pointing out the excellencies or improvements in the translation. Two or three instances must suffice, such as towns on p. 73 for the Chinese ch'êng, the proper equivalent for chih chung on p. 83, and the translation on p. 159 of paragraph 22.

We can only hope that Mr. Giles will add many other Chinese standard works to his list of translations.

The day of bald renderings of Chinese originals into wooden English is fast passing away. A literal translation of one of these old Chinese classics is impossible, as Mr. Giles well says, "The Chinese is so concise and elliptical that some expansion is necessary for the proper understanding of it" (p. 170, note). At the same time the characters are so elastic that they refuse to be fettered by dictionary-made definitions, and those who have made many translations are aware that failing the definitions they require, they must be, to a certain extent, their own dictionary-makers.

Mr. Giles has wisely used the commentators to elucidate difficult passages and clear up obscurities, though at the same time he does not follow them implicitly when he believes he has reason to dissent from their views, but uses his own judgment. There have been not a few commentaries—some score or so. The romance of fiction is well exemplified in the earliest one, as the list of them is headed by the name of Ts'ao Ts'ao, one of the heroes of the famous historical novel, The San Kwo Chih. The commentaries extant at the present day are eleven in number, but they are of varying merit, the deep profundity of some requiring the more lucid notes of others; thus we have, as it were, commentaries on commentaries, "epexegetic," as a recent author terms it.
It is wonderful that this old-world book should be so modern in its ideas. Lord Roberts, in a letter to the translator, says: "Many of Sun Wu's [Sun Tzu's] maxims are perfectly applicable to the present day." Mr. Giles's notes are not only critical and exegetical, but abound with numerous instances in the wars, not only of the Chinese in former and later times, but also in ancient and modern Western warfare, which all illustrate the principles enunciated by the old Chinese general.

The list of battles thus mentioned, generals referred to, and books cited is not a short one, for we have the names appearing in these notes of Nicias, Demosthenes, Sophanes, Thucydides, Herodotus, Livy, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, the Dictator Fabius, Cromwell, Turenne, Napoleon, Moltke, General Buller, Lord Roberts, Baden-Powell's *Aids to Scouting*, Waterloo, Marengo, Sedan, and Port Arthur, all illustrative of points in old Sun Tzu.

The notes, we may remark in passing, are enlightening and, in many cases, very suggestive. Amidst many interesting remarks interspersed through them, Mr. Giles calls attention to the analogies between the early Chinese warfare and that of the Homeric Greeks—"In each case the war-chariot was the important factor, forming, as it did, the nucleus round which was grouped a certain number of foot-soldiers" (p. 9, note).

To any fearing the Yellow Peril we would commend the careful study of this Chinese military treatise, the maxims and precepts of which have been "highly valued in China" for two thousand years or more, the book having "exercised a potent fascination over the minds of some of China's greatest men". Sun Tzu voices the feeling of the Chinaman on war; he is the exponent of the attitude of the Chinese nation towards warfare.

There is ample proof in the thirteen chapters that the sentiment of the Chinese people is opposed to militarism.
As Mr. Giles points out in his Introduction (p. xlv), the
great body of this sentiment "from Lau Tzu downwards
and especially as reflected in the standard literature of
Confucius, has been consistently pacific and intensely
opposed to militarism in any form". In the Introduction
a few passages are culled from what may be called, from
a Chinese standpoint, the unorthodox view of warfare.
The trend of these "unorthodox views" is, however,
against peace at any price and not in favour of aggrandise-
ment and wars of conquest. Here are a few of these
"unorthodox views": "Military weapons are the means
used by the Sage to punish violence and cruelty, to give
peace to troublous times, to remove difficulties and dangers,
and to succour those who are in peril" (Ssū-ma Ch'ien).
"War may be defined as punishment, which is one of
the functions of Government" (Tu Mu). "Weapons are
baneful and fighting perilous; and unless a general is in
constant practice, he ought not to hazard other men's lives
in battle" (Sun Hsing-yen).

Since the publication of Dr. Legge's Chinese Classics
the method he employed of the translation being accom-
panied by the original text has apparently fallen into
desuetude, and it is a pleasure to find in this book a return
to the old plan which students of Chinese literature prefer
to that of rendering Chinese masterpieces without the
Chinese version.

The book is printed at Leyden and well printed, the
type clear and distinct, both in the English and the
Chinese. We could have wished, however, that the Chinese
style of the notes being placed immediately after the
passages to which they refer, instead of at the foot of
the page, had not been followed; in fact, that the plan
adopted in the Introduction had been adhered to through-
out the whole book.

An improvement, should the book reach a second
edition, would be to put the numbers of the chapters at
the top of the pages as well as the ordinary pagination, as it would facilitate reference.

There are two full indexes—one of the Chinese characters arranged alphabetically according to the English romanizing of the Mandarin pronunciation, and there is also an English index.

J. Dyer Ball.


(Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band XII, Nro. 2.)

With these two publications Dr. Hertel crowns his long and extraordinarily laborious researches concerning the text of the Pañcatantra. A history of the text is to be published by him in the Harvard Oriental Series.

A complete list of Dr. Hertel's books and papers dealing with the subject might have been usefully inserted here, were it not that M. Sylvain Lévi has included such a list in his notice of the former of the two works now under consideration (Journal Asiatique, X, xiv, 1909, pp. 530–5), to which passage the reader may be referred. We need only mention the fact that in that list four texts are included, namely—


3. The northern or common Pañcatantra in its fuller form—textus ornator (The Panchatantra . . . in the Recension, called Panchakhyāyana, and dated 1199 A.D., of the Jaina monk Purnabhadra. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1908; Harvard Oriental Series, No. 11).

4. The present text, a definitive edition of the Tantrākhyāyika.

Two other recensions of the work, the shorter Pañcatantra—textus simplicior—and the Hitopadesa, are known in reliable editions. Of the Nepalese Tantrākhyāyana a selection was published, with translation, by the late Professor Bendall (JRAS., 1888, pp. 465–501). Further, the substance of the book is included in the Kathāsarit-sagara of Somadeva and the Brhadkathā of Ksemendra. Inasmuch as nearly all these recensions and compilations are now furnished with satisfactory translations in European languages, the Sanskrit work has become fully accessible to students of all kinds.

Needless to say, there are versions of the Pañcatantra in other Indian languages, from the Newāri to the Tamil. And when we take a wider view we find not only the numerous progeny of the Pahlavi version made by order of Chosroes before 570 A.D.—a group to which attention was first drawn by Sir William Jones in an address to the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1786 and then by Sir Charles Wilkins in the Preface to his translation of the Hitopadesa, and which was the subject of Benfey’s important study—but also Siamese, Laocian, Javanese, and perhaps other
derivatives which still require investigation. The Malay possesses, in fact, two separate versions received by curiously different routes, one having come through the Pahlavi–Syriac–Arabic–Persian and the other through the Tamil.

The existence of different recensions, even of highly artificial and polished compositions, is no rare phenomenon in Indian literature. But it may be doubted whether there is any Sanskrit text, if we except the Veda and the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, which in the character and extent of the transformations that it has undergone can compare with the Pañcatantra, or which presents a problem of equal intricacy.

It is no reflection upon Dr. Hertel's predecessors to say that he found the problem practically untouched, or rather he found some of its more important elements still wanting; since the Tantrākhyāyika, the most notable of them, became known only through Dr. Hertel's own researches. It was he who brought to light the Poona MS., obtained by Bühler from Kashmir, and it was owing to his inquiries that the other MSS. which form the basis of the present edition were sought and procured. To him belongs also the credit of having discovered the date and authorship of the amplified Pañcatantra (textus ornatus) and of publishing a correct edition of the southern text.

In the introductory parts of the two works now under consideration Dr. Hertel presents a solution of the critical problem in terms of no inconsiderable definiteness and precision. A genealogical table (translation, i, p. 40; text, p. xxii) provides a place for each of the recensions, including both actual MSS. and postulated archetypes and intermediates; and the discussions leading up to the table furnish details concerning both existing MSS. and those which are assumed. The precision of Dr. Hertel's statements may be exemplified by a citation (text, p. xxi)—

"In this case \( p^2 \) could not, of course, have been copied
directly from $z$, since $p^z$ is in any case later than $R$, and its copyist can, of course, have had before him no complete text in places where the writer of $R$ found already a gap. Accordingly $p^z$ could at the most go back to a copy derived itself earlier from $z$ than was $R$. But this also is impossible, since $p^z$, although on its part very faulty, has frequently the correct or more original reading as compared with $zR$. Especially to be considered are the above-cited readings, which $p^z$ has in common with $P (a)$, and which always relate to details, not to cases of larger divergences between $a$ and $\beta$. At the same time, the great mass of the errors of $\beta$ appears also in $p^z$, so that it is clear that there has not been a correction of the archetype of $p^z$ in accordance with $a$. We must rather hold that at the time, when $z$ was copied by the writer of the intermediate MS. $\xi$ which leads to $R$, it showed the gap as we have it in $R$, but that there was available a third older MS. ($\chi$) or—compare the corrupt reading māle ($R^1$) instead of mārge—a copy ($\chi$) of such a MS., whence $R^1$ supplied the text wanting in $R$. Only thus can the variants between $p^z$ and $R^1$ be explained; and in view of the imperfection of $p$ elsewhere, even the passages where this MS. has the correct reading in comparison with $zR$, and in which it exhibits the readings of $a$, must be traced back to the less imperfect archetype $x$, whence probably $z$ also is mediately derived. This is confirmed by the following passages:—"
his present edition and translation Dr. Hertel has provided the means of controlling his conclusions by references to the decisive passages. To examine the whole question in detail would demand an amount of time comparable to that spent upon it by Dr. Hertel himself. The task can only be undertaken by some future specialist in the study of the text. It is hardly likely that such a re-examination will fundamentally modify conclusions so thoroughly thought out and documented. Dr. Hertel's work will always remain a landmark in the history of Pañcatantra criticism. The order which he has introduced into the chaos of recensions will be itself the basis of future rectifications, while upon the general student it confers the double advantage of a broad conception and a model (as he himself points out, preface to the text, pp. viii–ix) for research in other departments of Sanskrit literature.

In the Tantrākhyāyika Dr. Hertel claims to have discovered the most original and earliest form of the work, closely related to, but distinct from, the common source (K) of the Pahlavi version and of the other Indian texts. Both archetypes belong to Kashmir. The Tantrākhyāyika itself exists in two recensions, α and β, of which the former, as the more original, is selected for representation, being supplemented only where the MSS. are incomplete by extracts from the sister redaction. Needless to say, there arise numberless critical questions in detail, where the readings of other recensions must be consulted; and Dr. Hertel has provided a most elaborate and careful apparatus criticus, in which he has distinguished by special types the two most important classes of variants, namely, the cases where the reading of β has been preferred to that of α, and the cases where the combined authority of α and β has yielded to the weight of argument or of other authorities. The number of conjectures unsupported by MSS. which have found a place in his text is of very reasonable dimensions: a good case is generally made
out for them, and they include some really admirable suggestions both by Dr. Hertel himself and by various correspondents.

The great importance of the *Tantrākhyāyika* resides in the fact that it preserves the original prose text of the work. The differences which mark off the other redactions are of an order practically precluding textual comparison; they belong to the higher criticism, involving omissions and insertions of whole stories, dislocations of arrangement, abbreviation and expansion of narrative, in fact recasting of a drastic character. That Dr. Hertel's contention as regards the *Tantrākhyāyika*, with which the *Southern Pañcatantra* corresponds in the main, though showing considerable curtailment, is in this matter justified, will be questioned by no one who has carefully considered the parallel passages which he gives and discusses on pp. 69–98 of the introduction to his translation. We are therefore in possession of the text in the form which it wore at least as far back as 570 A.D., when the Pahlavī version was rendered into Syriac.

In regard to a further matter also, or rather to two allied matters, namely, the purpose of the work and the language in which it was composed, we are able to avow a like allegiance. The *Pañcatantra* claims to be, and is, a work on *nītī*, an *arthaśāstra*; and its speciality consists, as Dr. Hertel well observes, in a combination of the science of policy with the story or *ākhyāyikā*; and this fact is conveyed in the title *Tantrākhyāyika*, concerning which we will say a word presently. This being so, we cannot doubt that it was composed in Sanskrit. The *arthaśāstra* is one of the old Brahmanical sciences. The work ascribed to Cāṇakya has now been published: it is evidently a very ancient treatise, its style being similar to that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the author quotes the views of not a few earlier authorities and schools. In the *Lalita-Vistara* (ed. Lefmann, p. 156, l. 21) the *arthaśāstra*...
is included in the list of sciences in which Buddha excelled, and it is also mentioned in the *MilindaPanha* (ed. Trenckner, p. 1). As Dr. Hertel points out (introduction to trans., pp. 5–6), it was condemned by the Buddhists (Speijer, *Jātakamālā*, trans., p. 40, note) and the Jains, and we know it only in Sanskrit, unless some of the *niti* books of Burma, which in any case are late, were original in Pali. No doubt the beast fable, which in all parts of the world is primitive, has always tended to convey lessons in morals or craft—we need only think of "Uncle Remus". But the express employment of it as a vehicle for a definite science seems to have originated in India. It is a combination highly characteristic of a civilization of which the two most important features were the intellectual passion and subtlety of the Brahman schools on the one hand and the village life of a humorous people on the other.

Dr. Hertel has an interesting passage (introd. to trans., pp. 8–18) concerning the position of Sanskrit as a court language. He holds that the literary Sanskrit, as distinct from the studies of the Mīmāṃsaka pandits, flourished exclusively in the entourage of the Rajas, and he quotes (pp. 13–14) from that extremely amusing work the *Bhojaprabandha* a story which illustrates the distinction in a striking manner. Our concurrence here is tempered by two qualifications. In the first place, the *Bhojaprabandha* belongs to a very late period, during Muhammadan times, when the Sanskrit had drifted far from the life of the people. Secondly, we must remember that the Rajas who played the part of Mæcenas in regard to the Kavis and Mahākavis included not only emperors and kings, but great numbers of petty rulers, zemindars, and merely rich persons, who would all have their literary dependants; further, that purely literary studies were continually prosecuted in Brahman settlements and local *sabhās*. For instance, Bāna speaks in the *Harsacarita* (trans., p. 33) of his own
literary retainers and (p. 71) of the literary studies of the Brahmanical settlement where he dwells, and we can see from the plays and from such works as the Daśakumāra-carīta that literary culture has always been a feature of Indian city life. In city and country alike the Mahābhārata is even to this day genuinely popular literature.

We may now advert to the arguments whereby Dr. Hertel seeks to determine the date and place of composition.

As regards the date, he has no difficulty in showing (introd. to trans., pp. 20–2) that it lies between the time of Cāṇakya, whom it cites, and that of the Pahlavī version, i.e. between 300 B.C. and 570 A.D. at latest. He is in favour of a time nearer to the earlier limit, and concludes (p. 22) that the Tantrākhyāyika is the oldest kāvya text which has come down to us. His main reason is the relative simplicity of style; and making allowance for a few ornate passages, which are in fact, beside the verses, the chief justification for applying to the work the term kāvya, it seems not without weight. Nevertheless we must remark that the style of the Arthasastra is of a far more antique character. The Jātakamālā, to which Dr. Hertel refers, and the Buddhacarita and other works of Āvaghoṣa, as well as such sacred texts as the Lalita-Vistara, suffice to show that in the first or second century A.D. there existed a kāvya style much more elaborate than that of the Pāñcatantra. The Mahābhārata, on the other hand, is relatively simple. But these facts are hardly of chronological import. The style of the Pāñcatantra may be called perfect in relation to its subject-matter, and it presents few grammatical and lexicographical peculiarities or archaisms. Perhaps something has yet to be learned from a study of the proper names and other realia mentioned in the text. On the whole, while conceding an early date, let us say at least 300 A.D., we look to the future for further light.
Quotations from the work are singularly rare in ancient texts, or at least have been seldom brought to light.

For Kashmir as the place of origin Dr. Hertel pleads earnestly (pp. 23–5), but he hardly succeeds in convincing. The fact that the oldest text is found only in Kashmir goes for little: the same might be said of the Mahābhārata or the Harsacarita. The MSS. themselves are not old, the earliest dating from about the end of the sixteenth century. Indeed, MSS. in the Śāradā character are not often of great age. We must, however, do justice to Dr. Hertel’s contention. He claims to have proved (introd. to trans., pp. 26–7) that all the extra-Kashmirian recensions (except the textus simplicior) go back to a curtailed text contained in a single Śāradā MS. If that were the case, it would be all but conclusive. Dr. Hertel’s technical arguments have been given in full: they are eminently characterized by definiteness, and they deserve the close attention of specialists. But we are hardly prepared to repose so complete a confidence in a purely critical reasoning regarding so complicated a matter. The Śāradā character is one of a group of northern alphabets sprung from the Gupta writing, and, according to Bühler’s most mature opinion (Indische Palaeographie, p. 57, § 25), it cannot have branched off before the seventh century, the earliest monuments dating from about 800 A.D. The northern alphabets show a high degree of similarity,¹ and it would require delicate tests to prove that the MS. n–w, if we concede its existence, was written rather in the Śāradā than in one of its congeners. We cannot claim to have given to this matter the detailed attention which it would demand. Dr. Hertel may have proved his thesis, but at present we have scruples.

The argument from the animals mentioned or not mentioned would, even if we accepted its details, hardly

¹ For instance, the Śāradā r as prior member of a group is paralleled in Nepal.
carry us far. How can the elephant and tiger have been unknown in Kashmir, how can the camel have been unknown in other parts of India, at 300 A.D. or 100 B.C.? It would be contrary to all experience to suppose that fables, in many cases known to us from other parts of India and of the world, should always have adapted themselves to the flora and fauna of the province where they become domesticated. ¹ And this reasoning would apply with especial force to a work supposed to originate at one of the Indian courts, where imported animals have always been maintained for curiosity or amusement.

It is now time to turn more particularly to the text and translation contained in these two publications, which have issued in enviable form from the respective printing-houses of Drugulin and Teubner. Without having studied the whole of the text and compared the whole of the translation, we may say unrestrainedly that Dr. Hertel seems to have done his work exceedingly well. The text is constructed on scientific principles scrupulously observed, and the apparatus criticus is upon a most ample scale. All the readings and many of the mere errors of writing are stated, and the more important classes of them are indicated by special type. The narrative is also distinguished typographically from the incidental tales; for convenience of reference it is divided into sections. In the margins appear indications of the parallel passages in the Southern Pañcatantra, and the pages have divisional and subject headings. As we have noted above, the gaps in the main redaction a are filled by extracts from the second source β. A glossary and a list of verse-pratikas complete the volume.

The German translation, which is similarly provided with conveniences for reference, aims (Preface, p. 2) at

¹ For instance, in Malay "The Unity of Zoology is no test; it is not observed in the Hikayat Pelandok Djinaka, where the Lion plays a part" (R. J. Wilkinson in Papers on Malay Subjects, ii, p. 11).
exactness rather than literary style, though, so far as a foreigner may judge, there seems to be no need for apology upon this ground, and the rendering is very readable. One of Dr. Hertel’s main objects has been to provide students unacquainted with Sanskrit, and especially students of the Semitic version, with a counterpart of the original text; and his notes have in part the same purpose. So far as we have read, we can confirm the general correctness of the rendering.

A few comments on text, translation, glossary, etc., may be reserved for a second notice. No Sanskrit work is altogether easy to understand or translate, and in the Pañcatantra there are many difficult passages, and there is ample scope for suggestions from various branches of scholarship. Our few observations will be offered as a tribute to Dr. Hertel’s work. No one acquainted with his writings will fail to echo the appreciative words of M. Sylvain Lévi in the review already mentioned. They are the outcome of hours spared from professional occupations, and have entailed heavy demands upon his strength. He renders a generous acknowledgment to those who have facilitated his researches or the publication of them, and he deserves himself to be congratulated upon the outcome of his truly German devotion, skill, and scientific method in the accomplishment of his task.

F. W. Thomas.

(To be concluded.)


This interesting but discursive book is the outcome rather than the narrative of a journey made by the author “all along the Great Wall”, from Shanhaikuan on the Gulf of Pechili, to its western end 5 miles south-west of the city of Kiayükuán in the province of Kansu. Here, on a cliff 200 feet above the Big White North River, and
1145 miles (as the crow flies but not as the wall runs) from its eastern extremity, the traveller finds amid an absolute solitude its terminal point. The journey included the discovery and exploration of "The Tibetan Loop", a stretch of 200 miles of Great Wall not on our maps.

Speaking generally, however, a reader expecting a consecutive narrative or diary of Dr. Geil's explorations will be disappointed, for he will not find it; and, indeed, the amount of first-hand observation of the actual wall itself recorded in these pages is inconsiderable. We at least should have liked much more, and for it several of the present chapters might advantageously have been sacrificed. However, there is some compensation in the numerous and admirable photographs of this extraordinary barrier at many points, and of characteristic scenes upon the route. It is clear, though nowhere explicitly stated in the book, that Dr. Geil did not conduct his caravan of mules either along the top or along the base of the wall. And if he did not, it was because he could not, a physical impossibility easy to understand by anyone who has seen the actual course of this astonishing structure among the mountains. He must have followed it as far as the features of the ground allowed, and elsewhere made vexatious but necessary detours.

Dr. Geil fills a whole chapter, "The Why of the Wall," on the possible motives of the First Emperor in carrying through this colossal work, but without reaching any solid certainty. And, indeed, the common belief that it was to keep out the wild horsemen of the north is hardly enough to account for some of its remarkable features—its inexplicable and seemingly needless twistings and contortions, its almost frenzied passion for scaling heights that might have been avoided and plunging into depths easily turned. It is very true, as the author insists, that the Great Wall does not lose in impressiveness by familiarity, but the reverse.
We could wish that Dr. Geil would not refer to the Imperial wall-builder either as "Chin", or "The Only First". The man who came to the throne of the feudal state of Ch‘in (or Ts‘in) as Prince Ch‘eng was never known by the surname of Chin (his clan name was Chao, as the historian Ssu-ma Ch‘ien tells us), nor is the title Shih Huang Ti, which he bestowed upon himself, at all correctly rendered by "The Only First". It means "First Sovereign Emperor", as Dr. Geil himself explains on p. 14.

Space prevents any but the barest allusion to the many interesting points in these 341 pages. To the reported pigmy race—in Shensi apparently; to the craving of the Chinehow children for white earth, leading them to nibble window-sills and beds made of it; to the custom of the parents in this same city to use their dead infants as fuel for their stove-beds; to the inscribed I Shan Tablet, and to the dismal discrepancy between the translation of it made by "three venerable missionaries" consulted by Dr. Geil and that by M. Chavannes, the less venerable but more exact French scholar; and to the immense but quite unrecognized services rendered under horrible conditions by the missionaries Ridley and his wife and Hall to wounded Chinese in the city of Sining. But we must stop.

L. C. H.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(April, May, June, 1910.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

April 12, 1910.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:

Mr. C. H. H. Macartney.
Rev. Donald MacGillivray.
Mr. Ahmad Hosein Nomani.
Mr. F. F. Richards.
Babu Nayendra Nath Vasu.

Six nominations were announced for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor Barnett read a paper on Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra, in which he pointed out the essential identity of the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Dravidian South with the ancient teachings of the Kashmiri schools (Spanda and Pratyabhijñā), and an outline of the doctrine was given. The following historical conclusions were suggested:—Possibly about the beginning of the present era, and probably not later than the fifth century A.D., the inchoate idealism of the older Upanishads was harmonized with the growing belief in the reality of the material principle in nature. For this the chief literary document is the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, which asserts that Maya is matter, a mode of thought imposed upon the real consciousness or Self by the will of the Absolute Thought, which is regarded as a personal deity, Śiva, and that this fettered condition is sublated by the free grace of this deity inspiring the soul to recognize its true absoluteness and essential unity with Him. These
ideas gradually developed in Kashmir into the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā schools, and meanwhile filtered down through various channels to the Dravidians, for whose ancient cults it supplied a theological basis. The Pratyabhijñā was finally codified about 1000 A.D. In that form it passed through Āgamik and other channels southwards, notably into the Kanarese country about the middle of the twelfth century, and reappears about the beginning of the thirteenth as the basis of the Tamil Siddhānta.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Thomas, Rev. J. J. Johnson, and Dr. Grierson took part.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 3, 1910, Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:

Moulvi Sayyid Makbul Ahmad.
Mr. S. A. Aziz.
Maung Maung Gyi.
Dr. V. Lesny.
Mr. Parames Prasanna Roy.
Baron A. von Staël Holstein.

Eight nominations were announced for election at the next General Meeting.

The Annual Report of the Society was read by the Secretary.

It was announced that Sir Aboul Kassem Khan, Nasserul Moulik, had been elected an Extraordinary Member of the Society.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1909–10

The Council regret to report the loss by death of two distinguished honorary members—

Professor Donner, of Helsingfors,
Professor de Goeje, of Leiden,
and of fourteen ordinary members—
Mr. J. B. Andrews,
Colonel C. R. Conder,
Mr. S. V. Constant,
Mr. A. Cumine,
Dr. Robert N. Cust,
Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt,
Major-General Sir M. W. E. Gosset,
Mr. A. M. T. Jackson,
Raja Jaikishan Dass Bahadur,
Major-General Jago-Trelawny,
Baron George de Reuter,
The Marquess of Ripon,
The Rev. Dr. Charles Taylor,
Mr. Jain Vaidya;
and of the following sixteen by retirement:—
Mr. S. L. Bensusan,
Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott,
Mr. Edmund Forbes,
Mr. M. Po Han,
Mr. A. L. Hetherington,
Sir J. E. Gray Hill,
Mr. G. T. von Holst,
Mr. G. R. Kaye,
Mr. M. Ba Kyaw,
Major-General E. Mockler,
Miss M. Noble,
Colonel J. Pennycuick,
Rev. H. Pentin,
Rev. J. N. Rawson,
Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong Tulku, of Sikkim,
Mr. Dinsha Edalji Wacha.

The two following gentlemen, elected during 1909, have not taken up their election:—

Mr. Ganga Prasad Pillai,
Mr. Vanga Jagannadha Row.

Under Rule 25 (d) the following eighteen gentlemen cease to be members of the Society:—

Mr. M. Shakir Ali,
Mr. S. C. Ghatak,
Hon. Mr. Justice Jogendra Chandra Ghose,
Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghose,
Mr. K. N. Gopal,
Mr. Q. Tajammul Husain,
Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan,
Mr. K. M. Mattolla Mappillay,
Mr. Kumar Padma Gopal Menon,
Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed,
Hon. Mr. Justice Asutosh Mukhopadhyay,
Mrs. Parvatibai Powar,
Mr. Sadashiva Rao Powar,
Mr. Mahabir Prasad,
Sheikh Abdul Qadir,
Mr. H. Raynbird,
Sri Surendra P. Sanyal,
Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha.

The name of one member, Mr. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, was removed from the list under Rule 107.
Two honorary members, Professor Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, and Professor K. L. Tallqvist, of Helsingfors, have been elected during the year, as well as seventy-six ordinary members—

Mr. Saiyed Abu-Ali,
Rai Girdhari Lal Agarwala,
Mr. Muhammad Asaf Ali,
Sheikh Mahomed Ali,
Thekkay Kuruppath Kalayam Amma,
Mr. T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar,
Babu Bisweswar Bhattacharya,
Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, I.C.S.,
Mr. N. N. Bose,
Mr. James E. Bridges, I.C.S. (ret.),
Pandit Uday Chand,
Mr. Samuel J. Cohen,
Miss Elizabeth S. Colton,
Right Hon. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I.,
Mr. Georges Ghislain Dandoy,
Mr. Muhammad Fazlul-Karim,
Mr. William Foster,
Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira,
Mr. J. Gillespie,
Sriman Alkondavilli Govindacharya Svami,
Professor Basant Lal Gupta,
Mr. Robert Halliday,
Mr. E. B. Havell, I.E.S. (ret.),
Mr. M. Po Hla, A.T.M.,
Mr. E. de M. Humphries, I.C.S.,
Mr. E. H. Johnston,
Rai Bahadur Kaliprasanna Vidyasagar, C.I.E.,
Professor A. Davidson Keith,
Mr. Pringle Kennedy, M.A.,
Mr. C. A. Kincaid, I.C.S.,
Mr. M. Krishnamacharier, M.A.,
Mr. R. P. Kulandaiswami,
Mr. M. A. Kundanani,
Professor Dr. H. Lüders,
Mr. Roderick H. Macleod, I.C.S. (ret.),
Mr. Mahomed Mehr-ud-din,
Mrs. Leslie Milne,
Mr. Muralidhar Mitter,
Mr. S. Mitter,
Mr. Manmatha Nath Moity,
Mr. T. W. Morris, I.C.S.,
Mr. Charles J. Morse,
Mr. Gokul Chand Narang,
Mr. G. K. Nariman,
Dr. Palra-Mall,
Mr. Harold G. Parlett,
Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby, I.C.S.,
Mr. G. P. Pillai,
Mr. Perumana Narayana Pillai,
Mr. S. Bavanandam Pillai,
Pandit Ganga Prasad,
Rai Debi Prasad,
Professor W. J. Prendergast,
Mr. Mukand Lal Puri,
Mr. Pyarai Lal,
Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Banke Rai,
Mr. Kodungallore Rama Varma Raja,
Mr. P. Ramanathan,
Mr. Vanga Jagannadhha Row,
Rai Kunja Lal Roy,
Mr. Mahomed Khairuddin Saggu,
Mr. R. Shamasasty,
Pandit Goswami Brajanath Sharma, Mr. R. T. Tucker, I.C.S.,
Professor Dr. R. Simon, Mr. M. Ba U,
Sardar Udham Singh, Mr. Sukadeva Prasad Varma,
Mr. Kumar Ram Pratap Sinha, Maulavi Abdul Wali,
Mr. M. Bah Soe, Mr. M. Tun Win,
Mr. K. V. Subbaiya, M.A., Professor James H. Woods,
Captain A. Tancock, I.A., Ph.D.,
Mr. M. Kyaw Zaw.

There are now therefore 594 members, as against 567 last year.

The Society has received in subscriptions £36 more than in 1908. The receipts from subscriptions to the Journal, and from sales of it, show an increase of about £15. The number of Libraries subscribing to the Journal is now 88. The total receipts show a net increase of £120 over those of last year. The total expenditure for the year was £1484, i.e. £140 less than the receipts, and there is nothing in the expenditure to call for special mention.

The work of publication has been unusually heavy this year. The Oriental Translation Fund has brought out its nineteenth volume, the Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, translated by Mr. A. Rogers and edited by Mr. Beveridge. The Monograph Fund has published (a little out of order) vol. i of the series, twelve others having already appeared. This work, the Researches on Ptolemy’s Geography of Eastern Asia, has been delayed for some years owing to various causes, amongst others the absence on military duty and illness of the author, Colonel Gerini. The cordial thanks of the Society are due to Colonel Gerini for the munificence with which he has assisted in the expenses of this volume, and also to the Royal Geographical Society for their generosity in granting £100 towards its cost.

The volumes in the Prize Publication Fund, announced last year, have both appeared—the Prākritarūpāvatāra, edited by Dr. Hultzsch, and the Pali Literature of Burma, by Mrs. Bode.
The Council have accepted an offer from Professor Margoliouth of a translation of the *Hesht Bihisht*, an early History of the Turks, which will appear in the Oriental Translation Fund, in three volumes, and they have also accepted for the Prize Publication Fund an edition of the *Mêghadûta*, with Vallabha’s commentary, by Dr. Hultzsch, both of which are now in course of preparation.

The Journal has been published regularly, and its increasing sale shows that its interest is sustained.

In connexion with the Indian Texts Series, progress has been made in the *Index to the Vedic Texts* by Professor Macdonell and Mr. Keith, and it is expected that the first volume will be finished next September and the second some three or four months later. It is hoped that the first volume of the *Index to the Pâli Tripitaka* by Professor Rhys Davids will also soon be ready for publication.

The Annual Dinner was held on May 10, at the Hotel Cecil as usual, the President in the chair. The Japanese Ambassador, the Chinese Ambassador, and Sir Robert Hart were amongst the guests present.

The Public School Gold Medal for 1909 was won by Mr. A. H. M. Wedderburn, of Eton College, for his essay on the Marquess Wellesley. The medal was presented on May 26 by Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended. The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors—Mr. Keith, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, Sir Arthur Wollaston, and Mr. Windus.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1910–11, are as follows:—

Under Rule 29, Sir Raymond West retires from the office of Director.

The Council recommend his re-election.
Under Rule 30, Dr. Thornton retires from the office of Vice-President.

The Council recommend the election of Sir H. Mortimer Durand in his stead.

Under Rule 31, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rules 32 and 33, the following Ordinary Members of Council retire:—

Dr. Hoernle,
Professor Neill.

The Council recommend in their stead and to fill two other vacancies the election of

Professor L. D. Barnett,
Mr. C. Otto Blagden,
Mr. A. G. Ellis,
Professor Margoliouth.

Under Rule 81,

Mr. A. Berriedale Keith,
Mr. Wilson Crewdson
are nominated Auditors for the ensuing year.

The Council recommend that Dr. Thornton, the retiring Vice-President, who has just completed his twenty-eighth year of continuous service on the Council, be elected an Honorary Vice-President.

**THE RIGHT HON. SYED AMEER ALI:** The Report itself is so simply worded and so clearly expressed that many words are not needed from me to commend it to your approval.

We have again to deplore the loss of a considerable number of members by death, two most distinguished honorary members and fourteen ordinary members, among them men of wide distinction in our Society and beyond—
# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

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**Funds:**
- £802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock.
- £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock.
- £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent. Local Loans Stock.
# Payments for the Year 1909

## Payments

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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.

J. Kennedy, Hon. Treasurer.

A. Berriedale Keith, for the Council.
A. N. Wollaston, for the Society.
Vincent A. Smith, for the Society.
A. J. Windus, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

London, March 9, 1910.
### ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

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| **Total**                                             | £2212 | 7   | 2   |
## PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1909

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A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
A. N. WOLLASTON, VINCENT A. SMITH, for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

London, March 9, 1910.
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<td><strong>MONOGRAPH FUND.</strong></td>
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<td>Jan. 1</td>
<td>Balance ...</td>
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<td>Dec. 31</td>
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SUMMARY.

Oriental Translation Fund 201 2 10 Lloyds Bank Deposit Account 331 12 6
India Exploration Fund 124 0 0 Do. Current Account 112 16 10
Prize Publication Fund 79 8 2
Monograph Fund 39 18 4

£444 9 4

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable Stock, £600.

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.
A. N. WOLLASTON, for the Society.
VINCENT A. SMITH, for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

MEDAL FUND.

£ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance ... 39 8 9 Dec. 31. Cost of Medal ... 22 0 0
Dec. 31. Dividends ... 9 15 0 Expenses ... 3 17 0
Interest ... 0 12 3 Balance at Bank ... 25 17 0

£49 16 0

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable A Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

£ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance ... 4 15 6 Dec. 31. Cost of Medal ... 5 0 0
Dec. 31. Dividends ... 19 7 4 Cost of Prizes and Binding ... 13 13 0
Donation, A. N. W. ... 0 1 8 Balance at Bank ... 18 43 0
School Contributions ... 4 0 0

£28 4 6

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent. Irredeemable B Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

A. N. WOLLASTON, January 1, 1910.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer. LONDON, March 9, 1910.

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. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
VINCENT A. SMITH, for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.
to mention but a few, the Marquess of Ripon, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, who at different times rendered great assistance to the Society, Major-General Sir M. W. E. Gosset, and Colonel C. R. Conder.

It is gratifying to find that there is a substantial increase in the amount received by the Society in subscriptions. The Society has helped in the publication of a number of most valuable books, which will add considerably to the wealth of our knowledge concerning Oriental literature.

It is the privilege of the member moving the adoption of the Report to make suggestions regarding matters of interest to the Society. In accordance with this time-honoured custom I venture to make a few for consideration.

A great deal of attention is devoted by the Society to the encouragement of Oriental classics; in saying this I do not ignore the fact that the Society helps in the publication of works dealing with Persian and the Indian languages. But, generally speaking, its interest lies in things ancient. Now, having regard to what is taking place at the present moment in the East, would it not be well for the Society to encourage the cultivation of modern Eastern languages and to promote such study on the part of those who are proceeding from this country to the East, or who have any sort of connexion or communication with Eastern peoples? We see how the East is getting sundered from the West, and we see also the difficulties which have sprung up in India and other parts of the East regarding the relations between Easterns and Westerns. I believe a good deal of this is owing to the fact that nowadays so much attention is not paid to the cultivation of Eastern languages as was the case in former days. The Society in my humble judgment should be a link between the East and the West; it should encourage among English scholars the cultivation of those languages which are now acquiring a certain predominance in Eastern countries. For instance, thirty years ago a knowledge of Persian was not uncommon
among English officers, civil or military, going out to the East, and almost every Englishman knew something of Urdu, especially those who had to assume charge of the administration of the country. The conditions have changed since then; few now take the trouble to learn either Persian or Urdu with the intention of keeping up its study after the departmental examinations are over. Nor do these examinations produce any particular linguistic excellence.

I certainly think that a knowledge of the principal languages of India, say, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil, would be of the utmost use in bridging the gulf between Indians and Europeans which everyone is now deploiring. I desire to put in a plea also in favour of the other languages of Asia, principally Persian and Turkish. The first is the language of scholarship, and possesses a rich literature; at the same time it is easy to acquire, and has probably the easiest grammar. There is no reason why men going from England to the East, whether to Persia or to India, should not learn something of this rich language of culture. Among the Mohammedans of India it would be of the utmost usefulness. Turkish, too, will carry one from European Turkey to the east of Central Asia, and is a language which might well be studied.

I submit that the Royal Asiatic Society, which has so far concerned itself with the ancient classics, might with great advantage establish some method for the encouragement of the study of these modern languages. One useful method would be to invite papers and articles, not from those who speak the languages as their native tongue, but from Europeans who go either to India or to Persia, or any other Eastern land, on the literature of the country, or the manners and customs of the people among whom they live. The Society would thus add to its usefulness by making itself the desired link between
East and West, and would thus pave the way for better relations between European and Oriental.

I may be allowed to express on behalf of all present our grateful acknowledgments to the Secretary for her indefatigable labours in the cause of the Society. I believe that it is to the untiring zeal and labour of Miss Hughes that much of the success of the Society is due; the function of last evening tells the story of her powers of organization. On behalf of the Council and of the Society I beg to express to Miss Hughes our deep gratitude for all the work she has done. I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

Professor Barnett: It is with a sense of great pleasure that I have the honour to rise and second the motion for the adoption of the Report. The Report set before us is, I think, a record. It shows steady and gratifying progress. We may note first of all, as has been pointed out, the increase of membership. It is a gratifying fact that the list of new members includes some most distinguished names, among them Lord Curzon of Kedleston and Professor Dr. H. Lüdiers, who has succeeded in Berlin to the post left vacant by the death of our honoured member, Professor Pischel. A considerable number of conspicuous Indians have also honoured us by membership—to mention one or two, Pandit Govindacharya, one of the most distinguished Dravidian scholars of the reformed Vaishnava religion, and Rama Varma Raja, a distinguished writer in Malayalam. I mention this fact as showing the degree in which the Society has proceeded from strength to strength. The state of our finances is also gratifying. Last year the total payments amounted to £1623 7s. 2d., from which must be deducted £150 2s. 9d. on account of new investments. The actual balance in hand is thus considerably larger than it has been for several years. In addition, the sums laid out prove clearly how the Society
is promoting the cause of Oriental learning. The nature of the publications is highly gratifying; a wide field of scholarship is covered, appealing to students both of Indian classical languages and of Persian and Turkish literature. We note with gratification the coming works now in progress: Professor Margoliouth's translation of the *Hesht Bikhisht*, also Kalidasa's work, edited by Dr. Hultzsch, with the ancient commentary of Vallabha Déva, hitherto unknown and of far more importance than the one usually read nowadays. In other respects good progress has been made with the *Index to the Vedic Texts* and the *Pali Tripitaka*.

It is sometimes said that too much attention is devoted to Indian literature, but we cannot help realizing that India is the greatest asset of the British Empire, is, in fact, the cause of the existence of the Empire, a point which was brought out with clearness by Lord Curzon in his address to the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh. I move with great pleasure the adoption of the Report.

PROFESSOR HAGOPIAN supported the motion.

SIR RAYMOND WEST: Ladies and gentlemen,—It has been proposed and seconded that the Report be adopted. A few conclusive arguments have been brought forward in support of the proposition; they have been put clearly and with emphasis. The prosperity of the Society has been very satisfactory in spite of the ordinary accidents of loss by death and resignation, to which all societies are subject. It will be well if we can draw a larger contingent of members from the remoter East, from China, Japan, and Central Asia, so we shall be as flourishing in the future in the wider as in the comparatively narrower range of the past.

In the enormously increased intercourse now taking place between Europe and the remoter East, and in view of the manifest and growing importance of an Empire like Japan, and of the great destiny which awaits China,
it is to the interest of all mankind that the customs, literature, and institutions of those countries should be made familiar to European statesmen through European scholars. And this can only be done if gentlemen can give us, and will give us, the benefit of the information they have had the means of acquiring. They will acquire honour for their country and benefit mankind generally if they take a little more trouble than they have hitherto done to bring home to us the customs and literature of the remoter East.

In the comparatively uncultivated state of Oriental knowledge this institution was specially connected with India.

When the Royal Asiatic Society started, the field of Sanskrit and Arabic literature seemed boundless, wide enough to embrace the whole world of literature outside Greek and Roman. There was no idea even of the enormous development in India of thought and literature, which now demands more and more attention. As knowledge widens, the field of learning extends; we may be specialists, yet even so the field widens, and it is true that we must give more attention to modern development. How can this be done?

This Society has taken active and zealous part in getting further attention paid here to the vernacular languages of India. I remember making speeches here on two occasions with the object of getting an institution established in England dealing with the living languages of the East and of India. Some such institution must be founded; it is certainly required. Meanwhile we may gather a little reflected honour in consequence of the achievements of Dr. Grierson, a master in the knowledge of living languages, the greatest name in that field we can boast. So long as he is on our list of members we may fairly glory in his example, which should stimulate other scholars to like patience and energetic fruition.
If the Government find it possible to carry out the recommendations of the Committee that has deliberated upon the matter on which speeches have been made more than once in this room, and establish an institution specially for Indian and Oriental languages, and would place at its head an eminent scholar who commands the respect of the whole world, it would serve a very great purpose and be of inestimable benefit to this Empire and especially to India, but beyond India, helpful to other Orientals.

My idea is that such an institution will be beneficial to young men going to India, whether for the Civil Service, education, or police; also to many scholars who have a tendency in certain directions and some personal acquaintance with the East, who may come home and find opportunities for further study. They could attend such an institution, complete their own knowledge, and add to the value and merits of the institution. It is an interesting subject for discussion, but I must not go further to-day.

I trust that we of the Royal Asiatic Society are, and always will be, ready to do all in our power to further the knowledge of the institutions, customs, and languages of the East as they do, not only as they did, exist, and help to encourage the devotion of attention to modern as well as to ancient learning. I think both are compatible.

I should like to say a word about our distinguished Vice-President, Dr. T. H. Thornton, who was early attracted to Oriental learning and was led to take up the study of Hebrew, attaining distinction in his knowledge of that language. After a distinguished career in India he has continued during a period of twenty-eight years to serve on the Council of this Society. He now retires under Rule 30 from the office of Vice-President, and we feel that the best compliment it is in our power to pay him
is to elect him an Honorary Vice-President. I am sure there is no member who will not join most heartily in supporting this recommendation of the Council. In heartily agreeing to this election we all join in hoping that Dr. Thornton will still attend our meetings for many years to come.

In conclusion I should like to say that we shall all take to heart the words of the right hon. gentleman who moved the adoption of the Report, and at the same time I should like to congratulate him—and the Society—on the honour recently conferred upon him. We see in the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali an instance of the great advantage that will accrue to England and to the Empire by a recognition in the highest places of Oriental scholarship with the mastery of modern ideas which is combined in our illustrious friend. We hope and trust that the reports of the Privy Council judgments may show in years to come the advantage in juristical science of the presence of so distinguished a scholar and so learned a lawyer on the Judicial Bench.

I have the honour to put to the meeting the adoption of the Report.

The Report was carried unanimously.

Presentation of the Public Schools' Gold Medal.

May 30, 1910.

Lord Reay: Ladies and gentlemen,—This is always a pleasant annual function when we meet for the presentation of the Society's Public Schools' Medal. On this occasion I have to congratulate Merchant Taylors' School, and more especially the Head Master, Dr. Nairn, on the success attained for the second time. In the year 1904 the Society's medal was won by Mr. W. N. Ewer, of the same school, for his essay on the Emperor Akbar. The subject of this year's essay was "The Invasion of India
by Alexander the Great." I am bound to say that we are exceedingly disappointed that this subject should evidently have been unpopular; only two essays were sent in, one from Merchant Taylors', the other from the Perse School at Cambridge. What is the cause of this deficiency, this lamentable deficiency, it is difficult to ascertain; we have not held an inquiry into the matter. But I feel I must use this opportunity to make a very strong appeal to all schools which have hitherto competed with or without success to exert themselves again to make the study of Indian history attractive. I will not use a word I should like to use—compulsory—for I know the large number of subjects which have to be studied, and the curriculum is so wide that one cannot wonder that some subjects are not treated with the enthusiasm which they ought to excite. But when we consider the importance of our Indian Empire, and the importance of the maintenance of our supremacy in India, we cannot ignore the deplorable results of ignorance of the history of India both to the inhabitants of the Indian Empire and to ourselves. I am bound also to say that it reflects no great credit upon our system of education that this great and important subject has not received more attention.

When we take into account that in Parliament Indian affairs give rise to debates and to numerous questions addressed to the Secretary of State for India on any subject that is brought to the notice of a member, we cannot admit that it is superfluous to assign a place in the curriculum of our public schools to the history of our Indian Empire. It is with a view to our future political destinies that it causes anxiety if this neglect should not be corrected.

I am sure that if Germany happened to be in charge of the destinies of such an empire as India, the study of the history of India would be made a compulsory subject in every secondary institution in Germany. All
I ask is that encouragement should be given in our public schools to those boys—and there must be many—who have gifts and inclination for historical studies, and that facilities should be offered to them to master the subject.

I congratulate again Dr. Nairn and Merchant Taylors' School on being successful for the second time in obtaining the medal. I congratulate also Mr. E. B. Shanks, the winner, on the very interesting essay he submitted. I have read it with great pleasure. A remarkable fact in the history of Alexander's invasion of India was his very sound method of governing newly annexed territories; he left the civil administration to be carried out by the authorities he found in the state, while he looked after the military department. In another respect he proved himself to be as far-seeing as Bismarck. In Bismarck's career I have always thought that no incident showed his great political genius to better purpose than his attitude after the victory at Sadowa in the war with Austria, when he decided that he would not annex any part of Austria, because he foresaw that a future political alliance with Austria would be essential to Germany. Recent history has shown that the alliance between Austria and Germany has been one of the leading features of the political history of Europe during recent years.

Alexander the Great, having defeated Porus, not only left him the dominions over which he had held sway, but, having to deal with neighbouring and troublesome tribes, he insisted that Porus should become their ruler, with this remarkable result, that Porus, though defeated, was after his defeat a greater potentate than before. I cannot conceive a subject more romantic, more extraordinary in its details, than this invasion. Alexander enjoyed extraordinary popularity with his troops, but, at the same time, on one occasion there was a kind of plebiscite among the troops which had to be accepted by
Alexander; they thought the laurels he had gained were sufficient, and decided that he should go back, not go on to the end of the earth. Alexander's ambition was to subdue the whole surface of the earth as he knew it.

I hope that Mr. Shanks will continue his studies; I believe that his essay contains the promise of good work in the future; he has treated the subject \textit{con amore}, and he will find that continued study of Indian history will give him a great deal of satisfaction, especially if he intends to enter the lists for that great and distinguished Service, the Civil Service of India. In that case he will be able to reap the full benefit of the knowledge of history gained here. I congratulate his parents, and trust that this medal will be followed by many more successes.

Mr. Shanks, I have great pleasure in handing to you the Public Schools' Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society for the year 1910; it will be appreciated by your school and your comrades as the second medal of the Society won by Merchant Taylors'.

I will now call upon Dr. Nairn, the Head Master of Merchant Taylors', to speak.

\textbf{Dr. Nairn:} First, I beg to thank Lord Reay most sincerely for his kind references to Merchant Taylors' School; we are specially gratified that this is the second occasion on which the School has won the Royal Asiatic Society's Medal. The foundation of the medal fell within the period of the ten years during which I have been Head Master. In 1904 it was won by the School on the first possible occasion; it is won again in 1910. I well remember the pleasant ceremony analogous to this when in 1904 the medal was presented to Mr. W. N. Ewer by, I believe, Mr. Brodrick (now Lord Midleton), then Secretary of State for India, and his encouraging remarks. For the School, for myself, for Shanks, and his parents, I beg to tender sincere thanks; we are genuinely pleased.

With reference to the other remarks made by Lord Reay
you will not expect me to deal at length. But I cannot let the occasion pass without saying something about the scheme under which this medal is awarded. I have no brief to speak for other Head Masters, but I can say that as regards Merchant Taylors' the scheme works easily and smoothly. Special instruction in Indian history is given in Merchant Taylors', but I must repudiate the credit of personal teaching. That is given by my colleague, Mr. C. E. Wade, who deserves full credit, so far as Merchant Taylors' goes, for all instruction given, and also for much of the credit of the general working of the scheme in the school since 1904.

We find no difficulty in the teaching of Indian history; there is a class which meets once a week; there are other opportunities for seeing boys privately for the loan of books and for general encouragement in study. I am not aware that there is any difficulty in getting our boys to be enthusiastic in the matter. There are about fifteen in the class, and always three or four write essays for competition in the School on the subject given by the Society; the best of these essays is then selected and sent in to the Society for the competition for the medal.

The regulations of the scheme seem to me to be perfectly simple and easy to work; as soon as I receive them year by year I send them on to my colleague, and I hear no more until the essays come in at the appointed time—in February. I can only compliment those who have established the scheme, my friend Sir Arthur Wollaston among them, for the eminently simple and clear rules they have devised.

My personal interest in India is of long standing; I was for a time a humble sīṣya of that great guru, Professor Cowell, at Cambridge, under whom I studied some Sanskrit; later on I did more under Professor Eggeling at Edinburgh. The history of India has always been attractive to me; this is due, of late especially, to the
fact that Clive was a Merchant Taylors' boy, and I have given it considerable attention in the few moments of leisure that come to me. I may assure you, Lord Reay, ladies and gentlemen—again with apologies for being autobiographical—that no opportunity for promoting the study of Indian history among boys who may some day govern the myriads of our fellow-subjects in India will be lost by me.

In case the scheme should prove somewhat disappointing to its disinterested founders, who have given so much time and labour to working it out, I should like to say, on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleague, Mr. Wade, that if a round table conference be promoted for considering the working of the scheme and of any difficulties brought forward by other schools, Merchant Taylors' will be most happy to place its experience at your disposal.

I tender you my heartiest thanks, on behalf of the School, of my pupil, Mr. Shanks, and his parents, for the kindness shown now and during the continuance of the scheme; and I am very glad to have the opportunity of expressing once again my genuine pleasure in being present here to-day.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen,—I hasten to correct an omission and to congratulate Mr. C. E. Wade, who ought to have been congratulated before, on his success in teaching Indian history. I beg to thank Dr. Nairn for his suggestion and for what he has said. The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society will be pleased to know that the want of response this year has not been caused by the conditions and regulations of the scheme. It is satisfactory to know that Dr. Nairn did not find any difficulty in complying with the conditions imposed. I need scarcely say that if we could do anything by altering the conditions to make the competition more popular, the Council would be glad to do it.
May 30, 1910.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The President opened the proceedings with the following reference to the National Loss:

This Society mourns the loss of its Royal Patron. King Edward showed his interest in Oriental learning by conferring, as Prince of Wales, the Gold Medal on Dr. E. W. West.

His Majesty, since he visited India as Prince of Wales, continued to watch over the progress of his Indian Empire and the well-being of his Indian subjects. The Indian community through all its ramifications has shown its real sorrow at the death of its Emperor.

The connexion between this Society and India is close. We therefore associate ourselves with the tribute of respect and affection rendered by India. Not only by India, but by the East generally.

King Edward was a Constitutional Sovereign, but scrupulous in the observance of his great constitutional position. He exercised an immense influence through his attractive personality and his genuine kindness. He was endowed with special gifts, and wherever the King appeared his presence at once created confidence, and it is a significant feature of his illustrious career that during all those years that he was prominent in the public life of the country no remark ever fell from his lips which was open to adverse criticism. There are very few public men who can claim this virtue. It was due to unerring tact and sense of responsibility.

India owes a deep debt of gratitude to the late Sovereign. With his approval important reforms were carried out by the Government of India, and the friendly relations with Russia established with his sanction increase the sense of security and the guarantees of peace.

The maintenance of peace was his constant aim, and posterity will not fail to keep his memory in veneration.
We shall also lay our most sincere condolences at the feet of Her Majesty the Queen-Mother, who in her deep affliction has in such a touching way made the nation a partner in her sorrow.

I further propose that to our condolences be added a declaration of loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty King George V. In his exalted station the King has a right to claim the ready and cordial support of his subjects. A great burden of responsibility devolves on the occupant of the British Throne. The King has discharged as Prince of Wales the duties of the heir to the Throne in a manner which has made him popular with all classes of the community, and we may feel sure that it will be his strenuous endeavour, assisted by the Queen, to maintain the lustre which attaches to the Imperial Crown. By his travels the King has obtained an intimate knowledge of the Indian Empire as well as the Oversea Dominions, which will enable His Majesty to cement the bonds of union between the various parts of his realm.

On the proposal of the President the following address to His Majesty the King was unanimously adopted:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, Your Majesty's most loyal and devoted subjects, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society in meeting assembled, beg leave to tender to Your Majesty and the Royal Family with our humble duty our heartfelt sympathy in the great personal and national grief caused by the lamented death of our late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh.
We share in the deep sorrow of all Your Majesty’s subjects, both in these Islands and in the Dominions over Seas, at the death of our beloved King of blessed memory, who as Patron of this Society, to our deep and lasting gratitude, gave evidence of his great interest and sympathy in our objects.

To Your Gracious Majesty we beg leave to tender the respectful expression of our loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign on Your Majesty’s accession to the Throne of your ancestors.

Knowing as we do the deep interest that Your Majesty has always taken in Your Eastern Dominions and all that concerns them, we pray with the fullest confidence that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take the Society under that August Patronage which it has uninterruptedly enjoyed under Your Majesty’s Royal Predecessors since the granting of our Charter in 1823.

We desire humbly to assure Your Majesty of our earnest wish and ardent prayer that Your reign over a loyal and loving people may be long and glorious.

Given under the Common Seal of the Society this thirtieth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and ten.

TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

The Humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

MADAM,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in General Meeting assembled, beg leave humbly to express our profound sorrow at the great and irreparable loss which Your Majesty, the Royal Family, and the Nation
have sustained in the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Seventh, our Patron, whose memory will ever be faithfully cherished by a grateful people both in these Islands and in the Dominions over Seas.

We would also beg leave to offer to your Majesty the expression of our respectful sympathy in your own overwhelming sorrow.

Given under the Common Seal of the Society this thirtieth day of May, in the year one thousand nine hundred and ten.

The following were elected members of the Society:

Mr. E. R. Ayrton.
Mr. Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare.
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana.
Mr. Krishna Gobinda Gupta, C.I.E.
Mr. J. S. Haig.
Mr. A. H. Harley.
Mr. J. E. O'Conor, C.I.E.
Dr. Edward J. L. Scott.

Mrs. Herringham read a paper on "Fifth and Sixth Century Ajanta Wall Paintings".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Rothenstein, Mr. Sewell, Miss Frere, and Mr. Thomas took part.

June 14, 1910.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Major Sykes read a paper entitled "Historical Notes on Khurasan".

A discussion followed, in which Colonel Plunkett, Mr. Irvine, and Mr. Dames took part.
II.—Principal Contents of Oriental Journals

I. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
   Bd. LXIV, Heft i.

Hertel (J.). Über einige HSS. von Kathāsamgraha-Strophen.
Konow (Sten). The Home of Paiśaci.
Mills (Rev. Dr.). Pahlavi Text of Yasna LXX, edited with all the MSS. collated.
Jacobi (H.). Über die Vakrokti und über das Alter Daṇḍins.
Ahrens (K.). Der Stamm der schwachen Verba in den semitischen Sprachen.
Rescher (O.). Mitteilungen aus Stambuler Bibliotheken.

II. Journal Asiatique. Tome XIV, No. iii.

Moret (A.). De quelques voyages légendaires des Égyptiens en Asie.
Colinet (Ph.). À propos des voyelles finales à quantité variable dans le Rig Veda.
Berchem (M. van). Inscriptions mobilières arabes en Russie.
Fossey (C.). L’assyriologie en 1907.
Gauthier (L.). Une réforme du système astronomique de Ptolemée tentée par les philosophes arabes du xii° siècle.

Tome XV, No. i.

Huart (Cl.). Le diwan de Sélâma ben Djandal, poète arabe anté-islamique.
Dufresne (M.). Un conte kurde de la région du Kurdistan.
III. T'oung Pao. Vol. XI, No. i.

Rockhill (W. W.). The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644–1908.

Lefèvre-Pontalis (P.). Les Younes du royaume de Lan Na ou de Pape.


Vol. XI, No. ii.

Saussure (L. de). Les Origines de l'astronomie chinoises.

IV. Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Vol. III, Fasc. i.


Griffini (E.). I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano.

V. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Vol. XXXVII, Pt. i.


Vol. XXXVII, Pt. ii.


Vol. XXXVII. Supplement.

Bramsen (W.). Japanese Chronological Tables.


Bhandarkar (D. R.). Epigraphic Notes and Questions.

Ramakanda (Pandit). Bhādūnd Inscription of Parmārā Pūrnapāla.

Mazumdar (B. C.). Some Words of Chronological Interest.

— Notes on some Pali Words.

Ghate (V. S.). Seshananta.
Kane (P. V.). Bhāmaha, the Nyasa and Magha.
Pathak (K. B.). The Divine Vasudeva different from the Kshatriya Vasudeva in Patanjali’s opinion.
Varde (W. R.). An eye copy of an Inscription in Devanagari Characters from Goa.


Pieris (P. E.). The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731–2.
Codrington (H. W.). The Kandyan Navandanno.
Ferguson (D.). Letters from Raja Simha II to the Dutch.
Arunachalam (Hon. Mr. P.). Jñāna Vasishṭam.
Lewis (Hon. Mr. J. P.). Notes on Delft.

Vol. XXX, Pt. ii.

Jastrow (M.). Another Fragment of the Etana Myth.
Gottheil (R.). Origin and History of the Minaret.
Oliphant (S. Grant). The Vedic Dual.

Vol. XXX, Pt. iii.

Barrett (Le Roy Carr). The Kashmirian Atharva Veda.

IX. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Vol. XXXII, Pt. iii.

Pilcher (E. J.). The Jewish Royal Pottery Stamps.
— A Hebrew Amulet.
Foucart (G.). An Entrance into the Lower World at Thebes.
Langdon (S.). A Reconstruction of a part of the Sumerian Text of the Seventh Tablet of Creation.
Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.
Vol. XXXII, Pt. iv.
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QURAIŠ had not been distinguished for great poets in the time of paganism, but during the first century after the Hijra they boasted of the following five:


Of the first and last named we possess excellent editions; I give here the text of what remains of Abū Dahbal, while of the other two we have scattered in the Kitāb al-Ağānī and elsewhere a fair number of poems to give us an opportunity of comparing the style of their poetry with that of the poets of other Arab tribes. A lighter vein appears to pervade all these poems; a large predominance is given to the shorter metres, and the poems also are as a rule shorter than the lengthy qasīdas of poets from other tribes. As might be expected, the descriptions of the desert and its typical animals and

1 Ag. iii, 101.
2 The longest poem of 'Umar has seventy-three verses; of I. Qais ar-Ruqayyāt, sixty (metre: Ḥafīf).

JRAS. 1910.
phenomena are practically lacking. These men were born and brought up in towns; how could they share the ideas of the Bedouin Arab roving through the wide country?

The poems appear fragmentary (and some certainly are), if we apply the rule emphasized by Ahlwardt that a complete poem should begin with an amatory Introduction (Nasib), then descriptions of varying character leading up to the chief aim of the poem—praise or reviling. However, I am convinced that these poets, as a rule, did not take that course, and that their poems had essentially the character at the time of their composition which they now present, though probably here and there verses have got lost. We have here the transition to a new era, which attained its height under the early Abbasides, and which has become the model for Arabic poetry down to modern times.

To come to our poet, his name and genealogy as given by az-Zubair b. Bakkär are Abū Dahbal Wahb b. Zam'a b. Asid b. Ḫalib b. Ḫalaf b. Wahb b. Hudāfa b. Ḥumay b. 'Amr b. Ḫusayn b. Ka'b b. Luqayy b. Gālib; his mother was Huzail, daughter of Salama and sister of 'Abd Allāh b. Salama, who fought at Badr. He was probably born shortly after the death of Muhammad, for, according to al-Madā'īnī, he composed his first poems towards the end of the reign of 'Ali. Of these poems nothing appears to be preserved. The earliest pieces in his diwān are those which refer to 'Ātika, the daughter of the Caliph Mu'āwiya. She is stated to have come to Mecca to perform the rites of the pilgrimage, and while her tent

1 'Aggāq, lvii.
2 e.g., A. Dahhal, ii, after v, 1.
3 Introduction to Diwan; Ag. vi, 154.
4 L. Qutaiba makes a mistake here; Poesis, 389.
5 Ag. vi, 154, states that his mother was a woman of the tribe of Huzail, a mistake through carelessness of early authors.
6 L. Sa'd, iii, b. 37.
7 Died 40 A.H.
was pitched at Dū Ṭuwayy, outside the city, Abū Dahbal chanced to pass and was able to watch her sitting outside the tent. When she had noticed him she retired into the tent, not without reviling him (!). This gave Abū Dahbal material for a poem,¹ which he communicated to a friend. The latter was indiscreet enough to let it pass into the hands of the singers, who composed melodies to it. Finally ‘Ātika heard it, and being curious to get to know the poet she sent him a present. This led to frequent messages and interviews, and eventually, when she left Mecca to return to Damascus, Abū Dahbal followed her, apparently seeing her frequently during the journey. After having reached Damascus, however, she broke off (through force of circumstance) her intercourse with him, and the infatuated poet became seriously ill. The poem VI, which he is stated to have composed upon this occasion, and which, according to the diwān is addressed to a Syrian lady whose name is not mentioned, suggests that their relations were of the most intimate character for some length of time. The poem became widely known, and Mu'āwiya, instigated by the rather hot-headed crown prince Yazīd, commanded the poet to be detained if he should attend the next public audience, which the Caliph used to grant each Friday. When the audience was over and Abū Dahbal, who had attended, prepared to leave with the other persons, he was called back by Mu'āwiya. The Caliph, in his customary diplomatic manner, mentioned the poem in question and said that he admired several verses, but that the fourth and fifth were rather too pointed. The poet defended himself by alleging that what he had said was true; he had only stated his beloved to be of high rank, she being the daughter of the reigning sovereign, thus admitting the composition and bearing of the poem. "Nay," replied Mu'āwiya, "what about you, saying ²—

¹ Poem XXXIV.
² Verse 6.
Then I led her by the hand to the green pavilion,
We both walking upon polished marble’?"

Abū Dahbal protested that he had not composed that
verse, but that others had added it and attributed it to
him. Mu‘āwiya relieved the poet’s fears by telling him
that, in the first place, he knew that his daughter would
guard her honour, and secondly that poets in their love-
poems say both things that are true and others that are
not. "Now," said Mu‘āwiya, "you need not fear anything
from me, but Yazid is full of youthful spirit and haughty,
and I fear he might do you some injury; therefore I warn
you beforehand." Mu‘āwiya intended to get rid of the
poet in this way, and he was not disappointed; for Abū
dahbal, as soon as he was dismissed by the Caliph,
departed in haste for Mecca. However, he continued to
correspond with ‘Ātika. One day one of the eunuchs of
the harem came to Mu‘āwiya informing him that ‘Ātika
had received that day a letter, and that after reading it
she had cried; also that she had put the letter under
her prayer-carpet and had been despondent ever since.
Mu‘āwiya instructed the eunuch to use all means, except
force, to obtain the letter in question. He was at last
successful, and took the letter to the Caliph. When
Mu‘āwiya read it he found that it was from Abū Dahbal,
and contained some verses reproaching ‘Ātika for not
rewarding his love, and reminding her of the time when
he was ill in Syria.¹ Mu‘āwiya, who had thought that
his infatuation was ended, sent for Yazid, showed him the
letter, and told him how it had affected his sister ‘Ātika.
Yazid at once advised his father to have Abū Dahbal
killed by one of the Caliph’s slaves in Mecca. Mu‘āwiya
did not mean this; he remonstrated that such a deed
would make them a byword for all time to come. Yazid
then recited his father another poem, which he said was

¹ Poem XXXV.
public property in Mecca, the text of which had been sent him. Mu'āwiyah, who, in spite of his assertion to the contrary, must have had some misgivings about his daughter guarding her honour, was relieved when he heard the following verse:

"Alas! for love towards her I have become known; Yet there has not been between us an hour of bestowing favours."

That year Mu'āwiyah travelled to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. Before he returned to Syria he invited all persons of distinction and the poets present in Mecca and bestowed presents upon them; among them was Abū Dahbal. As the latter was about to leave the Caliph's presence he was called back, and Mu'āwiyah again remonstrated with him, saying that Yazīd was highly incensed against him on account of his continual references to 'Ātīka in his poems. Abū Dahbal protested that the poems were not his, but ascribed to him by some ill-wishers. Mu'āwiyah again appeased the poet's fears, and asked him if he was married. Upon replying in the negative, the Caliph asked if there was a cousin of his whom he would like to marry. Abū Dahbal mentioned a lady, and the Caliph gave her a dowry of 2000 dinārs, and a further 1000 dinārs to the poet. Highly delighted that matters had taken such a happy turn, Abū Dahbal promised, under an oath, never again to refer to 'Ātīka in his poems. Mu'āwiyah was glad to have the matter settled, and also to be able to satisfy Yazīd.

The account of Ibn al-Kalbī, as given above, states that Mu'āwiyah performed the pilgrimage that year expressly on account of Abū Dahbal. This is not correct, for Mu'āwiyah came to Mecca for the pilgrimage only twice during his caliphate, the first time in 44 A.H., when Yazīd was only fourteen years of age, and hardly old enough to take such

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1 Poem XXXVI.  
2 50 A.H.
an interest in the affairs of his sister; the second time in 50 A.H., the motive of his pilgrimage being to have Yazid acknowledged as successor to the throne by the heads of the Muslim community at Mecca. Moreover, the poem which Ibn al-Kalbi states to refer to ‘Átika is, according to the diwán, upon a Syrian lady, whose name is not known, and must have been composed when Abū Dahbal was rather older. The record in the Diwân speaks of him staying in Syria, till his wife and family believed him to be dead, and this is also expressed in the poem itself. This latter account also states that his children began to divide his property, showing that they were of age. If the other poems upon ‘Átika are genuine, Ibn al-Kalbi has simply brought this one in to make his account more dramatic. This poem is, however, also attributed to ‘Abd ar-Rahmân b. Hassán, who also composed poems upon a daughter of the Caliph. Al-Qâlî states that some of the verses are not found in the Diwân of ‘Abd ar-Rahmân. In fact, it is hardly credible that he should have said of a daughter of the reigning monarch: “Should I mention her pedigree, you would not find her beneath me in rank of nobility.” The story that his father or grandfather had once been ransomed for a goat in the time before Islâm must have strongly counterbalanced such a claim; besides, he was not of Qurais, and hence could not claim equal nobility with the daughter of the Caliph.

Next in time come the three verses upon the murder of al-Husain b. ‘Ali, quoted in the Kitâb al-Ağâni, upon the authority of az-Zubair b. Bakkâr. They may have been dropped from the recension of the Diwân by at-Tanûhî or Ibn Hamd for political reasons. The animosity between the poet and Yazid, who had succeeded his father the

1 Poem VI.  2 Amâli, iii, 192.  3 Poem VI, v, 6.  4 Diwân of Ka‘b b. Zuhair, DMG. Arabisch, No. 103, fols. 138a–b.  5 Poem XLII. Yağût (iii, 540) also quotes these three verses and another piece attributed to Abû Dahbal, which, however, is by at-Taimî (I. Athir, Bulaq, iv, 40).
previous year (A.H. 60), had caused Abū Dahbal to turn to the enemies of the Caliph, and in the following years he is a fervent partisan of 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair. In fact, the bulk of his poems which are preserved are addressed to Ibn al-Azraq 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. al-Walid, who was for a time governor of al-Γanad in the Yemen for 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair. I have not been able to ascertain the date when he held this post, nor that of 'Umāra b. 'Amr b. Hazm, who was governor of Hadramaut at the same period, and to whom Abū Dahbal addressed one of his poems1 when he felt disappointed with the reception he had received from Ibn al-Azraq.

Poems VIII, XIX, and XX refer to the last struggle of 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair and his followers against the army which 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had sent against the holy cities under the redoubtable al-Γagāg b. Yusuf, and which took the city by storm in 73 A.H. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hakim b. Hizām,2 to whom poems XIX and XXI refer, appears to have been slain at the same time. After this silence appears to have fallen upon the poet, who perhaps was glad to have escaped with his life. When, however, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik came to Mecca3 in 88 A.H. he questioned Abū Dahbal about poems XXXIX and XL, especially the latter one, which was directed against the Caliph's grandfather Marwān. The poet excused himself as best he could, saying that it referred to events long past, and that a general amnesty had been proclaimed for all political offenders of those turbulent times. The Caliph assured him that he had only mentioned it, and as a proof of his forgiveness he granted him a fief at al-Γazān in the Yemen.4 The Caliph, when asked why

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1 Poem III. He was killed in 73 A.H. with 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair; Kitāb al-Imāra attributed to Ibn Qutaiba, ii, 48.
2 Wüstensfeld, Tab. T. 26.
3 Ağ. vi, 165.
4 Ibid., 165, 25, حازان, جازان read حازان. Wüstensfeld, Jemen im XI Jahrhundert, p. 116; also poem XXV, verse 1.
he had bestowed this upon him, is said to have replied that he wished in this manner to have the poet and his memory forgotten, in which he succeeded only too well.

The last date for the poet we have in poem XXX, addressed to the Caliph al-Walid. Apparently Abū Dahbal had gone from Mecca or his estate at Gāzān to Damascus to beg favours from the sovereign. He asserts that he is of the same kin as the Caliph; perhaps he came to ask for permission to reside again at Mecca or at al-ʿUlyab, in the vicinity of the holy city, where he may have had some landed property, which possibly had been left him by Ibn al-Azraq. A note to poem VII tells us that he was buried there, while XVII, an elegy upon his patron, states that the latter also found his last resting-place some time before the poet in the same village. I have not been able to find out who is the ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Muḥīra to whom poem XVIII is addressed, and the allusions of some of the smaller poems are dark.

Abū Dahbal’s papers containing his poems were left to oblivion; the philologers of the following century, whose merit it was to collect and edit the diwāns of the classical poets, appear to have overlooked him. The Kitāb al- Ağānī ¹ gives some poems and particulars of his life upon the authority of al-Madāʾīnī, Ibn al-Kalbī, Abū ʿAmr as-Ṣaibānī, and Muhammad b. Ḥalaf b. al-Marzubān ²; but it was left to az-Zubair b. Bakkār ³ to collect what was saved of his poems, together with short historical notices.

The work is mentioned in the Fihrist under the same title as here; perhaps it formed at one time a chapter in the Muwaffaqiyyat, like “the accounts of Hātim at-Tāʾi”, which the Fihrist also gives as a separate work.

The only MS. known to exist of this little collection of poems is the same codex out of which Nöldeke edited the

¹ Ağ. vi, 155-8, etc.
² Ibid., 165, he is actually later than az-Zubair, but his Isnād does not name any men of note.
³ Died 256 a.h. Fihrist, 110-11.
diwān of ‘Urwa b. al-Ward and Pröbster the Kitāb al-Muğtaṣab of Ibn Ğinni, belonging to the University Library of Leipzig, bearing the number V. 807 (old number D.C. 354). With the utmost liberality the authorities in Leipzig sent the MS. to Leicester, and through the kindness of the Town Clerk (Mr. Prichard) and of Mr. Payne I was enabled to study the book for some time after business hours in the Town Hall of Leicester. I take this opportunity to thank all these gentlemen most heartily for the assistance given me. The contents of the interesting MS. have been stated several times, but there seems to have been some doubt in certain quarters as to the writer of the various works contained in the little volume.

I have carefully compared the handwriting, and have come to the conclusion that the bulk of the MS. is from the pen of Abu-l Karam Ḥamīs al-Ḥauzī, of whom I shall give an account a little later. Fol. 36b is in a comparatively modern hand, a kind of Ta’līq. Fols. 37b–51a are not by him, and older, as they contain a few marginal notes by him. Fols. 59a–89a may not be by him, as the writing is not so cursive as his hand usually is.

The book consisted originally of several quires containing different works, which were later bound into one volume: a note scribbled on the last page gives a kind of index of the works originally contained in the volume. The first part, containing the Kitāb al-Ḥudūd fiṣ Naḥw by al-Kisā’i, is lost. The commentary upon the preface of the Adab al-Kuttāb, filling fols. 105b–126b, is by ‘Abd al-Baqi b. Muḥammad, who is not named in the title, but both works are mentioned in the list of works which Ḥamīs studied under Ibn Quhūr, found on fols. 35b–36a, after the Diwān of ‘Urwa b. al-Ward, where we find the following passage:

قرأت على سيدنا الرئيس الأجل السيد العالم أبى الفضل محمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن عيسى بن جهور أدام الله علوي فرنسي
发展理念。在"发展的资本主义"一章中，作者对资本主义的内生增长和外生增长进行了深入分析。发展理论是解释一个国家或地区如何从初级发展阶段向高收入国家转变的理论。发展理论主要关注的因素包括教育水平、健康状况、政治稳定和制度安排。发展理论的主要宗旨是，通过改进政策和增加资源，发展中国家可以实现可持续增长。

二战后，发展经济学家开始关注"贫困陷阱"的概念。他们认为，发展中国家的贫困陷阱是由低教育水平和低生产率所构成的。这种陷阱使得这些国家难以摆脱贫困。要摆脱这种陷阱，需要增加人力资本投资。人力资本投资包括教育和健康投资，这些投资可以提高生产率，增加收入，从而帮助发展中国家实现可持续增长。

在"发展的资本主义"一章中，作者提出了"发展的资本主义"的概念。他指出，发展中国家需要发展"国家资本主义"，即政府积极参与经济活动，以推动经济增长。政府可以通过提供基础设施，如道路和电力，来吸引外资。此外，政府还可以通过提供教育和培训服务来提高劳动力的生产率。这种"国家资本主义"可以帮助发展中国家实现可持续增长。

"发展的资本主义"一章还提出，发展中国家需要改善其制度环境，以提高其竞争力。发展中国家需要建立强大的、有威信的政府，以确保公平和效率的市场运作。政府还需要为私营企业提供良好的制度环境，以便私营企业可以自由经营。

发展经济学理论的第三个重要部分是"发展的政策"。该理论对发展中国家的政策制定提出了建议。这些建议包括：

1. 增加教育和健康投资
2. 提高政治稳定
3. 改善制度环境
4. 增加人力资本投资
5. 实行"国家资本主义"

发展经济学理论的这些建议在实践中得到了广泛的应用。它们帮助发展中国家实现了快速的经济增长，提高了人民的生活水平。然而，发展经济学理论也面临着一些挑战。例如，"贫困陷阱"的概念被广泛批评，因为它忽视了发展中国家的多样性。此外，"国家资本主义"的概念也被批评，因为它支持政府的过度干预。
THE DIWAN OF ABU DAHBAL AL-GUMAHI

Here follows the attestation of the teacher in rather ugly writing:

In fact, the MS. is remarkable for containing, as far as I am aware, the only complete chain of authorities from the original editor down to the copyist for any of the diwâns of the old poets which have been preserved; and I have thought it advisable to give in facsimile the title-page of the diwan of Abû Dahbal as well as the account of the persons present at the lectures of at-Tanûhî and Ibn Ḥamd.

The first six lines of the title-page are in the same handwriting as the text, that of Ḥamîs. Line 1 refers to an index of traditions which Ḥamîs had studied under Ibn Ḥairûn,1 which follows in the MS. immediately after the diwân of Abû Dahbal. Lines 3 to 6 mention the following chain of authorities:

1. Abû Gâlîb Muḥammad b. ʿAlî b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlî the treasurer (he was librarian of the old library at Karh; he was born in 418 (417) a.H., and died on the 13th of Šaʿbân, 510. Bugyat al-Wuʿāt, Cairo, 1326, pp. 11, 12).


1 Died in Raḡâb 488 a.H. at the age of 84 years. Dahâbî, Taḏkirat al-Ḥussâq, ed. Hâdarâbâḏ, iv, 7-9.

5. Abul-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Saʿīd ad-Dimaṣqī (teacher of the children of the Caliph al-Muʿtazz; he is known as the principal transmitter of the works of az-Zubair b. Bakkār; he died in 306 A.H. Yāqūt, Iršād, i, 133).

6. Az-Zubair b. Abī Bakr (Bakkār), the editor of the diwān (he died in Mecca in 256 A.H. at the age of 84 years. Fihrist, 111).

His authorities form the subject of a special index at the end of the diwān.

The second facsimile contains accounts of the persons present at the reading of the diwān in the years 432 and 484 of the Hijrah. The first account gives a list of the students who copied the work from the reading of at-Tanūḥī. I understand the bearing of the text in this way: After all persons present had copied the text from the dictation of al-Tanūḥī (or in the second account of Ibn Ḥamd) one of the students read the whole text over again, and any errors that might have been made were then corrected.

In the first case this student was no less a person than the historian of Bağdād, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿĀli b. Thābit al-Ḥaṭṭīb1; in the second Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-ʿAkbarī, of whom I have not been able to trace a biography in the works accessible to me.

It is this last-named person who has written the second part of the Ṣūrat as-Samāʾ, while the first part is in the handwriting of Ḥamīs. We have, therefore, in each facsimile specimens of the handwriting of the copyist of the MS.; he is generally correct, but throughout he has omitted many diacritical points, and especially in the portions in prose he has often drawn one word into another, making the reading at times rather difficult. As

1 Born 396 A.H., died 463 A.H. Yāqūt, Iršād, i, 246.
for the copyist Ḥamīs, though frequently mentioned incidentally in biographical works, the only biographies dealing with him specially (Dahābī, Taǧkīrat al-Ḥuffāz, ed. Haidārābād, iv, 59, and Suyūṭī, Bugyat al-Numāt, Cairo, 1326, pp. 245–6) are very short. We learn that he was born in the month Ša’bān, 442 A.H., and died in Ša’bān, 510 A.H., and that he was esteemed for his correctness; also that he furnished as-Salāfī with particulars concerning the learned men of Wāṣīṭ. His name al-Ḥauzī is derived from al-Hauz, a village to the east of Wāṣīṭ, and is frequently spelt wrongly as الْجُوْزِيِّ, e.g. Yāqūt, Irṣād, i, 61, l. 2.

I am sorry to admit that after diligent search in the works accessible to me I have not been able to trace biographies of most of the men named in the account of the persons present at the lectures of at-Tanūḥī and Ibn Ḥamd. No doubt a good many of them never attained sufficient reputation to find a place in biographical works. Some may be found in MSS. to which I have no access, and probably others can supply this deficiency. I have also to thank Sir Charles Lyall and Professor Geyer for their kind advice and assistance in settling some doubtful readings; to Sir Charles Lyall I owe, moreover, the quotations from Yāqūt, and he has also had the kindness of reading the proof-sheets.

I have not included a short poem attributed to Abū Dahbal in the Kitāb al-Aḡānī, i, 124, which has found a place in the diwān of ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a under No. 301; nor the short piece quoted under his name by Yāqūt, iii, 540, referred to above. A translation of the poems, which I have written down, may follow later, as I consider it necessary for these old texts.

Since the text has been printed I have found some verses of Abū Dahbal quoted which had escaped my
notice, and for the sake of completeness I give the references here, though they do not add much for establishing the text.


at-Tanūḥī, al-Faraq baʾd as-Ṣiddīq, Cairo, 1904, vol. ii, p. 191: poem XXIII, vers. 10, 11, and an additional verse—

(19a)  

var., ver. 16.  

Gāḥīz, Tria Opuscula, p. 73: poem IV, vers. 5, 6; var., ver. 5;  

al-Qāli, Amāli, ii, 161: poem XI, attributed to al-Farazdaq;  

var., ver. 1;  

In the commentary the readings of the text are given upon the authority of the ‘Uyun-al-Abhar of Ibn Qutaiba.  

al-Baihaqī, Mahāsin, quotes the following verse as belonging to poem XV, together with the first verse of the poem:  

with the variant  , where both readings are declared to be correct by al-Mazīnī.  

Gāḥīz, Bayān, i, 69, quotes poem XXVI on the authority of al-Kisāʾ, as having heard it from a Bedouin, with slight variations.

As might be expected, Abū Dahbal drops the hamza occasionally, which is one of the distinctive marks of the dialect of the Hīgāz, e.g. XVI, 4; XVIII, 11.
شرخاب بن يوسف الرازي
السماني أبو الحسن
ابو عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد الكساي
عبد الجبار بن جريد الجيلاني أبو القاسم
عبد المحسن بن محمد بن علي
علي بن المحسن النموسي أبو القاسم
عميسى بن أحمد البنداني [البنداني] أبو الفضل
عميسى بن أحمد القدوري أبو بكر
عميسى بن أحمد بن مختار أبو سعد
عميسى بن الحسن بن محمد الخليل
عميسى بن أحمد بن سهل أبو طاهر
عميسى بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمّد أبو غالب
عميسى بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمّد أبو منصور
عميسى بن علي الصفار أبو طاهر
عميسى بن علي الشمسي أبو عبد الله
عميسى بن علي الواسطي أبو طالب
عميسى بن محمد بن عيسى التراب [الثراث]
عميسى بن محمد بن مكي الكساي أبو الفضل
هيئة الله بن علي الإسكاف أبو شجاع
يوسف بن محمد المهرواني

1 Subki, iii, 166.
2 Subki, ii, 220-1.
4 Born 380 A.H., died 462 A.H. (Buq yat, 11).
5 Born 418 (417) A.H., died 510 A.H. (Buq yat, 11-12).
6 Died 492 A.H. (Subki, iii, 80 ?).
فهرسه أسماء الرجال الذين ورد ذكرهم
في صورة الشمع

أحمد بن أحمد بن هبة الله بن العراقي
أحمد بن علي صاحب ابن النفوذ أبو الفضل
أحمد بن علي بن ثابت المطليب أبو بكر
أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد
أحمد بن محمد بن جعفر بن مُصْدَّر أبو علي
أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن محمد العكر
إسماعيل بن المؤمل الإسكافي أبو غالب
ثابت بن مُنَدَّار البَمَالِقِّ [المُغَرَّدَة، أبو المعالي]
الحسن بن محمد الجماهير أبو عبد الله
ابو الحسن بن أحمد بن محمد الكسائي
الحسن بن عمار [كَثِمْان] البَرْدَانِي القَرِيب العَمِيلِي أبو عبد الله
خميس بن علي بن أحمد الثَكُورُ [أبو الكَرَم]
زيد بن محمد بن علي النَّوْخَيِّي أبو طاهر

1 Died after 140 a.h. (Taqrīb, 369).
2 Born 392 a.h., died 463 a.h. (Yaqqūt, Iršād, i, 246; Subkī, iii, 12; Ḍahābī, Taḏkirat al-Huffāz, iii, 331).
3 Died after 500 a.h. (Buğyat, 158).
4 Died 448 a.h. (Buğyat, 198).
5 Died 498 a.h. (Ḍahābī, Taḏkirat, iv, 30, 3 a.f.).
6 Born 442 a.h., died 510 a.h. (cīd p. 1029).
مُوْسَى النَّمَيِّ
٩٦.
iv, p. 8.

جِلْدِ هَذَا
i, p. 9; xxxi, xxx, xxxi, ver. 1, p. 35; xxxii, ver. 7, p. 32.

iv, p. 9.

هشام بن عبد الملك

i, p. 10.

xx, v, vii, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxxi, xli.

vii.

iv.

xi, xiii, xiv, xv, xvii, xviii.

iv, v.

viii, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiii.

١ Fihrist. 111.
٢ Died 233 A.H.; Fihrist, 110.
ابن أبي طبقع

عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن

الوليد بن الأزفت

iii, p. 5; viii, p. 33.

xxix, p. 34.

xxvii, p. 39.


الشاعر

الشاعر

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.


xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.

xxviii, p. 39.
فهرسة أسماء الرجال والنساء والقبائل

أبراهيم بن هشام
ابن الأزرق = عبيد الله بن
عبد الرحمن بن الوليد

أميّة

أون

أبي طالب

أبي بكر الصديق

أبو الوليد

أبي طالب

بُني بن مُمّ، شاعر

الحزمي

خسّرج الأشهبي، شاعر

خُلف بن ولف بن حذافة

i, ver. p. 7

ii, ver. p. 5

iii, ver. p. 7

iv, ver. p. 7

v, ver. p. 4

vi, ver. p. 3

vii, ver. p. 3

viii, ver. p. 2

ix, ver. p. 2

x, ver. p. 2

xi, ver. p. 2

xii, ver. p. 2

xiii, ver. p. 2

xiv, ver. p. 2

xv, ver. p. 2

xvi, ver. p. 2

xvii, ver. p. 2

xviii, ver. p. 2

xix, ver. p. 2

xx, ver. p. 2

xxi, ver. p. 2

xxii, ver. p. 2

xxiii, ver. p. 2

xxiv, ver. p. 2

xxv, ver. p. 2

xxvi, ver. p. 2

xxvii, ver. p. 2

xxviii, ver. p. 2

xxix, ver. p. 2

xxx, ver. p. 2

xxxii, ver. p. 2

xxxiii, ver. p. 2

xxxiv, ver. p. 2

xxxv, ver. p. 2

xxxvi, ver. p. 2

xxxvii, ver. p. 2

xxxviii, ver. p. 2

xxxix, ver. p. 2

xl, ver. p. 2

xli, ver. p. 2

xlii, ver. p. 2

xliii, ver. p. 2

xliv, ver. p. 2

xlv, ver. p. 2

xlvi, ver. p. 2

xlvii, ver. p. 2

xlviii, ver. p. 2

xl ix, ver. p. 2

xli, ver. p. 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhyme</th>
<th>Metre</th>
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الضمنة الأماكن

iii, ver. 7, p. 5.
ii, ver. 1, p. 5.
xxv, ver. 9, p. 58.
xii, ver. 1, p. 11;

ii, ver. 1, p. 5.
ii, ver. 1, p. 5.
xxv, ver. 1, p. 58.
xxv, ver. 1, p. 58.
vi, ver. 5, p. 11;

xxxv, ver. 9, p. 50.
xlii, ver. 1, p. 50.
iv, ver. 8, p. 5.

xiii, ver. 7, p. 58.
ii, ver. 1, p. 5;
xv, vers. 5, 8, p. 58.
ii, ver. 5, p. 5.
vii, ver. 5, p. 13.
xxv, ver. 1, p. 58.
xliii, ver. 5, p. 50.

iii int., p. 5; iv int., p. 1.
xi, p. 11; xii, p. 14;

xxxvii, ver. 1, p. 51.
vi int., p. 1; ver. 7, p. 1;

xxii, ver. 1, p. 52.
<table>
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XLIV

وقال أيضًا

فَأَوَلَمْ تَتَسْعَفْهَا الرَّجُلَا

XLV

وقال أيضًا

المُلْعَبَةُ دَاتُ أَخْرَاسٍ وَأَزْوَقَةٍ

XLVI

وقال أيضًا

وَمَا نَوَى فِهِ وَهَاهُ الْوَظَّائِفُ مُنْتَبِقٌ

فهرسة القواف

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Rhyme</th>
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<td>Sarī</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>خُطَا</td>
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<td>XLIII</td>
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1 G. i, 137; L.A. ii, 481; T.A. ² i, 638.
2 Muwazana, 126 ult.
3 Bekri, 540, 660 (at-'Argī).
XLI
قال أبو الفرج الإBERSاني أخبرني سعد بن حذقنا الزبير بن بكاء، قال حذقنا عمقي مصدق. قال قال أبو دهبل في نقل المجينين
ابن على صالوات الله عليه و زواجه
تقبلت سكرى من أمته و نومنا و على قولها ما أتيت تقبلت
وما أفسدت الإسلام إلا فساداً و أفسدت سوءاً و أفسدت
قمار دين من الذين في كتب نومنا. إذا آتى موجهم
بquia جانيه لا يقبلها.

XLII
وانشدت الجاحظ في كتاب المنقول لأبي دهبل
ما هذه الليل قد أقبلنا
ففي شبكت وفي شبكت
لحيتها اللواتين قد أقبلنا
سكلت من جليط بيقعا
يا داكن التوشوم والسبعا
وأراداً مسأداً خذلوا

XLIII
قال أبو دهبل لعباد الله بن قيس الروتين أنشدته ابن الديرازي
قل لحسن قيس أحيي الروتين ما أحسن العرف في العبادات

1 Ag. vi, 167; Murt. i, 80, 81; Yaq. iii, 540.
2 Murt. البشائرك.
3 Murt. ومما صغير.
4 Yaq. نومنا وروداً فدام.
5 Murt. وصارت.
6 Murt. إذا سال.
7 Yaq. الجانيه.
8 G. Haiw. iv, 4 (vv. 1-5); L.A. x, 191 (v. 1 by Yazid b. Mu'awiyah); L.A. x, 297 (v. 2 anon.).
9 L.A. xi, 143; T.A. vi, 195; Hiz. iii, 266 (anon.); Diwan I Q.R., p. 7.
XXXVII

وقال أبو دهبل في بختير بن رئيسان الحمامي:

ا بختير بن رئيسان الذي سكن الجند

كسيع في فتح حمص السند

XXXVIII

قال أبو الفرج الإصبهاني أخبرني جعفر بن خليفة قال حدثنا

أبو توبة عن أبي عمرو [الشبياني] قال قال أبو دهبل يمدح ابن

الأزري

الكامل ابن الكاولي أبي الكاولي

والواصل الأشرام وابن النواصل

جمع الجبهير قسماً كسب بالثاليل

XXXIX

وقال أبو دهبل أيضًا:

خطب الثار قد بدأ يشعث

وإذا ما كان خوف فاعترفل

XL

وقال أبو دهبل أيضًا: [في مروان بن الحكم لما ولي الخلافة]

ا يد خيم مروان جمعها يمشي بليهم

وقد كان في قوم موشى قبلهم جماع

Ag. vi, 165.
يا حشمة إن سالفي مсалكاً
تُقت على الفضل بالوصاية
أي لنا ليس بمهماً
يوصيني بالزلف والحجاب

XXXV

وقال فيها أيضاً

لذى صبأوت زلقى لذيتك ولو ذنى
وستت سنة خمسة لا تعلو ولا ترتفع
وأين أري جمالاً ونكن جنداً ولا صدقاً
عيدي بدر الناقة نا سقيم ملقي
وأنكسر لياية بالسرب فما أتقت
فطلت بها جالس أرسب الاتهان
فاستولوا إليها بيد من كواكب وما ألقى
ويذكى كلسبون دل يلوم السم الغشقا

XXXVI

وقال فيها أيضاً

وأنا كدل من يذكي عمتي له عقل
كوابي وإن خواتم من حبيتها شعل
فموي فدراها خشية العين والقليل
ولا في خمسب لاينكون له وحيد
وأنا يك فيهما بسمة لعل
وقد شاع خلقه ختاجت دونها الساب

1 Ag. vi, 160.
XXXIII

وقال أبو تهذب في عهدة، وهي امرأة من قومه

XXXIV

وقال أبو كهبل في عائكة فتاة معاوية بن أبي سفيان

1. is the correct reading according to Takmilta (T.A. 2

2. Ag. vi, 157 (vv. 1-4, 6, 7, and 9), 169 (vv. 7, 8, and 2-5).
3. Ag. 169, margin.
4. Ag. 169, margin.
5. Ag. 169, margin.
6. Ag. vi, 158.
XXXI

قال أبو الفرج في كتاب الآثاني و أم أبي دقتيسل إمراء مس هذيل وإيالا يعنى بقوله

أتنا بين الفروع الكربام النيتي هذيل إيبانيها تابية

كما تسبب الله تعالى

XXXII

قال أبو الفرج أيضًا قال الزرئي وأنشدنا عمقي مستحضب

بِن عبد الله] لأبي دهشل يفخر بقومه

أنا أبو دقتيسل ودبت ليوكب

ومن جمعهم في القدر منها والتحسب

و الأشرة الخضراء و البعض الأشب

و من هذيل ولدي يالي الفنض

أو رستني المقصد أنب ومن بعد أنب

و رحسني رديشي و سيفي مستكتب

و يبصتي فؤادتي ومن الدهمت

و زعسي دلش تزدكما نحن بعينه

و يزوّى تسببها شكك تجيب

1 Ag. vi, 155.
2 Ag. vi, 155 (vv. 1-8, 10-12); Ñ. i, 112, 384; ii, 138 (vv. 8, 9); L.A. ii, 307; vi, 380; xii, 338 (vv. 8, 9); T.A. ii, 520; iii, 481; vii, 143 (vv. 8, 9).
3 All quotations have this reading استحسا سكن except T.A. vii, 143.
السقراط أبو أحمد بن أحمد بن هبة الله بن السعدي وأبو الفضل أحمد بن علي شاهم ابن محمد بن يوسف الرزاق المزيدي. وهذا من خطبه وذلك في شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة سبعين وثمانية وأربع مائة. نقله عبد العزيز بن محمد بن علي من أصل أخذه ابن الحسن السماني في سماع الشيخ الشافعي، وبسمع الشيخ ابن غالب عنه وضعه نقله على هذا التدوين من أصل أبي غالب خميس الزهري.

بلغ من أول منجز إلى داهية سماحًا على الشيخ الجليل أبي غالب محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمزة الشافعي بقراءة صاحبه الشيخ الجليل أبي الكرم خميس بن علي بن أحمد العزوري نفعه الله بالعلم الشيخ الجليل السيد المعذل أبو عبيدة أحمد بن محمد ابن جعفر بن مختار وابن أخته أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد وشخ شخ الشجاع الجليل أبو سعد محمد بن أحمد بن مختار وابنه أحمد بن محمد بن حمزة بن أحمد بن محمد الذي نشر الله له وذكراه في الحفري من سنة أربع وثمانية وأربع مائة، والحمد لله كثيرا على نعمة وصلاحه على سيدنا محمد النبي وأله الطاهرين وسلمه كثيرا.

تعليقة

فيها ما وجدت من الأبيات منسوبة إلى أبي دهبل الجفاحي في كتاب مختلغة.

1. Perhaps
2. مشتُّ
DĪWĀN OF ABŪ DAHBAL (Sūrat Sama')

(Cod. Bibl. Univ. Līpt., V. 870, fol. 102, r.)
بِإِنْبِيُّ اللَّهِ وَالْمُؤَمِّنِ ۚ وَصَالِبَةَ عَدْيَةِ الْعَبْدِ ۖ فَلَا يَضِعَ ۗ وَمَا أَخَذَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~

وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ مَا خَيْرَ إِلَّا مَا أَخَذَهُ ۖ فَلا مَعَهُ ۖ أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ ۚ وَلَتَمُرْهُمْ إِلَّا مَا وَضَعَهُمُ اللَّهُ. ۗ وَلَسْتُ أَخْرَي بِالْمَعَادِي. ۚ وَأَنْثِبْ فِي الْمَلَامِحِ ۚ وَصَلَّوُنا عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلِّي اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَإِكْرَاهَهْ.

[fol. 102a]

صورة سماع الشيخ أبو غالب بن خفّد الخازن أئذة الله في الأصل بلغ من أوله سماحاً من القاضي أبي القاسم على ابن الجشنيين الخورخي بقراءة الشيخ أبي بكر أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطلب

صاحب الشيخ أبو غالب محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن خفّد بخود أبو منصور محمد وابن عبد الله محمد بن علي الصوري وابن عبد الله الجشني بن عمران البناي الفقيه العملي وابن بكر محمد بن أحمد الندوري وابن القاسم عبد الجبار بن جريد الجيلاني وابن الفصل عيسى بن أحمد اليماني وابن أخيه وثابت بن بُذدار البقال وأخوه وابن الفصل محمد بن محمد بن مكي الخسائي وابن غالب إسحاق بن المؤمل الإسكندري ومحمد بن محمد بن عيسى الفرات وابن عبد الله وابن الخساي أحمد بن محمد الخسائي وابن عبد الله الخساي وابن محمد الجباري وابن محمد وابن طالب محمد بن علي الواسطي وأبو ظاهر زيد بن محمد بن علي السنوسى وابن أبيه محمد المهرواني ۚ وابن ظاهر محمد بن علي

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1 This word is very indistinct in MS.
3 Hamūs, Maghmu'at. النبيد.
4 Perhaps خشمان.
5 Perhaps المازار.
6 Perhaps الميزان.
XXIX

وَأَنْسَدُ لَنَبِيَّ دَخْتِلٍ [بِرَوَابِ آَبَيْ مَعَكُدُ الأَذْرَابِيَّة] لِسَمَّّيَ مَعِكَ دَخْتِلٍ مِنْ نَيْسَانِ

التَّماْرِحِيّ فِي أَلْبَانِيّ

وَقَدْ شَأَنُّ الْقُوَّمَ كَأَمْسِكَ الْجُهَلَةَ السَّتِّيْرِ

٤٩٠ ١٢٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠٠_
XXVI

أنشدنا الربّ لأبي دكَّيل
من عُلم حكَّمٍ أصل
خَطَّب مِّا تخَّصَّبَ أُأخُجَّمُّهُ مَعَهُ
قُلْتَ حَتَّى أنَّ أَنَّاسٍ نَزَلَوا
قَلْتِنَّ مَا كَلَّنَّكُمُّ نَزَلَوَا
طَلَّتُ أَرْفَهُ أَحَنَّ وَلِيّ حَجَّةٌ
كَنَّسَت كَانَى لَعَلَّ أَنْ كَبَرَها

XXVII

وأَنْشِدْ لِهُ وَيَقَالِ أَنْثَى لِلْجَمِيعٍ
أَنْ أَرْكُ لِبَلَى لَبَنَى مَبْنَى وَبَتِينَهَا
أَرْكُ لِبَلَى لَبَنَى مَبْنَى وَبَتِينَهَا
هَمْنَى آَمَرَ وَسَمَّى أَمْلَى بَعِيرًا
وَالضَّاحِبُ المَشْتَكُوتُ أَطْلَمُ حَرِيمَةٌ
فَعَّالٌ أَلْدَهَبٌ فِي لَبِينَى الْعَدَا قَبَلَهَا

XXVIII

وأَنْشِدْ لأَبِي دَكَّيل
يَا نِيَسَتُ مِنْ مَنْعٍ المَفْرَوِفُ مَعْتَعِضَةٌ
خَتَمَ يَذْرِيقٍ رَجَالٍ يَبِضُّ مَاصَبَتْهَا

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1 Ḥammās, ed. Freytag, 580 = Būlāq, iii, 153 (vv. 1-4); Aḡ. vi, 169 (vv. 1-4); xviii, 132 (vv. 4, 1); Murtaḍā, Amālī, i, 81 (vv. 1-4, after Taʿlab acc. Abū ʿAmr-āš-Ṣaibānī); Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUṣṣāq, 288 (vv. 1-4 by al-Maghnūn with Isnād); Durra, Const. i, 66 (v. 2); Diwān ʿUmar b. A.R., No. 388 (vv. 4, 1).
2 MS. اذن.
3 Aḡ. أَفْصَلَ ذِمَّةٍ.
4 Ḥammās, Aḡ., Murt., Maṣāriʿ, ʿUmar, وُلِئْسَتْ.
6 Murt. يَعْمَجُ better, but MS. has as text.
7 Murt. ۦۦُدِّوقَ.
قال فقلت يا عطاء مما تعتك أن تذكر حمارًا بدرههم فتشيعها وتقسيمها. رد بها قال فلبعاك وقال نفع الله بك يا ابن أخني أما علمت أن الندم توبل وطمك كان أشغال قلبك مما تحسب حديثا الزبير قال عضي أنشد رجل أبا السائب هذان البيت فوا دوما. رد قال أبو السائب ماصفع شتات إلا أكثر حمارة فسمعهم ولم يقل فوا دوما. ثم اعتز وقل أطقه قد كان له ذكر ولم يقدر. ذكر قال وقلت له وما هو قال أطقه كان ململ لا يتجد شئًا.

1 Yâq. وُمِن جَارِيَانِيَّة. cf. Introd., p. 1023.
2 Ag. 168.
3 Yâq. قبايِل جِناَئَتِ مِن سِماهِم وسُرِّدُ.
4 Ag. أَرْبِعُ.
5 Haiyawân actually reads الْمَرْنُ.
6 Haiyawân, أن يَتَوَهَّلَ لَى نَبُوْجُ.
7 Ag. وَأَجْهَدُ.
8 MS. vocalizes تُبَلَّم.
9 MS. تَبَتَّ; Ag. as text.
10 Ag. نَفْط (misprint?).
XXIV

 حدثنا الرَّيْبِر قال حدثنا عبد الْجَبَار بن سعيد قال حدثني مجَّد
 بن مَعْن عن أبيه عن جمال بن سمت أبي المُستف请联系了!!قَال تجَّزَّزَت!ثَانٍ
 قَالَ يَرِي بِقَطْيَهِمْ مِنِ الإِبْل فِي الْمَرْأَةِ الْبَيْبِيْلَةُ والْخَبَرُ وَالْمُلْمَعْجُ قَالَ تَكَان
 قَيْسُ بن ذَرْيَةُ يَنْظَرُ إِلَى شَرْفٍ مِن ذَلِكَ الْقُطْيَهِ وَيَنْظُرُ إِلَى مَاتِلِقِينِ
 فَيَعْجِبُ فَقَلَلَمَا لَبِثَ حَتَّى عَزَمَ عَلَيْهِ أَبُوبِهِ بِتَلَاقَ ابْنَةٍ عَمِّهِ لَبَنَتٍ
 فَكَانَ يَمُوْتُ ثُمَّ قُلْتُ أَبُوبُ لَمْ يَقْتَلْهَا لَا يَقْتَلُهَا قَيْسًا فَقَطَعَتْ
 لَبِنَتَيْ إِلَى قُوَّمَهَا كَأَنَّهَا قَيْسُ يَقُولُ

 أَبِي مَكِيدَ ظَةَرَتِ الدُّوَّرَا مَا نَؤْفَدُ حَتَّى

 وبِكَاحِرِي مَدَأَ يَتَّعَلَّلُ فِي الْقُلْبِ

 [fol. 100b]

 XXV

 حدثنا الرَّيْبَر قال حدثنا يحيى بن أبي المَنْدَار بن عزَّرَان الْمُعَيْثِي
 قال حدثني عمي موسى بن يعقوب الزُّبيدي قال أنشدوني أبو دَهْبٍ
 قَصِيدَتهُ الَّتِي يَقُولُ فِي نِهاَ

 1 Ag. viii, 116 (adds one verse after v. 3). This piece appears
to have got by accident into the Diwan, being probably taken
from the أَخْبَار الْعُجَّوم by az-Zubair (Fihrist, iii, 12).

 2 Ag. vi, 167 (vv. 1-10), 168 (vv. 1-4); Gāhīz, Haiyawān, v, 27
(anon. vv. 3, 4, 10); Yāq. iii, 73, 202 (v. 1); Zamaḥšārī, Lex.
Geogr., 82 (v. 1).

 JRAS. 1910. 68
XXIVα

 حدثنا الزبير قال أنشدنا عظي وغيهر أبي دايتيل
 1 إذ جمعنا بالله فاستمعى خصبره بالذين قعلة
 2 وسلبه فيما يضيره كلما وصلوا قسمها ونها
 3 وجعلنا جبين ليست له أراد عمر بعثت على

 أرسل جماعة أثنتين سبق إلى مؤسس من الموقعين قيله مائلاً ونبح الابن فسبق
 للقوم قال أحد الإبل وقدم بها فاقترب وبدأ إلى الجبي وإلى صحر
 رفعه أخذ قسوته وطالبته وقدم للقوم تقدمت إليه من ذلك
 فسألت نفديها من أنزلها فقالت قدم لقبه فناح وأهدى إليها وترفع

ishi كان في يديه قصرت رأسه أضعاً وتبنا قصره بيد المخلد

1 Poesis, قعلما.
2 Poesis, حديثها.
3 Ag. وأعضاً.
وكانوا أُنفِّسُوا كَأَنْ تَحْيَى فَسَ كُنَّا يَسْتَهْجَلُونَ حِلْمٍ َوَلَمْ يُهْجَأَجُوا

وُلَّوْ تَرْكِبُوا لَكُسْدَى اللَّه أَفَرَكَتْ َوَلَمْ يَقْبِرُوا َذَلِكَ مِنْ اللَّهِ خَالِدٌ وَلَيْسَ كَفِيرِينَكُمُ الْخَيْرُ وَالْخَطْرُ أعْجُبُ

لا يُرَمُّكُنَّ صُرُفُ الْخَيْرِ تَغْفِرُ تَبيِّنُوا وَلَا يُنَسِّكُنَّ الْخَيْرُ وَالْخَطْرُ أعْجُبُ

عَلَى كُرْعَةٍ أَمْسِيَتْ فِيْهَا مُقَيَّمًا يَسْكُونُ لَنَمِّها رَحْلَةٍ وَمُخْفِرٍ

فِيَرَكْبَتْ أُضَاءًا يَجْدَدُ الْآئِفُ لَهُ كَسْبًا مِنْ كَأْسَةِ النَّارِ يَقِلَعُ يَجْدَدُ يَفْرَجُ وَالْبُهْنَةُ أَطْرَقَةٍ وَاللَّهُ مَا يُلْدِعُ القُلُوبُ مِنْ الْعُرْقَةِ يَرَجُلُ وتُقْبِلُ مِنْ فِرْصَةٍ فِي مَتْرَجٍ

فِيَرَكْبَتْ كَعْرَةً لَّيْسَ لَهَا بَسْبُسٌ فِي قَرْنِ عَرْقٍ مِنْ وَقْفٍ يَرَجُلُ

فِيَرَكْبَتْ الْبُكْرَةُ الْفَاتِحَةُ وَيَقُولُ لِلْخَيْرِ تَحْيَيْدًا إِذَا لَمْ يُقْبِلَ بِمَعْلِيَةٍ

فِيَرَكْبَتْ لَقَلِيْبٌ مِنْ فِوْزٍ خَرْدِيَةٌ لَّيْسَ لَهَا بَسْبُسٌ فِي قَرْنِ عَرْقٍ مِنْ وَقْفٍ يَرَجُلُ

وُثَّقَتْ كَعْرَةُ الْمُدَمِّمُ لَطِيفَةٌ بِيْهَا دُرْسٌ يُجْدِدُ حَكْيَتِهِ مُتَمَّرَجٍ

يَجَّولُ وَشَخْمِهَا وَيُذَرَّبُ لَحَجْيَتِهَا وَيَشَبِّعُ مِنْهَا وَقْسَ عَجْمٍ وَدَمْلُجٍ

وُقَلَّتْ لَيْمَتْ وَجَأَهَا كَحْبَاهَا لِيَلِدُها وَرَأَى كَأْسَةِ النَّارِ يَقِلَعُ وَأَعْجُبُ إِذَا مَا زَرَبُتُهَا َلَّ أَعْجُبُ

خَطْطَتْ لِقَلَمٍ تَفْصِّلُ كَأْسَةٍ أَسِيرُ يَكَافِعُ السَّقَّالُ وَلِيَانُ مُنْفَجِضٌ

1 So MS. with under letter; Poesis, جَلْيَاءَ.
2 Ag. جَلْيَاءَ.
3 Poesis, Ag. السَّرَّ.
4 Poesis, Ag. أَمْسِيَتْ.
5 Poesis Cod. D آخِرَ.
6 So MS.; Poesis, أَمْسِيَتْ.
7 Poesis Codd. V.S.; Ag. جَلْيَاءَ.
8 So MS.; Poesis, تَلْعَجُّ.
9 Ag. خَلَّيَاءَ.
10 Ag. دُوسُ.
11 Ag. يَفْضَ.
12 Poesis, جَلْيَاءَ.
13 Ag. جَلْيَاءَ.
14 Ag. جَلْيَاءَ.
15 Ag. 157, مُلْخَيْلُ.; Ag. 166, 167, مُلْخَيْلُ.
3 3
قَطَوْرًا أَفْقَيْتِ اللُّغَةَ مِنْ نَعْلَمِ الْمَعْرُوفِ وَظَهَّرَ إِذَا مَا لَقَى بِهِ الْخَلَقُ 2. أَسْتَجِبْ 4
القَشِيمِ صَنُّوْتُ يَكُونُ عِندَ الْمَعْرُوفِ مِنْ النَّجَّالِيِّينَ وَالْأَذْرَادُ وَهُوَ هَادِهُ مِنْ
الجَبِّ 5
6 وَأَصْرَتْ مَا مَرَّتْ بِهِ ُيُؤْسَمُ يُقَبْحُ ُرَجُمُ ظَنِبَاءَ وَمَا كَانَ بِهِ العَيْنِ مِنْ خُلْجٍ
7 ىَنْتَكِبُ عَيْنَاتُ َتُؤْسِمَ لِي ُجَعَبُ حُبُّ مَرْجٍ َتُؤْسِمُ لِي ُجَعَبُ حُبُّ مَرْجٍ
8 لَقَدْ قَطَعَ الْوَاهُمَنَّ ما كَانَ بِنَا 6 َتَفْحَنُ إِذَا أَنْ يُؤْسِلُ الْوَاهُمَنَّ أَخْوَى
9 رَأْوَا تَفْحَنُ 9 فَأَقْبَلُوهُ كَأَنْ يَأْخُذُوا هُمْ مَنْ يَأْخُذُ وَأَنْبَجُوا
10 أَلْبُ يَأْخُذُ أَنْثَا إِذَا تَعْلَمُ وَخَطَّرَ عَلَيْهِ وَتَنَبَّأُ السَّمُوْمُ إِذَا
آَجَمَعُوا عَلَى الْأَلْبِ وَالْأَلْبِ فِي غَيْرِ هذَا الْمَرْفُوعِ الْإِسْرَاءُ
11 قَلِيَّتُ الْأُولَى هُمْ تَقْبَلُوا فِي فَرَقٍ تَأْجَمُّهُمُ فِي أَنْبَثَ الْبُكْرِ أَنْبَجُوا
12 ٨ هُمْ ١٠ مِنْعَتُهُ مَا كَلَّدَ وَلَتَسَادًا وَأُدُوُّ عُسَالَتَا ١١ نَأْرَ صُمُّ نَأْجُجُ ١٢

١ Yāq., Poesis, Ag. vi (but Ag. iv as text); Poesis
Codd. V.S. في عُمْرَةٍ.
٢ Yāq. الْوَجَدُ; Ag. iv.
٣ Yāq. ُتُؤْسَمُ.
٤ Yāq. العَيْنِ مِنْ خُلْجٍ.
٥ Poesis, وَقَدَ.
٦ L.A. xvii, 243.
٧ Poesis, L.A. xvii, 243, الْحَلَفِ.
٨ Poesis B عَدْوَةٌ, D عَدْوَةٌ (both tasht/s); Ag. خِزْرَةٌ.
٩ Poesis, فَلَيْتُ كَوْمًا مِنْ أَهْلِهِ وَأَهْلًا يَأْجَمُّهُمُ فِي سَمَّارِجَةٍ
Codd. V.S., the same reading; L.A. ix, 412; xvii, 243; except نَأْجُجُ, also Ag. vi, 156, except
and Poesis.
١٠ Poesis.
١١ Poesis, Ag. مَعْمَرُا مَا نَأْجُجُ وَأَنْبَجُوا عَنْتَا وَشَجُّوا.
١٢ Poesis, Ag. نَأْجُجُ.
XXIII

قدمنا الربير قال قال عقى هذه الأبيات لجشير الأشجعي أو

* ليغبن

[fol. 99a]

أبيت كشيماً له الضعوم 5 ٌنَّمَّمَا خسائض مسلوعي ج مصرية نموذج

1 MS. without points.

2 ياق. iv, 1001 (vv. 2-4) ; I. Qutaiba, Poesis, 390-1 (vv. 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 8, 9, 11-14, 19, 21) ; Ag. vi, 156 (vv. 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 8, 9, 11-14, 18-20, 14, 15, 21) ; vi, 166 (vv. 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 18, 20, 21, 19, 24, and again 13, 19) ; vi, 167 (vv. 1, 20, and 6, 3) ; iv, 174 (vv. 1-3) ; L.A. ix, 412 (v. 8) ; xvii, 243 (vv. 6, 8) ; Murtađa, Amāli, i, 81-2 (vv. 11-12) ; Hzī. iv, 79 (v. 12) ; Asās, کنس (vv. 8, 9) ; 'Uyūn, 412 (vv. 6, 7, 10).

3 Ag. iv, 156, سكرتی.

4 Poesis، غواشی الهم ما تفتتحج.

5 Poesis، وثبت مهیتا ما آنام; Ag. iv.

6 ياق. نجهیاً; MS. نجهیاً.

7 ياق. جلال غواشی.
XX
حکِّعنا۳التِرتِیب قال وجدت فی كتاب إبراهیم بن موسی بن مکَّیی
وكان من العلماء الفقهاء [fol. 986]

عبد الله بن الیتیر يعد حقه

۳
 Quantities of جمِّیت, which are قُدِّیر in the Printed Text, are مُقْدِّیر in the Ms.

XXI
حکِّعنا۳التِرتِیب قال أَنَّ شَدَّانی محمد بن الیتِکاک عن أبيه فی

۳
 Quantities of جمِّیت, which are قُدِّیر in the Printed Text, are مُقْدِّیر in the Ms.

XXII
حکِّعنا۳التِرتِیب قال أَنَّ شَدَّانی محمد بن الیتِکاک عن أبيه فی

۱ MS. in margin, [صلی الله عليه وسلم jdbc.
۲ The poet drops here into the metre Kāmil [by substituting
the metre would be correct: Lyall].
۳ Tیهام.
۴ L.A. xx, 154, (anon.).
حكمنا الزُنَبِر قال وقال أبو كَفَّة في إِمَّة ابن الزُنَبِر بِعُقَمَة يعِدُّ

وَعَمُّمُونَ بِنُ قُبَيْلَ اللّهِ بِنِي حِكْمِ بِنْ حَجَرٍ ۑ
1. أَنَا بِمَعْنَى عَمَّمُو يَرِشَّدُ هٰذِهْ سَرِّاً هٰذِهْ وَسَأَدَّيْنِي هٰذِهْ السَّمَاءُ تَذْهِبُ
2. وَلَمّا شَوَّدَ بِاللّهِ جَيْرَانَ بِيّنِي وَبَالْقَبْلِ ثَارَ تَعَظُّ وَتَجْرِمُ فَمَسَالَ بِهِمْ رَحْمَةً وَأَبْطَحُ
3. وَشَدَّوا عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْدُ ذَلِكَ شَدَّةً وَأَثْقَلُوا رَجَالَهُمْ فَعَاشَتْ بَيْنِي هٰذِهْ مِصْرَحْ
4. كَمَهَّا قَالَ العُمْلُ الزُنَبِرُ حَمْيَةً وَلَصَمَّتْ مِنْ بَعْضِ الْمُعَيِّنَةِ أُرَوَّجُ يَجْرُوُّ بَنَفْسِهِ بِشُكَّةٍ لَا يَجِدُهُ نَقَافَةً مَتَرُّخْرَحٌ
5. لَوْ رَتِيبَتْ أَنْ تُخَلِّفَ لَكَ بَأْسٌ مَا مَذَا بَأْسٌ وَمَتَنَّى
6. وَبَيْنَ الْأَخْطَرَ الْمَوْعِمَ عُمَّمَنَ هٰذِهِ إِذَا رَتَّبَ أَنْبَدَتْ نَبَيّاً وَلَّيْ تَكْتَلَّحُ

1. Anon. Chronik, ed. Ahlwardt, 75 (v. 1, 2).
2. Chronik, غَلْيَا مَرَيْشَ.
3. MS. مَجَذَوْنَا.
4. Ibid. مَعْصِمَوْنَ أَنْ.
5. MS. ارْجِزِي.
XVIII

And this is the end, the one who described the world of God. 1

1. Ms.
2. Ag.; تَدَرُّ الْجَمِّيجِ ِعَنْنِ.
3. Ag.; قَبِلَهَا.
4. Ag.; مِنْ نَسَيَى وَمُصِيبَ.
5. 'Umda, ii, 224 (vv. 1, 3); 'Aini, iv, 85 (vv. 1-4); Hiz. i, 453 (vv. 1, 3, 4); Suyuti, Ašbāh, iv, 224 (v. 4).
6. Ms. vocalizes ناَتِي. I should have liked to read ناَتِي.
7. 'Aini, دُلَّجِي.
XVI

وبهذا الإسناد له فيه أيضًا

۱. جَرَّ أَلِلَّهُ لَهَبًا خَيْنَ أَنْذَرْ خَائِجِي
۲. أَخْوَنَي عَلَيْهِنَّ سَامِيَ مَا أَهْمَيْتُهُ
۳. كَيْبَرْ نَعُمْ تَمَزَّقْ لَنَفْجِرْ بِعِينَةٍ
۴. كَثُبَتْ عَلَيْنَا حَصْوَةَ الْوَالِدَيْنِ الْأَلِيمَيْنَ
۵. نَعَمْ وَكَفَّ حَسَكَرْ مِنْ يُمَيِّي وَجَلِفَةٍ
۶. تَبْطِينَ مِنَ الْلَّقَوْمِ حَمْسَيْنِ مِنِّ النَّفْخَا
۷. نَهْدَمْ بِالْمَغْرُوفِ حَتَّى حَسْبُهُ
۸. وَذِكَرْتَ كُفْرَيْنَ الحَيَاةِ أَرْسَلْ وَذَقَّهَا

الخَالِ السَّحَابَاتُ الَّذِي تَحْتَلُّ لِلنَّفْطِ إِذَا رَأَيْتَ عَلِمَ أَنَّ النَّفْطَ يَنْمَيِ.

XVII

۱. حَمَّرُ، 'عَيْنَ،
۲. حَمَّرُ بِفُؤُودُهُ؛ تِلْبِيُّبُهُ الْتَانِوِن مَيْنَ مَيْنَ.
۳. حَمَّرُ، أَغَ، لَ. أَرْنُ.
۴. حَمَّرُ، أَغَ، لَ. هَمْبَلُ.
۵. مَسْ، حَلَفَة.
۶. أَغَ، م، ۱۷۰ (۱-۴).
آي قليلة العزاٍج

1. حكى دُعيتُها إلى فُؤاَدُ مَنْ تَنِينٍ
2. كالذئبِ فَارْقُهُ الْقُلْطُانُ وَالْزُرُوجُ
3. السِّلَةُ الحِلَاءَةُ وَالْمُسْلِمُ مَعْلُوْفُٰنٍ ثُمَّ أَنْتُها فَسْتَبِهِ بِالْذُئْبِ لَأَنَّهُ لَهُ لَسْ عَلَى اسْتِبْ حٍّ٠
4. رَءَيَتْهُ فِي الْأَقْصَى وَفِي الْأَقْصَى
5. كَأَنْ أَنْفُسُهُمْ جَمِيعًا لَقَوْنَا الْرَّابِعُ

الأنفُور موضع. الرَّابِعُ الفَرْدَة وَاحِدَهَا رَبَّهُ وَرَبَّهُ وَالْرُّبَّهُ الفَصْبُع أَيْضاً

XIV

حَدِيثَةُ النَّزِيرِ قَرَلَ وَأَنْشَدُنِي عَمَّي وَجَعَدَ بِنَ السَّمَّاَكَتِ عَنْ أَبِي وَحَمَد

ابن حَوْلَةَ لَيْبَيْ دَهْبَيْلُ فِي الْأَقْصَى

[fol. 97a]

3. فَوَكَانَ بِنَ سَلَمَةُ مَنْ أَتَيَ تَوَارَىَتْ

4. وَلَا كَسَمَةُ مَا كَسَمَتْ بِهِ اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ

XV

وَبِهِذَا الإِسْمَ لَا يُدْهِبْ فِي اسْتِبْحَةٍ

3. [وتَبَيَّنَ لِمَجْرِيْنِ اللَّهُ]

4. عَنْ النَّطَاءِ قَدُٰمُ ۖ يَلْدُ بَشَرْيَةٍ إِنَّ السَّمَّاَكَتِ بِعَمْلِ عَلَمَ

1. This verse refers to Báhir b. Raisán mentioned above.
2. The word is badly written in MS.; perhaps أَرْفُعُ.
3. Hamāsā, ed. Freytag, 703 = Būlāq, iv, 75 (vv. 2, 1, 4, 3); Ag. vi, 165 (vv. 1, 4, 3); L. A. xv, 306 (vv. 3, 4, 1); Ṣuyūn, 327 (vv. 2, 4, 3, 1).
5. Ag. القَّمْ; L. A. القَّمْ; Ṣuyūn, فلاً.
XIII

حذفنا الزبير قال حدثني شماس ومحمد بن أحمدك عن أبيه

و محمد بن حسن قال قال أبو كحلا فابن الأزور

[fol. 96b]

1 ليبسعد الله أبا حميشا لتيم الله ليس له
2 أدرك من ساسين البطاحا بهم
3 يعدل إذا نرد الساقون جمعتة
4 متشكل جهين أزغي غدير مكتمر
5 حين أنبي ثياغرو جعلى عند أبيه من الإسيا لا يجاجب عما
6 خلوا السمائي لم ننفقو خلاسة
7 أبين الذى يلتح الموالي ويجذب النجلي ومن جاره بالتعيم منفوج
8 كأنيي جميس بن جزير الحمل مصموب من قول الشاعر [وهو تزج بين مستهز الطائي]

1 So Ham., Poesis, Ag.
2 Ag. بحيم; but MS. has ح under the letter.
3 Ag. مر Kami.
4 Ag. لثا.
5 Ag. ودنت.
6 Yaq. ii, 464 (vv. 6, 7); az-Zuhair, Diwan MS. D.M.G. Arabisch, 103, fol. 62b (v. 3).
XI
 حدثنا الزبير قال: أنشدندى عقیق و محمد بن الصحابه عن أبيه و محمد بن خشرم و من شُنِمت مس النَّقِيزَة لاَبِي ذُهُبَسِي في ابن الأزرق العترة. حسن عُنْوَة عبد الله بن الزبير عن الجندل.  
 فمن كان 2 شن الأَرْلُ عَدَاةً وَكَتْرَةَ لِلْجَهَّازِ ۚ فَاغْنِى دُوَّرُهُمَا فَعَطَفَانِ كَعْرُلٍ ۙ وَوَمَا أضْحَكَهُمَا مِنْ وَغْفَارِهِمَا مُسْتَقَافَتَهُمَا وَرَجُمٌ إِلَّا أَلْعَبِيَّةُ أَنْثَى ۚ الْقَسَلَ.

XII
 حدثنا الزبير قال: و أنشدندى عقیق و محمد بن الصحابه عن أبيه.

لاَيْبِي ذَهَبَسِي.

1 أُج. vi, 164 (vv. 1, 2).
2 أُج.
3 أُج.
4 أُج. vi, 164 (vv. 1-7); حماسا, ed. Freytag, 709 = بعلق, iv, 81 (vv. 1-5); L. Qutaibah, Poesis, 390 (vv. 4, 5); يأق. ii, 817 (vv. 1-3); L. A. ix, 494 (v. 1).
5 L. A. حرْيَر; حم., أُج., يأق.
6 حم. فَعَلَّنَا وَقَالَ لَنَا فِي بَعْدَهُ ومن شُنِمت مس النَّقِيزَة; يأق. فَعَلَّنَا وَقَالَ لَنَا فِي وَجْهِهَا.
7 حم. من يُسَافِصُ.
8 حم.; Poesis Codd. V.S.; Cod. D.; وَجْهِهَا. 
9 حم.; أُج.; Poesis, أَوْلَیْتُ. 

9
لا تنشر ف غير موضع ولا تلبسه

لا تُحيط ما أخبثت حُبَّكم

ومقالة فيكم تصرح تهتم

ومريد يستنكر استدلاله بكل

قلت تنقيه لنا لتجزؤه

ما إن أقيمت لحاجة ضرقت

وإذًا قممت برحلة جزئت

[fol. 96a]

قال الحارث بن خالد

ولا قد أراك تساقط بالظلمان

شاة وسافية واجدة

1 إلى لارصى ما يَدْعُب

أَرَّى أَبُسْحَسَح يَسَدِّعَ

1 Murt. يرْتَى النُّومَاً.

2 Ag. يقيم بنَا, which seems better.

3 L.A. أَرَّدَنا رَحْلَة.

4 MS. has the variant نُديا written under this word.

5 L.A. نُديَد نَفْرًا.
قال الزربسير أبو ريحانة عم أبي ذهيل، فقال أبو ذهيل في وصيَّد
عبد الله بن ضووان عقت أبا ريحانة و اسمه علياً.

ولا توجد لي نفخة علياً فإن وصيَّدنا مغل깔 و مسيل
أن تت.xaxisم علينا إذ ترتاح من بيتنا غزير
أولوا الجمع المقدم حين تأوا
ورثتمهم يكتمون و برونهم.

فلما أن سقينا السما وأئدنا
جعلت تتومينا تصرحنا لذينهم.

IX

حدثنا الزربسير قال أنشدنا بعثت رواة أبي ذهيل.

X

حدثنا الزربسير قال أنشدنا تحقى ومحمد بن الصحابك عن أبيه.

1 Aq. vi, 169-70 (vv. 1-5).
2 So MS. with صم written under the word; Aq. has يودعهم.
3 Aq. الزرجيل; the verse is badly misprinted in Aq.
4 Aq. عزرا كانا.
5 Aq. عزرا.
7 MS. ٦٥٩٢.
8 Aq. vi, 157 (vv. 1-11); vi, 154 (vv. 1, 4-6); Murtaḍa, i, 79, 80 (vv. 1, 2, 7, 3-6, 8-13); L.A. vii, 86 (v. 12 ace. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā') = T.A. ٢ iii, 580.
النَّصّ الأول:

النَّصّ الثاني:

النَّصّ الثالث:

النَّصّ الرابع:

النَّصّ الخامس:
THE DIWAN OF ABU DAHBAL AL-GUMAHI

1. Kāmil, Qālit, 'Aini, Ag. vi, 161, L.A.
2. Vocalized in MS. with معا.  
3. Ag. vi, 161.  
4. Ag. vi, 162.  
5. مقارنًا, Hiz. iii.  
6. Ag. vi, 162, 'Aini, Hiz., L.A.  
7. Ag., Qālt, 'Aini, Hiz., L.A.  
8. Ag. vi, 162; Qālit, تذكّرى وآئتمامٍ لتنبيه, جل أهلي إذا وَأَتَّمَهْ.  
9. Ag. vi, 170 (vv. 1-4); Yāq. i, 790 (vv. 1-4); Bekrî, 660 (v. 4 acc. az-Zubair).
THE DIWAN OF ABU DAHBAL AL-GUMAHI

1. L.A., Ag. vi, 159, 161, Qālī, Kāmil, 'Aini, Ḥiz. Ṣā'arī.
2. 'Aini, Ḥiz. ilī dār.
3. Kāmil, Qālī, 'Aini, Ḥiz. Ṣā'arī; Ag. vi, 159, 161,
4. 'Aini, Ḥiz., L.A. ʻAbbāsī; Ag. vi, 161, ʻAbbāsī.
5. Kāmil, Ṣā'arī.
6. Ag. vi, 159, ʻAbbāsī.
7. Maṣārī, Ḥiz. Ṣā'arī.
8. L.A., Qālī, Ṣā'arī; MS. vocalized.
10. Kāmil, Ag. vi, 159, 'Aini, Ḥiz., L.A. Ṣā'arī; Ag. vi, 161; Qālī, Ṣā'arī.

All quotations have ʻAbbāsī.

Marginal note in MS.

Ag. vi, 159, 162, ʻAbbāsī; Ḥiz. iii, 281, ʻAbbāsī.

Ag. vi, 159; L.A. xvii, 224 ('Abd ar-Rahmān), Ṣā'arī.

All quotations have ʻAbbāsī without article, which I think is better.
تَدْعِهِ يُمِدْتُهُ مَنْ تَقَسَّرَ حَتَّى يَبْتُسَ مَنْهَا وَلَدَةً وأَهْلَهُ وَتُرْوَجْ بَعْدُ وَبَدَّاتُهُ وَأَقْتَسَمُوا مَالِهِ أَقَامَتْ زُوْجَتَهُ تَبَكُّ عَلَيْهِ وَلَمْ تَقْلَصَوْهُ مَالِهِ ۱ ثُمَّ قَالَ لَآَمَرَهُ إِنْكَ قَدْ أَنْضَعْتُ فِئَ وَفِي وُلدَيْ وَأَهْلِهِ فَأَذِنُ لِأَطْعُمْهُمْ وَأَمْكُونَ الْيِلْكَ فَأخَذَتْ عَلَيْهِ أَيْمَانِهَا أَلْلَهُمْ إِلَيْهِ إِلَّا كَبِيرًا فَخَذَجَ مِنْ عَنْدَهَا بِذَلِكَ الْمَالِ حَتَّى قَدَمَ عَلَيْهِ أَهْلَهُ فَرَأَى زُوْجَتَهُ وَمَا صَارَ إِلَيْهِ ولَدَةً وَجِاءَةً ولَدَهُ فَقَالَ مَا بِيْنِي وَبِيْنِي عَنْ أَنْتَمْ وَرَتِعُونَي وَأَنَا خَبَّرْتُ هَذَا حُقُّكَمْ وَالْلَّهُ لَا يَشْرُكُ زُوجَتَ يَفْعَلُتْ فِي مَا قَدَمْتُ بِهَا أَحْدَةٌ وَقَالَ لَزُوْجَتِهِ شَأْنَكُتْ هذَا الْمَالُ فِيهِ لَكَ لَكُنَّا كَلِهٌ ۲ وَقَالَ فِي النَّاَمِيۡتَۢ ۱

۱ مَش. اَds. ۲ أَغ. vi, 159 (vv. 1, 4, 12, 5-8, 3, 14, 15, and again 14, 15, 5-7); vi, 161-2 (vv. 2-6, 9, 7, 10, 8, 11-13); 'Aini, i, 144 ff. (vv. 1-6, 9, 7, 8, 11-13, 15); Kāmil, 168 (v. 4), 169 (vv. 2-7, 9, 8, and again 5-7 by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān); Hīz. iii, 280 (vv. 1-6, 9, 7, 11, 12, 15); iii, 288 (vv. 1, 8, 10); L.A. v, 324-5 (vv. 2, 1, 3-6, 9, 7, 8, 11, 12, and again 5-7); Muʿarrab, 44 (v. 5), 74 (v. 10), 123 (v. 8); al-Qāli, Amālt, iii, 192 (vv. 2-6, 9, 7, 8, 11-13, acc. Abū 'Ubaida); Maṣāri', 87-8 (vv. 2, 4, 5, 11-13).

3 'Aini, بالْجَيْغُورِ.
4 أَغ. vi, 159 وَسُلُكَ الْجِيْحَةَ فِي جَيْبِهِ.
5 L.A. v, 324, أَغ. vi, 161, Maṣāri', 'Aini, Hīz., Qāli، حَتَّى وَدَاّرًا.
6 Kāmil،
VI

حدثنا الزبير قال حدثني عقية بن عبد الله قال حدثني إبراهيم بن أبي عبد الله قال خرج أبو ذهبل يريده الغزوة وكان رجلًا جميلًا صلحاً فلما كان يجيبون جاهمة أمرت فأعطته كتاباً فقالت اقرأ هذا الكتاب فأقرأه لها ثم ذهبت فدخلت قصرًا ثم خرجت إليه فقلت عليه إلى هذا القصير فقرأت الكتاب على أمرة فيه كان لكم يك في أجر إن شاء الله فانتسه به فسول فيها القصير فلم يدخل إذا فيه جوار كبير فأنتسه عليه باب القصر فإذا أمرت جملة قد عئت إلى نفسها فأأتي فأمرت به في سبيل في بيت من القصر وأطعتم وشقى قليلًا قليلًا حتى تعلل وكان يعج يعتل ثم ذهبت إلى نفسها فقالت امرأة حازم فلما يكون في أبداً ولكن أنت رجعت كتاباً فلم يفرحها فأمرت به في خيسان إليه حتى رجعت إلى نفسها فأتام معها زمانًا طويلًا.

Maṣāʾirī, al-Ūṣṣiq, Const. 1301, pp. 87-8 (after Thaʿlab acc. az-Zubair); Qālī, iii, 193, the account according to Abū 'Ubayda differs slightly.

1 Maṣāʾirī. 2 Maṣ. 3 Maṣ. 4 Maṣ. 5 Maṣ. 6 Maṣ. adds 7 Maṣ. 8 Maṣ.
التي فإنها فيها قال إنه إبراهيم بن هشام ما هذا بتشبيهً ً أيَّن هذا
إن معنى من متقنٍ ً تخلاص ً 
فغصب التشبيهً ونزع عمامته
فطرحها ويرى عليها وقال كان تأونا برجل مثل ابن الأرقيق أعظم
بمدح أجوء من مديج أبي دمطبوي ً حديثنا الزبير قال حديثي عبد
الرحمن بن عبد الله الدهر قال كان إبراهيم بن هشام جَبَّاراً و
كان يعجَّب بالذي إذ كان على المدينة وإذا أدر الناس أدن معهم
ليمشاعر ينشد قصيدةً منهما لهشام بن عبد الملك وقصيدة مديجة
إبراهيم بن هشام فأسر يوماً شاعر التشيبي فأنشد قصيدة
لميها لهشام ثم قطعها وانشدها قصيدةً مديجة إبراهيم بن هشام
وقصيدة هشام أشعر فأراد الناس وبياقة تشيبي فقالوا أحسن
فقال إبراهيم بن هشام أقول أنَّه لشاعرٍ وأشعر منه الذي يقول
إن معنى من متقنٍ ً تخلاص
قال فعجبت نصبه فقال أنا والله ما تفضع المدينة إلا على قدر
الرجال كما يكون الرجل نمذجةً ً قال فعم الناس التحكيماً وحلم
عنده إبراهيم بن هشام فقال لهم الحاجب ارتفعوا فلما صاروا إلى
السقية قالوا رأيت مثل شجاعة هذا الناس على هذا الجبار وجلماً
من نثير خليفة

حديثنا الزبير قال حديثي عنمسي قال خرج ابن عم لإبن الأرقيق
يريدن تلقيته مغزوة فشق ذلك عليه واسترجع فقال له ابن الأرقيق
هُكَن عليك لم ينفرك شيء فأعطاه مائة دينار ً فقال أبو دمطبوي

1 See variant to v. 6. 2 Ag. vi, 163-4.
قائتان شترک عشید لا ائتقزاء له ما دام بالجريع 5 وسن لنسبان جلهد 6

أنت الممقطع والعليلي بها 7 ممذنا إنا لا معنا بس ضد الجندل الشوود

إنه نفس 8 مثقل مقدام 9 مرفقة بين 10 السبع المعزوف والجوز

ولم تزل في استناء الحكمة تبذلته 11 لسما عصرى الناس لولا وصيدهن

حتى الذي بين مشفقان إلى عدن لنسب ليص ليقن يبطل المعزوف أحكمود

لحم طريق واعم قد لصحبه الحوافر والأقدام وذالك الحكرون 12 قال

الرتبة أنشدنيها أبي وحماopenid بن النحاس لأبي ذهبي في ابن الألق 13 حكمنا الرتبة قال حذئني 14 وحنين بن العبس قال دخل التصبب على إبراهيم بن دهام وهو ولى المدينة فأنشدته قصيدة له

1 Ag.; Yāq., var. عثن.
2 Ag. الجون.
3 Ag. vi, 162, إتمم.
4 Gāhīz, Haiyawan, vi, 20, علدي.
5 Ag. vi, 162, بالهنسب.
6 Ag. vi, 162, يل.
7 Ag. تمعد.
8 Bekri, 578, تدغ; Yāq. iv, 768, نفس [sic]; Ag. i, 145; vi, 162, 163a, تدغ; Yāq. i, 702, تدغ.
9 All quotations have Grim.
10 Ag. i, 145; vi, 162, 163a, بقلان; Yāq. i, 702.
11 Ag. i, 145; vi, 162; Yāq. يركل.
12 Yāq. تع.
13 Ag. vi, 162, 163, مارسك في دفعات الكبرى تفعّلها.
البذارة، ما يخرج من البذر إذا ألقى في الأرض يقال خرجت
بذارة النبت.

12 فقدات من حديث الردى
13 حيجة تقلبه وصل
14 كالمتغلب يعفف قائمًا
يقال شرعت الدابتة وأكررتها وشعررتها إذا استخرجت مثيرًا وما
عندها ومن هذا سمعه وشوارًا.

15 لا كاتيرب يبرجى ولا
16 إن قال أي فسويل
17 فمن كان يشعر مثيرًا

IV
قال ثم رجع فين عند عماره بين عمرو بين حزن فاتى الجند فقال
له خسروه مولى عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن [fol. 93a] بين الأزرق
وكان مثل ابن الأزرق في السرا وإن كُنت عمجمت على ابن عمكت
وهو أُحير الناس وأُفزعهم فقد إلسيبه فإنه غير تاركيف وآصلم
بأني أخف أن يكون قد عزى فقلبه ولا يفقده بصره فآني
أخف أن يتفكك ففعل وأعطاه وأرسلت فقال

يا حسن إني لينا حديثتي أصلًا مريح ومن تصوير الموجب معلوم

1 MS. لا ينتمون.
2 Ag. vi, 162. مَشْكِكَة المُصْلَدَة.
3 مَسْتَؤُورًا in text, but corrected in margin with صواب.
4 Ag. vi, 162 (vv. 1-8); vi, 163 (v. 6 A); vi, 163 (vv. 6, 7=B); i, 145 (v. 6); Yaq. i, 702 (vv. 1, 2, 8, 6); iv, 768 (v. 6).
5 Yaq. يا حنر إني لما بلغني.
III

حدثنا الزمرير قال حدثنا عمتي مصعب بن عبد الله قال وفد أبو
دُهِبِلُ الجماعة على ابن الأزرقي عبد الله بن عبد الرحمان بن
الوَلْد بن عبد شمس بن المُغْرِبَة بن عبد الله بن عمر بن محمد
وكان عاملاً لعبد الله بن الزمرير على الجماعة فأكره ورأى منه جفوة
نفاذة ومنصى إلى جماعة بن عمرو بن خزيمة وهو عامل لعبد الله بن
الزمرير على خصمه وقله بابن الأزرق

1 أُحِرِّمتُ رَسْمًا بالجِنْس، رَسَمْتُ لِبَيْنَيْنِ أَوْلِياء
وَسَبَأَ أَنْتَهْتِ إِنْتَةُ
2 لِغَيْرِرَةٍ ۴ وَسَنَّ حَضْرَةٍ مُّوٓ[fol. 926]
3 مَعَتْ بَرْخَاءً كَاَشْقَٰٴي
4 تُنَزِّرُ اللدُّوُّوَ مَرْيَةً
5 وَلَقِدْ تَبَادَّتْ لَيْبَهَا
6 قَبْعَ ذَا وَقَتْدَتْ فِي سَمَّاهَا
7 لَأُتَاجِرُّ بَيْنَهَا وَلَا
8 بَارِيْتُ خَمْيْرُ ما
9 أشْقَى وَكَفَانَا وَلَدَمْ
10 الطَّعْمَةَ الْدِّلْلَةَ وَالْعَفْرَةَ أَيْ إِنْ عَطْبَتْهَا لَأَشْعَرَتْ وَلَكِنْهَا تَرْفَعُ وَتَشْرُفُ
11 وَمَسْعَطَةٌ مَسْتَمَرِي

* حَسَبُ اللَّهِ وَلَتَسْأَلُوا نَزْارَةَ (مِسَّرْبَتَ)

1 أَغْ. ۸۵۲ (وَو. ۹-۱۱، ۱۳، ۱۴); يَاق. ۴۵۴ (وَو. ۱، ۳).
2 يَاق. لِغَيْرِرَةٍ.
3 مَس. أَبِيِّشَارَةٍ.
4 أَغْ. ۸۵۲، قَفَاشَكَا.
5 أَغْ. ۸۵۲، يَكُبُّ.
6 أَغْ. ۸۵۲، نَزْارَةَ (مِسَّرْبَتَ); لَ.ا. ۵، ۱۱۵ (أَنْو. اَلْتَّعْبِ).
قال الزبير كانت العرب تشهد أن لم يكن من زمن ناقة أبي دخيل أُشير منها وبدل على ذلك قوله هذا وقدمت بنطلة للبستنة كأنها نباديزا بالضبيط تيسر زامنا
أجارت على البيروبة واللبستة جنابين بالبيروبة وذكرنا وأذناما
يقول قد استبان فيه شيء من الصبيح والوزن يريد الشفرة يعني الصبيح والبيروبة موضع [وزيد هاذا بيت]
ومرت على أشظار رؤدة [سيقضية فما جرت للفجرة كأسنا ول덩نا]
فما ذرت الشمس حتى تبيقت بلغت ضحCOREA وسميتها
ويروى ملكاتم وهو الذي شدد على حمله الفواصر
وما دارت حتى تبيقت زامناها وعينت عليها أن تجني وتنكما
فلقت لها قد تغلب عشرة مثمنة وأصدق ولدبه اليرك ذهبها مدняя ما
يقال تاذ ينبيع إذا تاذ أناق ويفال تاذ القنف إذا جاء صما

1 Yāq. اللبيب, MS. vocalized; Ag. ii, ii (twice); vi, 168; Murt. note, بطل الباب.
2 Ag. ii, ii, 20; Murt. note, كأنهما; MS. نبيتها.
3 Ag. ii, ii, 27; vi, 168; Murt. note, (Ag. iii, 11, 20, as text).
4 Ag. iii, 11, على البيروبة...
5 Ag. iv, ii, 168; Murt. note, جنابين.
6 Ag. iii, ii, vi, 168, adds here; also Yaq.
7 Ag. iii, 168, رُونق; variants, iii, ii, حكرت...
8 Poesis, Ag. vi, 168; Yāq. مُشترِّيًا.
9 Ag. vi, 168, أُو
10 Poesis Codd. V.S. قاَيِمًا وَمَجِيَّمًا.
11 Ag. vi, 168, خضر (misprint); Yāq. تُتيجَّم.
12 Ag. vi, 168, بَنُوت; Ag. iii, ii, يغيَّب (misprint).
13 Ag. iii, 12, بالزُّر (misprint).
14 Ag. vi, 168, عينا ورَنَما (misprint).
1: أدّل Floor the judgment and the witnesses, as we ordered. We heard them and we understood.

2: سأأتي لبي الله, وَعَفْتُمْ وَصَلِّتُ مَنْ جَعَلَهُ مَالًا لَّهُ وَإِلَى الْمَلَأِ خَلَقاً

3: قال الرَّبِّ افعلوا وَمَعَمِّرًا احْصِبَ بِنَحْفَةٍ بِنَجْحَمٍ

4: وَخَلَفَ بِنِّوضَب بِنَحْفَةٍ بِنَجْحَمٍ

II

1. العربية في القلب، قال: هذه حديثٌ.

2. موسى بن يعقوب الزُّعري. قال: أنا أشذعي أبو ذهيل نويرة.

3. أنا أعلان الجلابض، كلما لم يكن لعلم مانورة.

4. ألا بُلْغاء. (الجلابض) كلما لم يكن لعلم مانورة.

5. حُرِّجت بهما. (الجلابض) كلما لم يكن لعلم مانورة.

6. فأنت عباد المُنذِرِين. بالصلاة.

7. قُمْتَ نَامَ حُسَنَ دَأْعَرَ وَلَا أَرْتَدَّ صَأْيَرَ مِنْ الْلِّدْنَ

8. على جأولت بيَّلَمْ.

9. إن وَكَالوا.

10. I. Qutaiba, Poesis, 390 (vv. 2, 3, 6); Ag. vi, 168 (vv. 1-9); iii, 11 (vv. 2, 3 = A), 11-12 (vv. 1-9); Murtada, Amâli, i, 78-9 (v. 1), n. 1 (as Ag.); Yâq. i, 318 (v. 7), 352 (vv. 2-5, 9), 590 (vv. 2-9), 606 (v. 3); iii, 715 (vv. 1-9); iv, 1026 (v. 3); T.A. vii, 108 (vv. 8, 9).


12. Yâq. على.
تحية الله الرحمن الرحيم

قرأت على الشهيد أبي غالب محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر بن حمد الخاجز، بواسطة أخصائي القاضي أبو القاسم على أبي المعتمد بن علي بن محمد الشافعي قراءةً عليه، وأنا أسمع في شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة لسان وأربع مائة قال حدثنا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الرحمن ابن أحمد بن اسم الناصري الكاتب قراءةً عليه في جامع المنصور، في السنة العاشرة، وأربع مائتين، وثلاث مائتين قال أخبرنا أبي قال حدثنا أبو الحسن أحمد بن عبد الدمشقي قال حدثنا الزهير بن أبي بكر

I

قال أبو هاسقل والشعبي وقاسب بن زعجة بن أبي سيد بن أحديئة بن خلف بن كهلة ابن خداقة بن جمعة بن عمرو بن كمشيق بن كعب وお勧め بن كهلة يقول ابن الزبير 1

أبذا يكتب أهلته بعيسال

ما دام في أفيتاهما الدؤال

نعيم النبات شافاتهم ونجلهم

شيئا لنشوا من الجبال

قال وأم أبى كذببل قرشل بنت سلمة أخت عبد الله بن سلمة* حدثنا أبي قال حدثنا أحمد بن سعيد قال حدثنا الزبير قال حدثنا علي بن صالح عن عبد الله بن عمرو قال قال أبو دهبل 2

1 Ag. vi, 154 (vv. 1-3). 2 Ag. والذيالي, MS. vocalized.

* إذا أندرت 3

* Ag. vi, 155 (vv. 1, 2). 4 Ag. إذا أندرت.
شعر أبي دهليل الجمسي

[fol. 91a]

واخباره

(MS. Lips. V, 807.)

رواية الشيخ الجميل أبي غالب حسن بن أحمد بن طاهر بن
محيّث علينا أبو بكر محمد بن عبد الرحيم بن أحمد بن
إسحاق المازني من مارين الأزر الكاتب عن أبيه عن أبي الحسن
أحمد بن معبد الدمشقى عن الزربك بن أبي بكر
سماعَ لجعيميس بن علي بن أحمد بن كللٍّ الجوزي الوسطى
نفعنا الله بِ".

قرأ على جميع هذا الديوان الشيخ الجميل أبو الكلام جعيميس بن
على الجوزي الوسطى حسرة الله * كنته محمد بن أحمد بن طاهر
ابن حفيد بن نجد ففي المحرم سنة أربع وثمانين وأربع مائة والجديد الله
رب العالمين كثيرا وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم تسليما

1 Perhaps أية الله.
XXIII

UNE INSCRIPTION DU YUNNAN (MISSION D'OLLONE) TRADUITE PAR M. CHAVANNES

ÉTUDE CRITIQUE PAR FERNAND FARJENEL

Le commandant d'Ollone a rapporté de sa dernière mission scientifique diverses inscriptions chinoises qui peuvent fournir d'utiles indications sur l'histoire des régions du sud-ouest de la Chine.


Malheureusement, les traductions de l'honorable professeur ainsi que les interprétations qu'il en tire sont fort inexactes. Si l'on veut pouvoir utiliser ces inscriptions pour l'histoire, il est nécessaire de les traduire de nouveau intégralement.

Les quatre documents publiés ont été, cela va de soi, interprétés de la même manière ; nous ne nous proposons d'en examiner ici qu'un seul, d'en donner une traduction nouvelle expliquée. En faire autant, pour toutes les inscriptions dans un seul article eut été un travail trop étendu.

La traduction ci-après est celle de la deuxième stèle concernant un jeune préfet ou gouverneur Lolo, mort à vingt-trois ans et que M. Chavannes désigne sous le nom de Tsouan Paotzeu. Le travail de l'honorable professeur figure page 17.

Avant de présenter l'examen critique de cette pièce nous donnons ci-après le texte comparé des deux traductions afin qu'on en puisse saisir les différences d'un seul coup d'œil.
Traduction de M. Chavannes
Tombe du gouverneur Tsouan qui eut de son vivant, les titres de général au prestige redoutable et de gouverneur de (la commanderie de) Kienning, sous la dynastie des Tsin.

L'honorable défunt avait pour nom personnel Pao-tseu, et pour appellation Pao-tseu ; il était originaire (de la sous-préfecture de) Tong-lo (dans la commanderie) de Kienning.

Dès sa jeunesse il fut doué de qualités précieuses et éminentes ; quand il fut devenu grand, il maintint une règle de conduite haute et profonde.

Il était pénétrant et vaste, intègre et respectueux, c'étaient là des manifestations provenant de la nature que lui avait donnée le Ciel.

Avec une pureté semblable à celle de la glace et avec une netteté semblable à celle de l'orchidée, sa sagesse réunissait toutes les supériorités de la conduite.

Grâce à sa vertu sans mélange, Barbares et Chinois se soumettaient à sa bonté.

(La cigogne qui crie dans) le neuvième étang le célébrait dans son pays natal honoré d'un nom ;

Les pièces de soie en rouleau s'accumulaient dans sa demeure.

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Traduction de M. Farjenej
Tombe du préfet des Tsouan (Lolos) ; gouverneur de Kienning, anciennement général (du titre de) Tchennwei, des Tsin.

(Ce) seigneur s'appelait de son nom honorifique Paotzeu, de son nom personnel Paotzeu ; il était de Tonglo, en Kienning.

(Ce) seigneur, dans son enfance, reçut des dons naturels éminents ; adulte, il dirigea des affaires extrêmement importantes et délicates.

L'étendue de son intelligence, le caractère respectable de son intégrité, manifestaient ses qualités naturelles.

Probre et maître de soi, sa morale ainsi que ses actes étaient d'ordre supérieur.

Grâce à sa vertu sans mélange, Barbares et Chinois étaient revenus à des sentiments d'humanité réciproques.

Le neuvième ciel était rempli du bruit de son nom.

Les richesses s'accumulaient dans sa demeure.
Alors qu’il n’avait pas encore l’épingle de tête, il attendait déjà l’équipage officiel.

À la Cour et à la Campagne on célébrait ses éloges.

Il fut successivement tchou-pou de l’arrondissement, tché-tchong, pie-kia ; il fut recommandé pour ses qualités remarquables, il devint gouverneur de sa commanderie.

Il calma et entoura de soins la multitude du peuple ; tous les êtres furent à leur place naturelle.

À l’âge des vingt-trois ans une maladie qui l’alitait lui fit perdre ses fonctions.

Il n’est personne qui ne s’en afflige ; chaque homme centuple sa personne.

L’émotion s’étant produite dans les cœurs, on a composé en commun une épitaphe pour bien célébrer sa belle fin.

Il retirait sa coiffure pour servir ses supérieurs (avec plus de zèle).

Le gouvernement et les particuliers chantaient ses louanges.

Dans l’arrondissement il fut chef des bureaux, directeur du personnel, assistant du préfet ; promu Sienoutsai, il fut préfet gouverneur de cette propre préfecture.

Pacifiquement, il gouverna le peuple, et toutes choses furent en ordre.

À l’âge de vingt-trois ans une maladie grave emporta ce magistrat.

Nul qui n’exprimât sa douleur par des lamentations et tous multiplièrent leurs prosternations (devant le cercueil).

Notre douleur ayant été complètement manifestée, nous nous sommes unis pour graver son oraison funèbre afin d’exalter convenablement la fin de notre chef,

Et pour que sa perpétuelle gloire ne subisse pas d’interruption. Les termes (en) sont les suivants.

Eminence qui a rendu l’esprit, immensité d’où descend la lumière,

O majestueux, majestueux Marquis, ta renommée retentit comme les pierres musicales.
Dès que à l'âge de vingt ans il eut pris le bonnet vieil, on loua sa bonté; — on le célébra par des chants à la ville et dans la campagne.

Quand il était encore obscur, on approuvait sa conduite harmonieuse; quand il se trouvait encore dans les profondeurs, il répandait son parfum.

Le palais qui a plusieurs fois huit pieds d'élévation — il en trouva le mur qu'il longea.

La bonne odeur (de sa renommée) était impétueuse comme le vent; — l'éclat (de sa gloire) s'élevait aussi haut que les nuages.

Il était semblable à l'oie sauvage s'avancant pas à pas, dont les plumes servent d'ornement; — il bondissait comme le dragon, il voltigeait comme le phénix.

Déployant son essor jusqu'au delà des vapeurs aériennes — il s'apprêtait à être reçu comme un hôte par le souverain.

Avec les clochettes qui ressonnent et avec la porte violette, il lavait les cordons de son bonnet dans la rivière Tsang-lang.

Les gens du peuple venaient à lui ainsi que des fils (qui viennent à leur père) — comme s'ils eussent en des entraves, comme s'ils eussent en un licou, ils se tournaient ensemble vers lui.

On lui obéissait à la ronde

Dans ton enfance et lorsque tu eus la coiffure virile, on louait ta bonté; — on chantait tes louanges à la Cour et dans les campagnes.

Dans l'ombre tu étais admirablement conciliant, (et) tes qualités profondes répandait au loin leur parfum.

(Bien que) ta maison n'eût que quelques toises et qu'on pût en suivre (facilement) les murs, Le parfum (de tes vertus) suivait la course rapide du vent; et ta gloire montait jusqu'aux nuages.

Cygne gonflant peu à peu tes ailes, dragon s'élevant, phénix s'envelopant;

tu t'élévas dans ton vol jusqu'au sommet de l'empyrée, pour y être reçu comme un hôte par le prince.

Tu sonnas à la porte du palais violet (du prince) et tu trempas ta coiffure dans le vaste flot (qui l'entourea).

Les gens du peuple venaient à toi comme des fils, dans leur attachement, ils se tournaient vers toi.

Ils suivaient partout ta
comme font du chevaux dont les pieds sont liés,—comment aurait-on pu lui échapper ?

Jouissant par hérédité d’une haute situation et de grandes capacités,—il demeura donc dans son propre pays.

Ses décisions et ses actes eurent une exacte perfection—sa sagesse monta jusqu’aux vêtements jaunes.

Il aurait du conserver (une longévité aussi durable que) les montagnes du sud qui ne diminuent ni ne s’effondrent.

Mais, il ne jouit pas de longues années de vie ;—(il mourut) au moment où il commençait (à verser) son dernier panier de terre.

Comment pourrions-nous ne pas nous lamenter—de ce qu’a été anéanti notre (concitoyen) homme droit et excellent.

Bien qu’ayant constamment en lui des qualités saintes, son ombre et sa destinée ne durèrent pas longtemps.

Pour tout être qui n’est pas en métal ou en pierre—c’est une règle constante qu’il y ait l’alternance de l’épanouissement et du dessèchement.

Soit dans le monde souterrain soit dans la voûte azurée—il pourrait donner la main à Yen (Houei) et à Tchang (Kan).

L’homme parfait n’a pas de caractéristiques individuelles ;—il est comme les poissons qui dans le grand fleuve et dans le monture, comment auraient-ils pu te quitter ?

Tu occupas toute une suite de situations, puis, tu residas dans ton propre pays.

Tu voulus la gloire de la contrée, ta conduite t’éleva jusqu’à la (récompense de) l’habit jaune.

Il aurait fallu que tu fusses comme les monts sacrés du sud qui ne s’effritent, ni ne s’effondrent.

Mais tu ne jouis que de peu d’années ; en un cercueil, de bonne heure, on te mena (au tombeau).

Comment ne nous lamen-
tenons-nous pas ! Tu nous comblais de tes bontés !

Tu es retourné à ta sainte forme ; ta vie mortelle n’a pas été longue.

Bien que tu ne fusses ni de métal ni de pierre, ta vie dure toujours.

Dans les enfers et dans les cieux, tu tiens à la main la feuille de Yen (wang).

(Aussi) il arrive que les gens n’ont plus souci de toi, que le pays tout entier t’oublie.
lac n'ont aucun souci les uns des autres.

Mais dans la solennité infinie (du temple funéraire)—respectueux et harmonieux sous les aides distingués.

Parce que constamment, nous fûmes accoutumés (à vivre avec le défunt)—notre émotion et notre affliction sont très vives.

Quand Lin-tsong fut mort—sa belle renommée resta manifeste au loin.

C'est pourquoi, nous avons gravé cet éloge funèbre—pour conserver le (souvenir d'un homme comparable à celui que célèbre l'ode) Kan-t'ang.

Hélas ! que cela est triste.

Erigé en la quatrième année ta-heng (405), le rang de l'année étant yi-sen, dans la première décade du quatrième mois.

Mais comme ta majesté ne cesserez pas, respectueusement nous nous réunissons pour te glorifier tous ensemble.

Perpétuellement, toute notre vie, nous exprimerons ensemble notre douleur.

Comme nos familles n'auront pas de fin, ton noble nom, longtemps resplendra.

Aussi, nous gravons ton oraison funèbre pour que tout le peuple conserve ton doux souvenir.

Hélas ! gémissons !

Erigé dans la quatrième année de Taheng ; l'année étant dans (le signe cyclique) yi-sen, dans la première décade du quatrième mois.

Suivent les signatures précédées des titres de fonctions des treize personnages qui ont signé. M. Chavannes ne les a pas traduites. Nous en donnerons la traduction plus soin.

Le texte chinois du morceau dont il s'agit, se compose comme toutes les inscriptions funéraires de ce genre de deux parties : dans la première, les rédacteurs narrent en prose la vie du défunt, ainsi qu'on l'a vu ; la seconde est l'oraison funèbre en vers, destinée sans doute, à être chantée dans les sacrifices solennels offert à l'âme du mort regretté.

L'oraison funèbre ci-dessus est en vers de huit pieds, avec césure au quatrième, et la rime en ang est la même
pour tous les vers. Cette répétition constante de la même rime facilite considérablement la lecture et soulage la mémoire des récitants.

Nous aurions voulu, pour éviter de donner à ce travail trop de longueur, ne reproduire que les parties du texte dont la traduction par M. Chavannes nous paraissait critiquable, mais notre travail différant pour ainsi dire à toutes les propositions de celui de l'honorable professeur, nous avons été obligé de reprendre le texte tout entier, phrase par phrase et vers par vers.

TITRE DU TOMBEAU

晉故振威將軍建寧太守爨府君之墓

Tombe du préfet des Tsouan, gouverneur de Kienning, général de l'ancien (titre de) Tchennuwei, (sous les) Tsin.

Sous la dynastie des Tsin, les régions frontières étaient régies par des fonctionnaires, qui avaient une double qualité; ils étaient, comme nous le voyons ici, préfets-gouverneurs; en tant que gouverneurs, ils régissaient l'ensemble de la préfecture, leur assistant les secondant, les suppléant ainsi que nous le verrons plus loin; en tant que préfet des barbares, ils s'occupaient spécialement des aborigènes.

Voici ce que dit Ma Touannlinn à ce sujet:—

自魏晉以後刺史多帶將軍開府則州與府名置僚屬。州官理民府官理戎。

Depuis les Wei et les Tsin, les gouverneurs emmenaient beaucoup de généraux en mission, dans les arrondissements et dans les préfectures, ils nommaient des fonctionnaires subordonnés; le fonctionnaire d'arrondissement régissait le peuple, le fonctionnaire de préfecture régissait les Barbares.  

D'autre part, 府君 signifie littéralement Seigneur de la préfecture, 太守 Eminent Contrôleur; ce dernier

文獻通考, K’iuen 62, p. 18 vo.
termé a évolué, il désigne aujourd'hui les préfets ; la règle de position veut qu'on traduise le mot Tsouan au génitif. Ce mot n'est donc pas, comme le croit M. Chavannes, le nom de famille du personnage.

D'après la stèle elle-même, le défunt devait être un jeune lolo de famille noble dont les chinois avaient fait un préfet, ce n'étaient pas, en effet, ses mérites personnels qui avant vingt-trois ans avaient pu lui permettre d'acquérir une telle situation.

A signaler dans la copie de la stèle une légère erreur matérielle : le copiste a écrit 古 au lieu de 故. Ce copiste, vraisemblablement chinois, a dû être guidé par la sonorité seule du mot en transcrivant le texte de la stèle ; au point de vue du sens, l'erreur n'a pas de portée.

**TEXTE DE LA STÈLE**

君諱寳子字寶子。建寳同樂人也。

*Ce seigneur s'appelait de son nom noble Paotze, de son nom personnel Paotze, il était de Tonglo en Kienning.*

君 seigneur a aujourd'hui le sens de monsieur, de gentleman. Nous voyons ici que ce personnage n'avait qu'un seul nom Paotze, ce qui nous prouve qu'il n'était pas chinois d'origine. Traduire le mot 君 par honorable défunt c'est en forcer le sens.

君少禀穎偉之質，長挺高蹈之操。

*(Ce) seigneur, jeune, avait reçu des qualités naturelles éminentes ; adulte, il mania des affaires importantes et délicates.*

挺 signifie : tenir en main fermement, diriger ; le complément de ce verbe est 操, qui signifie au propre : remuer ses membres, s'agiter et au figuré : se donner beaucoup de mal ; en tant que substantif verbal il exprime le concept des agitations, des affaires ; il ne signifie nullement : règle de conduite.

高 haut, important ; 進 petit, caché, délicat.
通感清格發自天然

L'étendue de sa pénétration, la respectabilité de sa pureté-morale, manifestaient de lui-même la céleste essence.

Nous avouons ne pas comprendre en français ce que veut dire l'honorable professeur lorsqu'il traduit il était vaste; qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un homme vaste?

冰潔而靜。道兼行卓。

Probe et parfaitement calme, sa morale ainsi que ses actes étaient sublimes.

Le deuxième caractère est écrit différemment sur la stèle et sur la copie; sur la première, il y a 棨, sur la seconde, 潔; je crois que c'est le copiste qui a raison contre le rédacteur de la stèle; mais n'aurait-on pas du avertir le lecteur qu'il modifiait le texte?

Les deux premiers caractères forment un mot composé qui exprime l'idée de pureté, de probité, il n'y a point là de comparatif.

Le quatrième exprime l'idée de calme, la troisième celle d'excellence par image. C'est évidemment en détourner et forcer le sens que de les rendre avec une netteté semblable à celle de l'orchidée. 道 marque ici la règle de conduite, la loi morale en opposition grammaticale avec les actes 行 soumis à cette loi; c'est pourquoi nous devons considérer 兼 comme une préposition copulative et non pas comme le verbe réunir.

淳粹之德。戎晉歸仁

Par sa vertu sans mélange, Barbares et Chinois revenaient à l'humanité.

歸 retourner à, revenir à; 仁 la vertu d'humanité, une des cinq vertus cardinales qui consiste à traiter autrui comme on voudrait être traité soi-même. Conférez la composition de ce caractère 人 homme; 二 double; ① Tei, l'erreur provient

1 Wiéger, Leçons étymologiques, p. 88, Hokienfou, 1900.
d'une confusion entre le sens propre de caractère et son sens figuré.

Le texte exprime cette idée fort simple, à savoir que les qualités de cet administrateur eurent pour effet de ramener l'harmonie entre les deux éléments de la population.

九阜唱於各鄉.

*Le neuvième ciel était rempli du bruit de son nom.*

Litt. était chanté 唱; ce verbe chinois ne peut pas s'exprimer au passif en français.

M. Chavannes rend cette phrase par la traduction singulière *(La cigogne qui crie dans) le neuvième étang, le célébrait dans son pays natal honoré d'un nom.*

Il y a ici une suite d'erreurs qui se multiplient les unes par les autres et sur lesquelles il faut nous arrêter. 阜 kao signifie: la haute région du ciel où se forme progressivement la lumière,¹ d'où l'idée de hauteur, d'élévation qu'exprime sa phonétique. 九阜 équivalent à 九霄 le neuvième ciel, l'empyrée; et aussi la plus haute région de l'atmosphère.

Mais, comme il n'est nullement question de cigogne, le traducteur la suppose sous entendue; et il cite à l'appui de son interprétation les caractères suivants extraits du Cheuking: 鶴鳴於九阜. La grue crie dans le neuvième ciel; c'est à dire dans l'espace, et, après Couvreur, il la traduit *La cigogne crie dans le neuvième étang (c'est à dire l'étang qui est au centre du marécage).*²

Les deux derniers termes, 名嚮 le bruit du nom = la renommée, sont l'objet d'une note assez longue du traducteur qui y voit l'équivalent de 名鄉 nom et district et qui “donne donc à entendre que le pays natal de Tsouan Pao-tze

avait été (ou tout au moins méritait d’être) honoré d’un nom particulier à cause des vertus de ce personnage”.

Or, il ne nous paraît avoir là rien de si compliqué. 喩 est pris ici pour sa phonétique seule qui s’écrit quelquefois 啳 et comme substitut du caractère 響, qui signifie: ton, écho; ils sont quelquefois équivalents, c’est ce que fait remarquer d’ailleurs Couvreur. Minghiang est donc l’équivalent du mot vulgaire mingcheng, bruit du nom, renommée 名聲.

東帛集於園庭

Les richesses étaient accumulées dans sa demeure.

La transcription porte 東 épines au lieu de 東 comme sur la stèle. Cette erreur n’a pas d’ailleurs empêché M. Chavannes de traduire Les pièces de soie en rouleau selon son usage qui consiste à ne pas tenir compte des métaphores dont une langue orientale comme le Chinois fait un emploi continu.

抽簪俟駕朝野詠歌

Il retirait sa coiffure pour servir ses chefs; la cour et les particuliers chantaient ses louanges.

抽 tirit, retirer est rendu par M. Chavannes, par Alors qu’il n’avait pas encore.

La traduction mot à mot donne: Retirant l’épingle de tête, il attendait le char. L’épingle de tête est vraisemblablement mise ici par métonymie pour coiffure. 俟 attendre a également au figuré le sens de: servir, car celui qui en sert un autre se tient à ses côtés et attend ses ordres. Nous verrons plus loin pourquoi il faut traduire: kia par ses chefs.

野 en opposition avec 朝 signifie également: particulier comme opposé à officiel. C’est dans ce sens que l’a rendu M. Sainson, dans sa traduction du titre du 南詔野史 que M. Chavannes cite pourtant plusieurs fois dans son travail.

1 Journal asiatique, précité, p. 18. 2 Dict., p. 120.
州主簿，治中。別駕

Il fut chef du bureau des Archives de la préfecture, chef du personnel, assistant de préfet.

主簿 est un titre applicable à des fonctionnaires différents en dignité mais qui ont des fonctions analogues soit à la cour, soit dans les préfectures ou dans les sous préfectures. Au surplus, voici ce que dit Ma Touannlinn à ce sujet.

主簿一人，錄門下衆事省署文書。漢制也
歷代至隋皆有

Le Tchoupou enregistrait toutes les affaires du tribunal, il rédigéait les minutes des documents officiels ; son statut datait des Han ; il y en eût dans les générations postérieures, jusque sous les Souei.

治中從事史一人。居治中事。主衆曹文書

Le Tcheutchong s’occupe des affaires administratives ; il régit en chef les brevets de tous les fonctionnaires.

Ma Touannlinn ajoute que cette fonction date également de la dynastie des Han.

別駕從事史一人。從刺史行部。別乘乘傳車。故謂之駕

L’agent suivant les affaires (en qualité de) Piekia, suivait le préfet quand il parcourait sa circonscription administrative ; il montait dans un autre char, pour s’en retourner, c’est pourquoi on l’appelait Piekia (autre char).1

県秀寸，本郡太守。

Promu Sieoutsai, il fut gouverneur de cette propre préfecture.

Le titre de sieoutsai (talent exquis), qui se donne aujourd’hui aux bacheliers, existait donc en ce temps là.

1 Wenn hiern tongkao, liv. lxii, p. 19 v°.
Pacifiquement, il gouverna le peuple, et toutes choses furent en ordre.

Le premier caractère exprime l'idée de douceur habile, de paix, le second signifie: manier, gouverner d'une main souple comme en caressant; quant à la deuxième phrase traduite tous les êtres furent à leur place naturelle, l'erreur porte sur le mot ‘objet’, qui signifie aussi: être animé, mais cela en d'autres cas; littéralement: toutes choses obtinrent d'être en place. D'ailleurs, est-ce qu'un magistrat a le pouvoir de dominer la nature?

En son vingtième printemps et automne, une maladie à la chambre fit mourir le magistrat.

M. Chavannes traduit Lui fit perdre ses fonctions.

害, qui représente graphiquement un chien poussant des hurlements, signifie: funérailles mort, ici faire mourir.

Comment se peut-il que le sens même du contexte n'ait pas empêché l'honorable professeur de commettre cette erreur?

Nul qui ne gémit sa douleur; tous multiplièrent leurs inclinations de corps.

C'est surtout la deuxième proposition qui est fautive. Chaque homme centuple sa personne n'a guère de sens. M. Chavannes, pour expliquer cette singulière traduction, cite Molière dans La princesse d'Elvire. Notre grand comique n'a évidemment rien à voir ici.

La langue chinoise a un caractère infinitif, on doit donc traduire au pluriel 人; on le doit d'autant plus que ce mot est antithétique du singulier de la proposition précédente. 百 cent est mis pour beaucoup, et pour multiplier, c'est une hyperbole, figure très usitée en chinois, et classique, en ce qui concerne ce caractère.
il symbolise graphiquement le corps humain courbé comme un arc, et signifie, dès lors : incliné prosterné.

Notre émotion ayant été complètement manifestée, nous nous sommes unis pour graver l'oraison funèbre.

Le 3ᵉ et le 4ᵉ caractère constituent un verbe complexe modificateur : 中, symbolisant l'acte qui atteint son but comme la flèche, la cible, c'est pourquoi nous traduisons ayant été complètement manifestée.

(pour) bien exalter de notre chef la fin, pour que sa perpétuelle gloire ne soit pas interrompue.

chef est le qualificatif que l'on donne encore aujourd'hui aux préfets.

C'est la gloire du personnage que les rédacteurs de la stèle veulent conserver et proclamer et non pas seulement sa fin. M. Chavannes ne s'est pas aperçu qu'il leur fait dire quelque chose de bien bizarre, à savoir qu'ils veulent mettre éternellement en lumière la perte des fonctions du défunt, sans que jamais elle soit retranchée de la mémoire des hommes.

Les termes sont ainsi.

Eminence qui a rendu l'esprit, immensité d'où descend la lumière.

Dans le chinois littéraire, comme dans toutes les langues orientales, la métaphore est très usitée. Nous sommes ici en présence d'une de ces figures de rhétorique, épithètes placées devant le sujet par emphase ; l'immensité dont il est ici question, de même que l'Eminence, sont le défunt lui-même dont une âme est dans le ciel ou l'espace éthéré, tandis que l'autre est dans la terre, c'est pour cela
qu'il peut descendre de la première des rayons éclairant les hommes, les descendants et les amis vivants du défunt. M. Chavannes a confondu le sens propre avec le sens métaphorique, et c'est là ce qui lui a fait dire que la vaste étendue de la mer fait descendre son éclat ; probablement, croit-il, dans les profondeurs océaniques.¹

穆穆君侯震鸞鸑。

Ô majestueux, majestueux, seigneur marquis, ton éclatante renommée sonne comme les pierres musicales.

La traduction que nous donnons des deux derniers termes force le sens, car ils constituent une onomatopée intraduisible.

穆, que sa répétition nous fait mettre au vocatif, est une expression rituelle qui s'applique à l'âme des défunts dans les temples ancêtraux, les tablettes se divisant en: 穆, les majestueux, et en: 照, les glorieux.

弱冠稱仁,詠歌朝鄉

Enfant, adulte, on louait ta bonté, on chantait tes louanges à la cour et dans les campagnes.

Le premier caractère: faible exprime, métaphoriquement, l'idée d'enfant; de même que le second: la coiffure virile, caractérise l'adulte.

在陰嘉和,處淵流芳

Dans l'ombre, tu étais tout à fait conciliant, la profondeur de tes qualités répandait (au loin) son parfum.

A cause des mots 在陰 dans l'ombre, dans la retraite, M. Chavannes voit là, la réminiscence d'une phrase du Y-King: "La grue criant dans la solitude tandis que ses petits lui répondent." Il n'y a visiblement ici aucune réminiscence de cette sorte.

¹ M. Chavannes ajoute en note, p. 19: "Ce début ampoulé donne à entendre que l'apparition dans le monde d'un homme tel que Ts'ouan Puotze ne put se produire que grâce à des influences divines émanées de la montagne et de la mer."
lieu, qualités. Ce sens de qualité est celui de la conversation courante actuelle: 好, 不好處, de bonnes, de mauvaises qualités, se dit tous les jours.

Le texte dit clairement que les qualités du personnage étaient profondes comme un abîme et qu'il en coulait 流 du parfum.

宮宇幾 刀。循 得 其牆

*Ta maison n'avait que quelques toises; on pouvait (facilement) suivre ses murs.¹*

Les rédacteurs expriment l'idée très simple, suite des précédentes, à savoir que le défunt, modeste, n'habitait qu'une petite demeure; artifice littéraire usité en toutes les poésies pour faire ressortir les mérites du personnage célébré.

M. Chavannes nous dit qu’"il y a certainement ici une allusion à un passage du Louen yu ",² or, ce passage parle de toute autre chose et ne s'applique pas au sujet, il a trait à la hauteur des murs extérieurs qui empêchent de voir l'intérieur des édifices.

Il y a ici à signaler une différence entre la stèle et la copie; la stèle porte 幾 quelques, quelque peu; et la copie 數 plusieurs, nombreux.

Il n'est pas possible de traduire: *il en trouva le mur qu'il longea*, sans violer les lois grammaticales, car 得 est le potentiel du verbe 循 suivre.

馨隨風烈。耀與雲揚

*La parfum (de tes vertus) suivait la course rapide du vent, (et) ta gloire montait jusqu'aux nuages (avec les nuages s'élevait).*

烈 éclatement rapide, d'où, rapidité. A noter qu'on ne peut dire, en français, qu'une odeur est impétueuse.

¹ 刀 est ici mis pour 仮 mesure de huit pieds. ² p. 20, n. 3.
UNE INSCRIPTION DU YUNNAN

鴻漸羽儀。龍騰鳳翔
Cygne, peu à peu, avec ses plumes, prenant une apparence cérémonielle; dragon s'élevant, phénix s'envolant.

Nous remontrons encore ici un vers du même genre que la premier de cette oraison funèbre, une série d'épitètes métaphoriques placé devant le sujet qui ici est sous-entendu : tu.

播翻凌霄將賓手王

*Tu t'envolas vers l'empyrée pour être reçu par le prince.*

Ici, M. Chavannes a, comme dans presque toutes les parties de sa traduction, confondu le sens propre avec le sens métaphorique ; c'est ainsi qu'il rend cela par: *Déployant son essor jusqu'au delà des vapeurs aériennes.*

鳴鸞紫閣澗緞澆浒

*Tu sonnas à la porte du palais violet, et tu trempas les houppettes dans le vaste flot.*

Les auteurs veulent dire, en ce langage imagé, que le personnage se présenta au palais du souverain, et qu'il se prosternna devant le fossé qui l'entoure et le défend, aujourd'hui à Pékin, la résidence impériale s'appelle la "ville violette".

Dans une première note, M. Chavannes explique ainsi sa traduction : "Le sens est donc que, lorsque le défunt fut arrivé à la situation élevée que caractérisent les sonnettes fixées aux mors des chevaux et la porte violette du palais, il resta cependant intégre !"

Dans une deuxième note, comportant une citation tirée de Mengtzeu, IV, a. 8, et qui ne se rapporte pas au sujet, M. Chavannes ajoute—"Ici, la chanson de l'enfant me paraît être rappelée pour donner à entendre que le défunt savait rester pur et intégre. Comme on le voit, l'auteur de l'inscription prend de grandes libertés avec les allusions
littéraires et il détourne souvent les citations qu'il fait du sens qu'elles avaient dans l'original."

Nous voyons ici l'honorable professeur imputer aux Chinois, tout en les morigéant de leur ignorance, les erreurs qu'il commet lui-même. Malheureusement, ce procédé lui est habituel.

应民子來締維同嚮

Les gens du peuple filialement venaient (à toi); dans leur attachement, ensemble ils se tournaient (vers toi).

Les cinquième et sixième caractères de ce vers signifient: attachés, au propre et au figuré. C'est ce que M. Chavannes rend par: Comme s'ils eussent en des entraves, comme s'ils eussent eu un licou; deux propositions entières pour un seul mot:

周違締馬烏能敷放

A la ronde, ils suivaient ton cheval entravé, comment auraient-ils pu te quitter!

Cette expression cheval entravé désigne, par extension de sens, les chevaux que l'on dresse à marcher l'amble afin qu'ils soient plus doux d'allure pour le cavalier. De là l'expression 絊馬索 courroie attachant les pieds d'un cheval que l'on dresse à l'amble.\(^1\)

位才之締遂居本邦

Tu occupas une succession de postes, puis tu résidas dans ton propre pays.

Litt. Tu siégeas une succession de talents, expression métaphorique que M. Chavannes rend par: Jouir par hérédité d'une haute situation et de grandes capacités.

志鄞方黒道隆黃裳

Tu voulus la gloire de la contrée de Ye, ta conduite t'éleva jusqu'à l'habit jaune.

Le deuxième caractère sert à désigner une ville antique du Honan, dont il ne peut-être question ici, peut-être faut

\(^1\) Debesse, *Petit dict. ch. fr.*, p. 275, Shanghai, 1901.
il prendre ce mot pour sa phonétique seulement, et dans ce cas on devrait traduire de ta contrée particulière, ce qui serait bien en harmonie avec le vers précédent.

Quant à l'habit jaune, ne serait-ce pas quelque chose d'analogue à la distinction accordée aujourd'hui pour les services signalés?

當保南岳, 不窺不崩

Il aurait fallu que tu fusses comme les monts sacrés du sud qui sont protégés; ils ne se ruinent, ni ne s'effondrent.

享年不永— 匯始倡

Tu ne jouis que de peu d'années, en un coffre, au commencement, on te mena.

M. Chavannes a traduit la deuxième partie de ce vers: Il mourut au moment où il commençait à verser son dernier panier de terre.

Comme il n'y a manifestement rien dans le texte qui puisse justifier cette traduction singulière, l'honorable professeur s'efforce d'expliquer son interprétation par une référence—La métaphore du dernier panier de terre qui manque au monticule est tirée du chapitre Lu ngao du Chou-king.1

En fait, il n'y a ni métaphore, ni panier, ni allusion au Chou-king; il n'y a qu'une confusion du traducteur entre le caractère 匯 coffre, cercueil, et 箐 panier et une méconnaissance complète du sens des mots de ce vers, compliquée d'une violation des règles de la syntaxe.

如何不弔濁我貞貞

Comment ne nous lamarions-nous pas! Tu nous pénétrait de tes bontés.

M. Chavannes traduit la dernière partie de ce vers: de ce qu'a été anéanti notre concitoyen, homme bon et excellent.

濁 signifie: imbiber, pénétrer comme l'eau fécondante.

1 p. 21.
Le traducteur a dû confondre ce caractère avec 殲, qui signifie: anéantir; mais ce terme eut-il été employé, qu'il ne faudrait pas encore traduire comme l'a fait M. Chavannes, car il n'est nullement question de concitoyen.

回抱聖姿影命不長

Tu es retourné à ta sainte apparence, ta visible vie ne fut pas longue.

回 signifie incontestablement: retourner, revenir; le deuxième caractère: 抱 fou nous paraît pris, comme il arrive souvent, pour sa valeur phonétique, seulement, et conséquemment, pour 復 fou, qui signifie également retourner, formant ainsi un verbe composé. Le caractère 抱, signifiant idéographiquement: baguette de tambour, n'a pas d'emploi ici. Ce sont ces deux caractères que M. Chavannes a rendu—nous ne savons pourquoi—par: Bien qu'ayant constamment en lui, rien dans le texte n'ayant aucun rapport avec cette signification.

姿 désigne le maintien, l'apparence extérieure, la forme d'une personne.

Le sens est évidemment que le défunt est retourné, revenu, à sa forme spirituelle invisible, sous laquelle on lui offrira les sacrifices. Cela résulte également de la deuxième partie du vers.

影 ombre, reflet, visible comme l'ombre d'un corps qui n'est rien par elle-même. Litt. Ta vie d'ombre, qui exprime, et la fragilité de l'existence, et le caractère fugitif de la vie humaine, laquelle est bien plutôt une apparence qu'une réalité.

自非金石榮枯有常

Bien que tu ne sois ni métal ni pierre, ta vie possède la durée.

榮枯 expression composée qui, selon le procédé mental chinois, exprime, par le rapprochement des deux contraires, l'idée abstraite; le premier caractère exprime l'épanouissement, la poussée de la vie; le second, son déclin, sa mort,
les deux s'appliquent, au sens propre, à la végétation, et c'est pour cela que M. Chavannes a traduit l'épanouissement et le dessèchement; la réunion des deux éléments opposés exprime l'idée de la vie.

(Dans) les mystérieux enfers, sous la voûte azurée, tu tiens à la main la feuille de Yen.

On pourrait à la rigueur admettre l'interprétation de l'avant-dernier caractère que donne M. Chavannes; il y voit le disciple de Confucius 颜 回, mais l'interprétation du dernier caractère me paraît bien hasardée.

顏 yen me paraît être mis pour 閻 王 yen wang, le Pluton chinois devant lequel comparaissent les morts avec, à la main, la feuille où sont insérés leurs péchés; ces permutations de signes idéographiques sous la même phonétique sont fréquentes.

至人無想江湖相忘。

Il arrive que les gens sont sans penser (à toi); le pays entier oublié (toi).

La traduction de l'honorable professeur mérite ici d'être examinée avec attention parce qu'elle nous permet de comprendre les procédés qui le font aboutir à des interprétations si singulières. C'est bien au moins l'épithète de singulière que mérite la traduction de ces huit caractères qui résulte à leur faire dire L'homme parfait n'a pas de caractéristiques individuelles, il est comme les poissons qui dans le grand fleuve et dans le lac n'ont aucun souci les uns des autres!

至 arriver à, arriver que, quant à, a aussi, en certains cas et devant un adjectif, le sens superlatif, et c'est là ce qui a induit le traducteur en erreur.

A homme est ici au pluriel, en raison même du contexte et de la nature infinitive de la langue qui veut que toutes les fois que le singulier n'est pas expressément exprimé on
en infère le pluriel. L'honorable professeur ne se préoccupe jamais de cette règle, pourtant essentielle ; ainsi qu'on le voit dans toutes ses traductions.

Quant à 無想 par lequel les bouddhistes peuvent exprimer l'absence de caractérisques individuelles, ils signifient ici littéralement : n'avoir pas de pensée pour quelqu'un, et il n'est pas besoin d'aller chercher un autre sens.

Quant à l'erreur sur la seconde partie du vers, elle provient principalement de la confusion entre le sens métaphorique et le sens propre des deux caractères江湖, confusion ordinaire à M. Chavannes.

江湖 fleuve, 湖 lac est, en effet, une métaphore courante qui exprime l'idée de pays ; dans tous les styles et jusque dans le parler vulgaire. Ainsi on dit江湖客 ou 老江湖 pour désigner quelqu'un qui a vu beaucoup de pays.1

En langue parlée, une façon de désigner un vagabond, est même de dire 關江湖的 Tch'ouangkianghouti. Celui qui décomposerait ce mot en celui qui se précipite dans le fleuve et le lac, ferait une traduction comme celle que nous critiquons, mais il serait excusable.

Quel a été le procédé par lequel M. Chavannes a fait intervenir ici les poissons insoucieux dont il nous parle et auxquels les rédacteurs de cette stèle n'avaient guère pensé ?

C'est au moyen de la citation d'un texte, lui-même incorrectement traduit, citation inspirée sans doute par l'idée de ce lac et de ce fleuve qui doivent contenir, comme il est naturel, des poissons.

Ce texte est le suivant :

泉涸魚相與處於陸, 相向以濕. 相濡以沫, 不如相忘於江湖.

Voici la traduction qui en est donnée : "Quand les sources se dessèchent les poissons restent ensemble sur la terre ferme ; plutôt que de se cracher de l'humidité l'un sur l'autre et plutôt que de se mouiller l'un l'autre

1 Cf. le Dict. de Couvreur, p. 347.
de leur vase, ne serait-il pas préférable qu’ils n’eussent aucun souci les uns les autres dans le grand fleuve ou le lac ?”

Or, voici ce que je lis : “Les sources étant desséchées les poissons ont été ensemble placés sur la terre ferme, ils se crachent mutuellement de l’humidité, ils s’humectent de leur salive 沫, ne vaudrait-il pas mieux qu’ils eussent été oubliés ensemble dans les fleuves et les lacs ?” Le texte chinois exprime très bien le respect de la vie sous toutes les formes qui animait Tchouangtzeu, l’auteur. L’erreur provient ici de ce que le traducteur n’a pas distingué les deux usages du caractère 相 employé quatre fois, deux fois dans chaque sens.

C’est ainsi sur une citation mal traduite que la traduction est basée, et nous voyons que, comme presque toujours, cette citation n’a aucun autre rapport avec le texte, que quelques mots semblables qui s’y trouvent, sont employés dans un autre sens. Ce sont justement ces références continuelles qui donnent aux œuvres de M. Chavannes une apparence de si grande érudition, elles sont pour lui une occasion d’erreur de plus.

於穆不己肅雍顯相

Quant à ta majesté, elle ne cesse pas ; avec vénération nous réunissons pour en te glorifiant être ensemble.

On peut également traduire avec diligence nous nous unissons pour faire apparaître ton image ; cette phrase est amphibologique. 穆 désigne les tablettes des défunts qui sont au côté gauche de la tablette centrale de l’ancêtre fondateur de la famille, dans son temple.

M. Chavannes a rendu ce vers par Mais dans la solennité infinie du temple funéraire respectueux et harmonieux sont les aides distingués ! Et ceci est accompagné d’une citation faite et traduite, comme la précédente déjà critiquée.
永惟平素感懽懷

Perpétuellement, uniquement, toute notre vie, nous serons émus, nous gémirons.

Dans ce vers le copiste qui a fait la transcription s’est trompé deux fois matériellement. Le deuxième caractère est écrit sur l’estampage 惟: uniquement, seulement, et sur la copie 維 lien, attaché.

Le cinquième caractère est écrit 感 émouvoir sur l’estampage et 同 ensemble sur la copie.

Le sixième caractère de l’estampage 慎 émouvoir, exciter qui se construit avec le précédent 感, a été oublié.

Comme les phonétiques des caractères substitués, sauf un, sont les mêmes que celles des caractères réels, cela semble dénoter que cette copie a été faite par quelqu’indigène négligent que M. Chavannes a eu le tort de ne pas bien contrôler.

林宗设矣, 今各迥彰

Nos familles n’auront pas de fin, ton noble nom longtemps resplendira.

Le copiste s’est encore trompé ici; au caractère 彰 tchang, resplendir, manifester, il a substitué le caractère 張 tchang, ouvrir, s’étendre. Cela n’a d’ailleurs pas empêché M. Chavannes de traduire comme s’il n’y avait pas eu cette substitution; il a traduit: manifester.

Sa traduction est d’ailleurs curieuse: Quand Lin-tsong fut mort, sa belle renommée resta manifeste au loin; le tout accompagné de l’inévitable référence.

Le traducteur a fait intervenir ici ce personnage qui apparaît soudain dans le texte sans aucune raison parce qu’il s’est trouvé en présence de l’expression littéraire 林, qui est à l’occasion un signe élégant du pluriel; il signifie, en effet, bosquet, grand nombre, collection. 宗 désigne, au propre, les ancêtres et, au figuré, les familles. Cela se trouve dans tous les dictionnaires. 没 non avoir est ici la négation de 矣, qui lui est verbe et signifie: finir. Ce dernier
caractère s'emploie ordinairement comme signe de ponctuation marquant la fin d'un jugement ; mais, dans un genre de poésie comme celui de cette oraison funèbre, on ne fait guère usage de 虚字 ou mots vides.

爱名斯誄庶存甘棠

Aussi, nous gravons cette oraison funèbre, pour que tout le peuple conserve ton doux souvenir.

Litt. La douce saveur de sorbier, le fruit de celui-ci conservant la saveur persistante de la prune, sert ainsi d'image.

鳴呼哀哉

Hélas ! gémissons !

大享四年歳乙已四月上旬立

Érigé en la première décade du quatrième mois de l'année yi-seu, la quatrième (du règne) Taeheng.

Viennent ensuite les signatures des fonctionnaires qui ont érigé cette stèle, précédées de leurs qualités respectives. M. Chavannes ne les a pas traduites. Les voici dans leur ordre.

主簿湯磐

Le chef des bureaux Tangpan.

Le copiste a écrit le dernier caractère : 暑. Nous lisons autrement ; la partie inférieure ainsi que celles de droite sont bien certainement celle que nous indiquons ; il peut y avoir doute pour 舟. Comme il s'agit d'un nom propre ceci est de peu d'importance.

録事孟懐

Le greffier : Mongtchenn.

C'est la traduction littérale, mais je n'ai pas pu identifier sa fonction sous les Tsin en cherchant dans Ma Touannlinn.
Le chef adjoint du personnel, Tchennpouo.

Ce fonctionnaire porta diverses qualifications; après les Tsin, son titre fut changé.¹

Wennli et Tongtchee, chefs des forces militaires.²

省事陳奴
省事揚賢

Tchennou et Yanghien, économomes, trésoriers.³

書佐李仿
書佐劉見

Lifang et Lieoukiem, adjoints.⁴

幹吏任升
幹吏毛禮

Jenncheng et Maoli, agents.

Yangli, agent inférieur.

Wang, maître de cérémonies.

¹ Ma Touannlinn, liv. lxii, p. 12 rº.
² Id., liv. lxi, p. 6 rº.
³ N'ayant pas pu les identifier je traduis littéralement.
⁴ Cette qualité d'adjoints est afférente à divers grades ou fonctions. Cf. Ma Touannlinn, liv. lxii, p. 20 rº.
THE ASTADASA-BHEDAS, OR THE EIGHTEEN POINTS OF DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TENGALAI (SOUTHERNERS) AND THE VADAGALAI (NORTHERNERS) OF THE VISISTADVAITA VAISNAV SCHOOL, SOUTH INDIA

By A. GOVINDA CARYA, M.R.A.S.

[On p. 566 ante reference was made to the two kalās or schools of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vaiśnava—the Tengalai and the Vadagalai. The points of difference in their doctrines are of considerable importance for the study of religion in India, and I have much pleasure in forwarding to the Royal Asiatic Society the enclosed communication from Swāmī Gōvindaśārya, himself a follower of the Tengali belief. It may be noted that while each school has numerous adherents in Southern India, the great majority of Vaiśnavas of Northern India trace their spiritual descent from Rāmānanda, and profess doctrines akin to those of the Vadagalai.—G. A. G.]

S. = South School.
N. = North School.

1. Grace of God (Prasāda).
N. Say that Grace is to be earned or bought; i.e. "cooperative".
S. Say that Grace comes freely. God’s grace is sovereignly free and, therefore, has no price; i.e. "irresistible".

2. Grades of Bliss in Mokṣa.
N. Say that there are no grades.
S. Say that some variation exists, but it is neither quantitative nor qualitative. The variation or difference arises in virtue of different duties assigned to different Muktas (i.e. freed, liberated, or salvated souls).

3. Works (Karma) and Gnosis (Jñāna).
N. Say that these do not constitute direct means to attain God; but are ancillary to Bhakti. Bhakti,
therefore, constitutes the direct means to Mōkṣa (=God-attainment).

S. Say that any of these so-called distinct means may lead to Mōkṣa; for in each case the mental attitude of the person is the chief determinant. It is the conversion of the heart that is chiefly aimed at.

4. Nature of Śrī (or Lakṣmī).

N. Say that Śrī has essential pervasion (Svarūpa-Vyāpti) also, as Nārāyaṇa; i.e. pervasion by essence.

S. Say that Śrī has attributive pervasion (Gunā-Vyāpti) and corporeal pervasion (Vigraha-Vyāpti), but not the essential pervasion (Svarūpa-Vyāpti). The Motherhood differs from Fatherhood and differs again from Sonhood. Son is the Soul, who has attributive pervasion only. Mother is Śrī (or the passive female principle of the kosmos), who has attributive plus corporeal pervasions. Father is Nārāyaṇa (or the active male principle of the kosmos), who has essential plus attributive plus corporeal pervasions. This pervasive character is what differentiates the three Principles from each other, viz. Soul, Śrī, and Nārāyaṇa.

5. Śrī's Powers.

N. Say that Śrī has the power to grant Mōkṣa—a power which she shares equally with Nārāyaṇa.

S. Say that Nārāyaṇa alone possesses this power; and that Śrī performs the function of the Paraclete, i.e. Mediatrix in this magnum opus.

6. Definition of Vātsalya or God's Love (or parental affection) to His creatures.

N. Say that by the expression "God's love for soul" it is meant that the love is blind to its (soul's) taints or faults.¹

¹ i.e. Dōṣā-dārsitvam.
S. Say that by it is meant that the love is not merely blind, but is so overpowering as to evince a relish for the so-called taint.¹

7. Definition of Dayā or Compassion.

N. Say that compassion is that feeling (or emotion) in the heart which begets the wish to relieve the pain of the pained.²

S. Say that it is that feeling in the heart which, on seeing pain, is itself as painful as the pain of the pained. It is the feeling which cannot simply bear to see the pain of others, but is itself painful or pain-feeling.³

8. Prapatti, or Resignation to God.

N. Say that Prapatti or Resignation is also a soul-initiated act, like Love to God (Bhakti), leading to Mōkṣa. Resignation thus is one among the several ways leading to God.

S. Say that Resignation is not one among the ways, but the Way or the Means, the adoption of which specifically characterizes those high souls who have sought that way, to the exclusion of others. This attitude of entire capitulation or surrender to God differentiates such souls from others, so that they are not to be classed with others, i.e. others whose hearts are still attached to the other ways, and have, therefore, not arrived at the ripe condition of implicit attachment to the way of Resignation. This Way is God Himself, whereas the other Ways are Ways of God. Prapatti is called a “Way” for convenience (upacārataḥ).

¹ i.e. Dōsa-bhōgyatvam.
² i.e. Para-duḥkha-nirācikīrṣā.
³ i.e. Para-duḥkha-duḥkhitva. [Cl. Parsifal, “durch Mitleid wissend.”
—G. A. G.]
9. **Who should resort to Prapatti?**

N. Say that only those who are incapable of walking in the other paths resort to this path of Prapatti or Resignation. It is sheer helplessness that drives the soul to seek shelter in Resignation.

S. Say that the way of Resignation is for all, be they capable or incapable. Resignation is the *sine quæ non* of every penitent soul. Without this chief feature other qualifications are futile. With it other qualifications, because they qualify, derogate from the greatness of Resignation. Resignation *per se* is all-powerful. Qualifying it is to weaken it and detract from its dignity.

10. **Conditions of this Resignation.** *(Vide Bhagavad-Gîtā, xviii, 66.)*

N. Say that the conditions may be stated thus: "If you, souls, are *incapable* of following the other ways ordained in the Śāstras, give them up and come to Me."

S. Say otherwise—"If you, souls, are capable of walking in the other ways, then try your might. If your capability alone will elevate you to Me, well, try; but if you are at once keenly alive to your weakness, i.e. imbecility and ignorance to compass that end by your own strength, then why not lean at once on what is Strong and Wise, i.e. God, Myself?"

The former attitude is that of *self-assertiveness*; the latter, *self-abandonment*. The former attitude is measuring *one's own* strength; the latter, giving it up for *God's* strength. The former attitude is one of *self-emphasis*; the latter, *self-renunciation*. The former attitude is *self-gloryification* or *self-aggrandisement*; the latter, *self-abasement* or *self-abnegation*. The former attitude is one of *self-perpetuation*; the latter, *self-effacement*. The former
attitude is one of self-condensing; the latter, self-rarefying. Self-indulgence the one, self-sacrifice the other. In fine, self-projection by self-will is the one, whereas self-rejection for God's Wisdom (omniscience) is the other; self-strength in the one case, God's omnipotence in the other.\footnote{The object of this constant effort to negate oneself is to break the shell of the soul's hardened material past, and destroy the consequent mainspring of egoism (ahasmākāra).}

11. Do qualifications of the other ways qualify Prapatti?

N. Say, Yes.
S. Say, No; on the other hand, they disqualify. For the only qualification that is required is for the soul to absolutely cognize its intimate relationship with God.\footnote{"Īśe-śītavya-sambandhāt an-idam-prathamād api | Rakṣisyaty anukūlān na(h) iti yā sudṛśihā matih ||"\textit{(Lakṣmi-tantra, xvii, 70.)}} That relationship is the one which comes of Serviency (śīvatva) on the part of the soul, and Sovereignty or Paramouncy (śīvitva) on the part of God. "I am Thine, not Mine" is the cry of the Prapanna. The distinct vision by the soul of its own helplessness, in its relation to the only helpfulness of God, is the only help; the only passport to success; the only way leading to the open portals of Heaven; and, therefore, liable to be vilified by other qualifications which the soul may put forward as its own self-earned quantum or modicum for salvation.

12. Meaning of Works to the Resigned (Prapanna).

N. Say that the acts done by the Resigned soul conduce to evoke God's pleasure; and should, therefore, be performed to seek that end.
S. Say it is presumptuous to think that the souls' acts ought necessarily to please God. They may or may not. It is not for the soul to judge or predetermine
the effects from causes set afoot by itself. Performance of Works by the Resigned has not this sense, but the sense that by their means an example may be set to those whose way to salvation is yet begun—steep and uphill—that they may so be led up. Philanthropy is the motive of Works, not currying the favour of the Godhead. To imagine thus a purchase or barter with God savours of audacity indeed in the Soul.

13. What are the limbs (āṅga) of Prapatti (i.e. necessary preliminaries to it)?

N. Say that the sixfold preparations necessarily precede Prapatti, viz. those mentioned in the verse—
(1) "Ānukūlyasya saṁkalpaḥ, (2) prātikūlyasya varjanam |
(3) Raksisyati 'ti viśvāsō, (4) gōprtvā-varanam tathā |
(5) Ātma-niksēpa, (6) -kārpanye, sadvidhā śarānā- 'gatiḥ ||" 1

S. Say that solid, steadfast, stable Prapatti stands in no need of any prelude. It is per se the main act which spontaneously engenders, on the other hand, the so-called preliminary signs. E.g. the pounding of paddy is the act; perspiration and other signs follow it as a matter of course. Ānukūlya, etc., are thus not postulates but corollaries. The offspring is mistaken for the parent. It is a posterior effect, not an anterior cause.


N. Say that if a Prapanna, subsequent to the act of Prapatti, stumbles, or slips into error, or relapses into his old ways, the atonement consists in

1 Lakṣmi-tantra, xvii, 56, 57, et seq.
(1) Harmony with God and all His creation.
(2) Riddance of the reverse of (1).
(3) Implicit faith in God's providence.
(4) Supplicative temper.
(5) Self not for self, but oblated to God.
(6) Humility (or destitution of means).
repeating that act again, and as often again as one may so slip.

S. Say, Not so. Prapatti is the act once for all of freely surrendering oneself into God’s hands. When that act is done, it is done once for all. This first act contains all the potentiality for salvation; and therefore can never be cancelled by a moral fall again or subsequent act of folly. If it be said that there is and must be a reparation for every defilement, we say that that reparation or atonement consists in bringing vividly to one’s mind the saving virtue of his first efficacious act of surrender, Prapatti. This vivid recollection contrite is repentance enough, and thus the first act of Prapatti remains intact and unabrogated, the mental remorseful recollection adequately satisfying all expiatory demand. The first stout act of surrender remains pure and unrepealed, and never on any account rendered nugatory by any subsequent peccancy. The defiled soul is cleansed by a pathetic appeal to its former pledge of faith and trust in God, i.e. Prapatti. “Atone for faults, then go to God,” N. say. “Go to God and faults get atoned,” S. say.1

15. Does Prapatti win or buy grace?

N. Say, Yes. As in the Path of Works (read Karma-Mimāṁsā) works leave insensible residua, technically called Apūrva, so in the path of knowledge (read Brahma-Mimāṁsā) Prapatti answers to Apūrva; and as Apūrva produces material fruit, Prapatti produces Mokṣa fruit or spiritual fruit.2

S. Say that to interpret Prapatti as a means or effort

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1 Says Vedaántacārya himself, who is identified with the North School—

"Ajñaṁād athavā jñaṁād aparādhēṣu satṣv api |
Prāyaścíttaṁ kṣamasvē 'tī prārthanāṁ 'kāi 'va kēvalam ī" |
(Paśca-rātra-Rākṣa.)

2 This is humorously called markaṭa-kśśra-nyāya.
put forth by the soul to compel God’s grace is tantamount to not knowing the very nature of Prapatti. Prapatti as understood by you, viz. as compelling grace, is not Prapatti at all; for, so interpreted, it is not explained as unconditional surrender or as undoubting resignation. Nay, it thus constitutes a barter, or a huckstering with God. Prapatti is that which completely resigns, and leaves Him the Master of the situation. Prapatti as understood by you may be called Svagata-Svikāra, or acceptance by God initiated by your asking; as understood by us, it is Paragata-Svikāra, or acceptance by God of His own free will and choice, unmasked, uncompelled.\(^1\) Apūrva is no other to us than this Grace.\(^2\)

16. Caste and Prapanna, how related?

N. Say that a Prapanna, but who is of an inferior caste, is deserving of only so much respect as may be displayed by the tongue.

S. Say that no such limitations can be tolerated. A Prapanna must be regarded completely as a Prapanna, irrespective of caste, creed, or colour. No inequality begat by caste or other such formalities and conventions ought to separate the godly from the godly.

17. The Nature of God’s Pervasion.

N. Say that inasmuch as the soul is subtile \((\text{अनु})\), it cannot be permeated by God, as then (i.e. when it is permeable) it can no more be subtile \((\text{अनु})\), but pertains to the category of the “gross” (i.e. pervaded, \(\text{व्याप्या}\)). So God’s permeating power is limited by the subtile soul.

\(^1\) This is humorously called \(\text{मार्जाले-किसोरा-न्याया}\).

\(^2\) “‘Tena’-पुर्वा हि भवति सः एवा परमेश्वराः” (\(\text{भौद-ब्रह्मा-सौन्हिता}, 1, 7, 16\)).
S. Say, Not so. God's permeating power passes our power of conception. He is most subtle, aye, more subtle than the most subtle. So He can interpenetrate even the soul. His power of pervasion, pari-samāpya-vṛtti as it is designated, is like that of genera and species co-inhering in every group and individual constituting such genera and species; like that of class pervading every integer of that class; like number permeating the figures 1, 2, 3, and alphabet pervading A, B, C, and so forth.

18. Kaivalya(Isolation)-Mākṣa (or Soul-sight or Soul-actualization; or the State of Atomic-aloofness).

N. Say that this state is temporary.
S. Say it is perennial. The soul wished for it, strove for it, and got it. What it got is eternal, by its own making. Where, then, is extrication from this state? Being a spiritual state, return to material planes is cut off. Being a soul-state, rising to Divine-planes or God-state is shut off.

ADDITIONAL POINTS

1. Gain, Soul or God?

N. Say that God is gain to the Soul.
S. Say that the Soul is gain to God.

2. Definition of Vyāpti or Presence.

N. Say that Vyāpti is extension conterminous with the ten quarters of space; in other words Vyāpti is a spatial relation.

S. Say that it is not merely this, but by the inscrutable power of Providence the Presence is not only external but internal, and in ways and modes unthinkable by man.
3. Aṣṭākṣari-Mantra (or Eight-Syllabled Holy Prayer).
N. Say that when this is taught to others than Brāhmaṇas, the Praṇava must be omitted; and that without the Praṇava, the remainder of the mantra is capable of being split into eight syllables, justifying its name.
S. Say, to say so is artificial and torturing of the text, for without all its parts retained intact, no mantra can possess any efficacy. So, then, to be efficacious, this mantra is intended to be taught in its pristine purity and entirely to all, irrespective of caste, creed, and colour.

4. The power of Free (Nitya) and Freed (Mukta) Souls.
N. Say that the Free and the Freed Souls have no power to create, or, for example, make a kosmos.
S. Say that there are no such restrictions. Any Nitya or any Mukta is capable of doing anything by virtue of God's commands.

5. Location of Kaivalya.
N. Say that Kaivalya is situate in a corner of the Material Universe.
S. Say that Kaivalya, per se, by hypothesis, i.e. by endeavour, is a trans-material (metaphysical, so to say) state. Hence it must be located in some corner of the Spiritual Universe.
EIGHT years ago I had the honour of reading a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society termed "Historical Notes on South-East Persia". In 1905 I was appointed to Khurāsān, and the following notes are the result of various tours. My thanks are due to Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din, Attaché to His Britannic Majesty's Consul- General, for checking the various inscriptions, and, more especially, for enabling me to give the first clear and accurate account of the famous Meshed Shrine.

Before dealing with the various centres of interest, I would venture to point out that I am referring to Khurāsān in its modern and restricted sense and not to the old province, which consisted of all the countries that owned Moslem rule from the Lut to the frontiers of India. Later, at the period when most of the inscriptions collected by me were written, Khurāsān, although reduced in extent, included Central Asia up to the Oxus, whereas to-day two of its more famous cities, Merv and Herat, are no longer within its borders, and the "Eastern Land" is now bounded by the Hari Rud, known in its lower reaches as the Tajand. Even so, however, Khurāsān is a province of vast extent, and contains historical remains of great interest.

TUS

The origin of Tus is undoubtedly prehistorical, and, according to Professor Browne, it is the Urva of the

1 A Literary History of Persia, vol. i, p. 35. I would take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Browne's great work.
Vendidad, the eighth of the sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazda. This great antiquity is corroborated by Persian legend as given in the Sháh Náma, where we read that the founder of the city of Tus was the general bearing that name, who served under Kay Khusraw, a semi-legendary sovereign of the Kayáni dynasty. We are on firmer ground when we come to the famous journey of Alexander the Great. During the course of it he travelled to Parthia and "thence to the confines of Areia and to Susia, a city in that Province".¹ I have dealt with this question elsewhere,² and here it suffices to state that, in my opinion, it is most probable that the Susia of Arrian is Tus. It is, of course, unwise to trust too much to legend, but the valley of the Kashaf Rud is, by nature, one of the best watered and consequently one of the most fertile districts of Khurásán; it is therefore certain that, from early days, it was a centre of importance, as, in addition to its fertility, it possesses considerable nodality. But, when we come to the question of whether the actual ruins termed Tus to-day are those of the most ancient city in the valley, it is difficult to reply in the affirmative. And, again, there is the question whether Tus was the name of a district or only of a city, and, so far as I can learn, it has been used for both at various periods of history. I have discussed the question as to ancient sites with many people in Khurásán, and the result of my inquiries tends to prove that a ruin now termed Shahr-i-Band, or the "City of the Dam", but originally known as Kahkha, situated 10 miles north-west of Meshed and about 4 miles to the south-east of Tus, is generally considered to be the most ancient site in the valley. It lies on the right bank of the Kashaf Rud and about a mile from it, and as there are the remains of an ancient dam on this river, about 2 miles above Tus, it is

¹ Chinnock's Anabasis of Alexander, bk. iii, chap. xxv.
² Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
probable that this prehistorical city was supplied with irrigation water through its agency. To-day the walls of the -Shahr-i-Band have relapsed into their original mud, and resemble banks more than anything else; but the extent enclosed is considerable, and undoubtedly there was an important town on this site and one of which the walls were built many centuries anterior to those of Tus. Close to it is the marsh known as Ulang-i-Kakhka, running past the present village of Kakhkha, which thus preserves the ancient name.

Here, then, the question must rest, and we come to Tus in Muhammadan times. In the fourth (tenth) century, according to Le Strange, "Tus was the second city of the Naysabur (Nishapur) quarter of Khurasan, and consisted of the twin towns of At-Tabarān and Nukān. In the 3rd (9th) century, according to Yakubi, Nukān was the greater of the two halves of Tus; but, in the following century, Tābarān had outgrown it, and was the larger city, down to the time of Yakut, when Tus was ruined by the Mongol hordes."¹ The first question is the identification of Tābarān and Nukān. The former is, in my opinion, undoubtedly what is now known as Tus. In proof of this I would refer to an extract from the Chahār Maqāla, translated by Professor Browne and described by him as "the most ancient and important of our extraneous sources of information".² In the extract under reference, Nizāmī of Samarkand states that Mahmud of Ghazni sent his long-deferred gift to Firdawsi, whose story is given below, to Tābarān, but that the poet died before it reached him. Now it has never been disputed that Firdawsi was buried at what is now known as Tus, and consequently Tus of to-day would appear to have been Tābarān.

¹ *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, by Guy le Strange, pp. 388 et seqq. There is no single work to which I owe more than to this.
The site of Nukān—or Noghān, as it is generally termed to-day—is an extensive area to the east of Meshed, stretching from near the walls of the modern city to the villages of Husaynābād and Mihrābād. I have examined its cemetery, which was enormous and is littered with stone sarcophagi, some of which are exquisitely chiselled with inscriptions in Kufic and Sulīs characters. Several inscriptions were deciphered with dates ranging from A.H. 760 (1359) to A.H. 1099 (1688). Owing to the manner in which Persian cemeteries are neglected, tombstones of an earlier date would hardly be extant or decipherable. Two fine stone baths were unearthed some ten years ago and removed to Meshed. Altogether the ruins give the impression that Nukān was, at its zenith, no mean city. The gate nearest to it, and also the quarter of Meshed adjacent to that gate, are known as Noghān. There is, I believe, no doubt on this point and, this being so, the argument in favour of Tus of to-day being Tābarān is materially strengthened. I have dwelt somewhat fully on this point, as it does not appear to have been clearly brought out by previous writers,¹ many of whom implied, if they did not actually state, that the twin cities touched one another, whereas they were some 16 miles apart and on opposite banks of the river.

It is, however, as having been the home of Firdawsi that Tus is especially famous. According to the Chahār Maqāla, the great epic poet was a landowner of Bāzh in the Tābarān district of Tus.² To-day there is no village bearing this name in the district, but some 15 miles to the north of Meshed lies the village of Pāz. This village in ancient documents appeared as Pāzh, ٢ض, but under the Arabs as Bāz. To-day it is termed Pāz, and it is

¹ Browne, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 138, n. 1; and article of Barbier de Meynard, which is referred to therein. Also Guy le Strange, op. cit., pp. 388-90.
² Browne, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 132 et seqq.
reasonable to suppose that this undoubtedly ancient village, situated close to the defiles which lead to Kalát-i-Nādiri, was the home of Persia's great poet. To resume, the poet completed the Shāh Nāma, after a quarter of a century of work, in a.h. 400 (1009), and repaired with it to the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, where his epic pleased the Great Conqueror, who was disposed to treat Firdawsi with liberality. Intrigues, however, resulted in a beggarly sum being actually paid, and this the infuriated poet divided between a bath-man and a sherbet-seller! However, knowing Mahmud's severity, he fled, and after hiding at Herat until the hue and cry had ceased he returned to Tus. His home was not, however, a safe refuge, so he betook himself to Tabaristan, where, in the forests and swamps which cover the country between the south-east corner of the Caspian and the Elburz Range, a scion of the house of Sasan held sway. Here Firdawsi was most kindly received, and here he apparently lived for some years. Ultimately, however, he returned home, and died at a great age. Meanwhile Firdawsi's friend, the Minister of Mahmud, had been working on his behalf, and the monarch, repenting of his former lack of liberality, sent 60,000 dinars' worth of indigo on the royal camels with his apologies to the poet. "But," to quote again from the Chahár Maqāla, "even as the camels entered the Rudbār Gate, the corpse of Firdawsi was borne forth from the Gate of Razān." The later and popular legend is that the camels, laden with gifts, met the funeral procession.

It now remains to identify the Rudbār and Razān Gates, and for some time the nomenclature of the former puzzled me. The gate referred to was undoubtedly the one by which travellers would approach the city from the direction of Ghazni, but to-day there is no Rudbār in this direction nearer than the banks of the Helmand, and

1 Yakut gives both names of Bāz and Fāz.
this district is clearly out of court. Repeated inquiries, however, have shown that the northern portion of the hill district between Tus and Nishapur, known to-day as Kupayah, was in Firdawsi's age termed Rudbār after the then important village of Bār, which lies some 4 miles to the east of Jāghark. The question of the Razān, or more correctly Rizān, Gate presents no difficulty, as there is still the village of that name situated some 9 miles north-east of Tus and 4 miles north-north-west of Pāz. These identifications are, I would urge, of some interest. To conclude this brief account, the daughter of Firdawsi refused to accept the monarch's largess, and spent it, according to popular belief, on a caravanserai, a dam, and the bridge which spans the Kashaf Rud.

To return to the history of Tus, which was in earlier times the seat of a Nestorian bishop, it would appear to have been remarkable for its men of learning, notably its astronomers; but, like Herat and Nishapur, it drank to the dregs the bitterness of the Mongol cataclysm. In A.H. 616 (1219) it was captured by the forces of Chengiz, and during the following century and a half it was ravaged incessantly. The final blow was dealt by Mirān Shāh, son of Tamerlane, in A.H. 791 (1389), who turned the city into a desert. The remnant which escaped from the wholesale massacre settled round the shrine, and Meshed from that date became the chief city of Khurāsān.

I will now give some account of Tus as it appears to-day. Approaching it from Meshed, the large village of Khosh Matti, which was noted by Fraser and which

1 Rudbār and also Bār are, I have since discovered, both referred to by Yakut, who mentions that Abu Ali Husayn bin Muhammad, who died in A.H. 403 (1012), was a native of Rudbār. This is the exact period we are referring to. In 1908 I visited Bār and found that it was a large village, with an ancient fort, situated on a river which joins the Jāghark River near Gulistan.

2 *A Journey into Khorasan*, pp. 517 et seqq.
was founded by Mahdi or Mehdi,¹ the father of Harun-al-Rashid, is passed about half-way. Then comes the ancient site of Kahkha referred to above, and the track descends to the brick bridge spanning the Kashaf Rud and called by Firdawsi's name. Crossing it, the walls are distant about a hundred yards. They are constructed of huge sun-dried bricks, and, although much weathered, they still rise to a height of some 30 feet. Bastions are frequent, but the city was not particularly strong, nor indeed was it of great size, a reference to the plan proving that its circumference was only 4½ miles. Upon passing through what was undoubtedly the Rudbâr Gate, the first object which attracts attention is a ruined shrine, known by the various names of Gunbad or "Dome", Mazâr or "Shrine", and Kasr or "Castle". Inside all is desolation, and there is nothing to prove in whose honour it was erected. On the east side, in some plaster-work, "The world is but an hour" is repeated, but nothing else. Two dilapidated tombstones, obviously brought from outside, show by their inscriptions that they covered the remains of a certain Mahvash Khânûm and of a Sayyid respectively. Fraser ² gives a legend and also mentions the ruins of a minaret close by. Leaving this unidentified dome, a track to the north leads to the ancient Ark or "Fort", which is apparently situated on an artificial mound. It consists of an outer and an inner portion, the latter being oblong and measuring 65 by 45 yards. To the south-east of the fort are two ruins of buildings, known as Fîlkhana or "Elephants' Stables", probably without any sufficient reason.

I have left the question of Firdawsi's tomb to the last, and before expressing a definite opinion it is necessary to refer again to our authorities. The writer of the Chahâr Maqâla states as follows: "Now at that time there was

¹ The word is a corruption for Kasr-i-Mahdi or "The Tower of Mehdi".
in Tābarān a preacher, whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsi’s body to be buried in the Musulman Cemetery because he was a Rāfdi (sc. a Shia) . . . Now outside the gate (sc. of Rizān) there was a garden belonging to Firdawsi, and there they buried him and there he lies to this day. And I visited his tomb in the year A.H. 510 (1116).”¹ This statement, which is corroborated by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi and other later writers, proves without doubt that the great epic poet of Persia was buried outside the walls of Tābarān; but his tomb is shown to admirers inside, and duly appears on my plan. Not until my third visit did I elicit the truth. It appears that a generation ago a worthy Governor wished to build a dome over the mortal remains of the poet, and made inquiries as to the exact site. Nothing was known on the subject, but to remedy this a Sāyyid had a dream which indicated the site, and on this somewhat flimsy authority the dome was commenced; but the Governor was dismissed, and nothing more was done! Outside the Rizān Gate there are no signs of a tomb, and here, then, the question must rest, until archaeological researches can be made, which may perhaps bring to light the actual resting-place of the great poet.

KHWAJA RABI’

The shrine of Khwāja Rabi’ occupies a charming site 2 miles to the north of Meshed, on the southern edge of the valley of the Kashaf Rud, just before it dips down to that muddy stream. Approaching it from the Sacred City, a tank is first passed, shaded by a fine Turkestan elm. It was built by Umm Kulsum Khānum, sister of the then Governor, in A.H. 1083 (1672), as the inscription proves, which runs as follows:

The translation is—

"In the era of Sulayman,¹ the Shah of noble house, like the sun, sat on the throne of Highness and Honour and Glory.

"The sister of Mirzâ Muhammad Tālīb,² Umm Kulsum Khānum, from her lawful money, in (the shrine of) Khwāja Rabi' bin Khuṣaym, in sincerity and for a good deed against the Day when money is of no avail,³ Built the tank like Heaven, a tank full of the water of Life.

"Mirzâ Sadr-ud-Din was the builder of this beautiful building: he finished it faultless and perfect.

"When Šāliḥ from his ancient wisdom demanded the date of this choice building, at once, from the Unseen, a speaker made reply: 'Curse Yezid, drink the lawful water.'"

Note A. By hindasa, this works out at A.H. 1083 (1672).

Note B. Āghā Muhammad Sadik, who was in charge of the lands of the shrine, repaired the tank in A.H. 1272 (1856). This is mentioned below the original inscription.

From the tank an avenue of trees was planted to the entrance to the shrine; but the track, avoiding the avenue,

¹ Shāh Sulayman reigned from A.H. 1077 (1667) to A.H. 1105 (1694).
² Was guardian of the shrine and Governor of Meshed.
³ sc. the Day of Judgment.
leads to the two-storied gateway, which is in a dilapidated condition—albeit there are remains of coloured brickwork. In the triangular lintel-stone two inscriptions are chiselled, the larger of which sets forth in grandiose language that Shāh Abbās, who was the contemporary of King James I of England, completed the shrine in a.h. 1031 (1621). It runs as follows:—

بانيه اين عمّاریت رفيخ القناء فلكه أساس و اين بنائ منيع
البنیان عرس مساس أعلمهنصرت سلطان سلائیس عالم فرضا
تقدوماه مسلمة بنى آدم حافظ بلاد الله وناصر عبادة الله
قلل الله تنزب عتبة سید الفرسانيين وكلب آسيان أمير المؤمنین
مرجو مذکسب حتی أسقف ال‴مء‌سفوينیین السلطان بنی السلطان
ین السلطان و‌الخاقان بن النخاقان بن النخاقان شاه عباس الجعستی
الموعودی القصفوى بن‌ناریم دیزار و‌ینی و‌ینه‌نگیری بسغی كمثيرین
غلامان دعاکیب ال‌نسخ ال‌نخوی اتحاد اتمام یافتم

The translation is—

"The Founder of this edifice of sublime construction, with foundations like the sky, and this building strong in its work and touching the Ninth Heaven, is His Majesty, the Sultan of Sultans of the world, the Sovereign of the Race of Men, the Protector of the Cities of Allah, the Helper of the Servants of Allah, the Shadow of Allah, the Dust of the Threshold of the Lord of the Prophets, the Dog of the Porch of the Commander of the Faithful,¹ the Propagator of the true creed of the Innocent Imāms, a King, son of a King, and a Khākān, son of a Khākān, Shāh Abbās, Husayni, Musavi, Safavi, in the date one thousand and thirty-one of the Hijra,² by the efforts of the lowest of the slaves who prays for the King, Ulugh Rizavi the Gate Keeper, it was completed."

¹ sc. Ali.
² sc. A.D. 1622.
The smaller inscription, which is modern—the date is A.H. 1257 (1841)—contains a curse on anyone who should damage the building or its trees. Upon entering the precincts, the shrine appears at the end of an avenue of fine plane-trees, gigantic aspens, Turkestan elms, and in spring the general impression is delightful. The fine dome which surmounts an octagonal building is, alas! falling into decay; but, fortunately, most of an inscription in tiles, partly white lettering on blue and partly gold lettering on blue, is still legible, and it runs as follows:

[Faded text not legible]

Allah the Almighty said: "Learn that the Friends of Allah know no fear and no sorrow." The Prophet of Allah said (may Allah show mercy on him and his family!) [here the inscription is broken away, the tiles having fallen off], (in gold letters) "Shāh Abbās Husayni, Musavi, Safavi ordered the construction of this (dome). Ali Rizā Abbāsi wrote this."

The exterior of the building, in spite of much neglect, is interesting, each side consisting of an arch decorated with coloured bricks, tiles, and mosaics. On the west side, on the yellow and blue brick, two heads of a grotesque beast, half-wolf and half-stag, are delineated. This may be the Persian idea of a dragon, as that fantastic animal would not bear a family likeness to a camel in the East as it generally did in mediaeval Europe. The tiles are similar to those at the shrines at Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jam, at Nishapur, and at Kādamgāh, and it seems almost

1 Colonel Yate's *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 338 et seqq. A translation of these two inscriptions is given, and a somewhat brief description of the shrine.
certain that they were manufactured by the same tile-makers, who, according to the custodian, were inhabitants of Kum. On the farther side of the shrine the ground slopes down somewhat steeply, and the view across the fertile valley, backed by the grim gorges which lead to famous Kalāt-i-Nādīrī, is one of the pleasantest in Khurāsān.

Before entering the shrine it would be as well to give some account of the saint whose dust lies buried in it. Khwāja Rabī', son of Khuṣaym, was one of the band of eight famous men who are known as Ḍād, Zohhād, or "the Devotees". He was a companion of Ali, and was sent by the Commander of the Faithful to Meshed with a force of 4000 sowers. He apparently ruled the province successfully, as but little is recorded about him, and when he died was duly buried on the site now occupied by the shrine. One burning question on the subject of the saint is whether he was a Sunni or a Shia, and this is referred to in one of the inscriptions. Popular opinion has it that he was a Sunni, and orthodox Shias consider that, in any case, he lost all claims to sanctity by, on one occasion, refusing Ali's orders to attack on the plea that his men were exhausted. However this may be, Sunnis who die at Meshed are all buried round the shrine, and regard Khwāja Rabī' as their patron saint in Khurāsān.

Upon entering the mausoleum, the tomb is seen to occupy the position of honour underneath the dome. It is concealed by a wooden covering painted red. The internal decoration of the shrine is of great beauty and in a perfect state of preservation. All round it, for some 8 feet above the ground, are panels of exquisite tile-work, dark blue, light blue, gold, and white being the principal colours. On the tiles is the legend ُيا حفیظ, or "O Guardian" (sc. God)! The angles are finished off with the black Meshed stone, which shows up the ceramics to perfection. Above the tiles the walls are artistically
frescoed, and the broad belt of inscription in white *Naskh* letters on a blue ground is particularly effective. It runs as follows:

"عن جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري رضي الله عنه قال لما نزل قول الله تعالى بما أنتِما الذين أعِمنَا أطيوع الله وأطيعوا الرسول أولي الأمر. فقلت يا رسول الله قد أتى قوماً أسلموهم فعلمهم أنهم أخطأوا. فأتبرَّأ أولي الأمر الذين قُرب الله منهم بإطعامهم فإطعامهم فعَّال صلى الله علَّيهم وإلَّى يَم"
"From Jābir, son of Abdullah, Ansārī (may Allah be pleased with him!) (Jābir), said: 'Since the word of Allah, the Almighty, came to earth, "O ye men who have accepted the faith, obey Allah, and obey the Prophet and the chief from amongst yourselves," I (Jābir) said: "O Prophet of Allah, we have recognized Allah and his Prophet. But who are the Governors whom Allah has made equal with himself in respect of obedience?" Then said (the Prophet) (may Allah have mercy on him and on his family!): "They, O Jābir, are my successors and the spiritual heads of the Mussulman after me. The first of them was Ali son of Abu Talib. Then Hasan, then Husayn, then Ali\(^1\) son of Husayn. Then Muhammad son of Ali, known in the Taurát as Bākir.\(^2\) And you will soon see him, O Jābir. Then when thou hast seen him, give him the salutation of peace from me. Then the truthful Ja'far son of Muhammad. Then Musa son of Ja'far. Then Ali son of Musa. Then Muhammad son of Ali. Then Ali son of Muhammad. Then Hasan son of Ali. Then an individual who bore my name and who was the father of a son named like my son: he will be a demonstration of Allah on earth, and he is a remnant of Allah among Allah's servants, son of Hasan. Through him Allah, who is Glorious and Great, triumphs over the Eastern portions of the world and the Western. And he is such that he will be hidden from his followers and friends. Then no one will remain firm in the belief of the proof of his disappearance, or of his Imamate, but he whose heart Allah has tested for the faith." Jābir said: "Thus we said it, O prophet of Allah. Then for his friends is there profit in his hiding?" Then said (the Prophet) (may Allah show mercy to him and his family!): "I swear by Him who appointed me his Prophet that those followers

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\(^1\) Zayn-ul-Abidin, i.e. "Ornament of the Worshippers", the fourth Imam.

\(^2\) The Plougher (in wisdom).
receive light from his light and obtain profit from his friendship whilst he is in hiding. Just as men receive profit from the Sun, however covered the Sun may be by the clouds. O Jābir, this is of the hidden things of the secret of Allah and the treasure-house of the wisdom of Allah. Therefore conceal it, except from those who are worthy."

"Said Al-Allāma in the book of Khulāsā, Rabī' bin Khuṣaym is with Ŀ with a dot with zamma, and ך with three dots above before the ׃ with two dots underneath. This was a man who was one of the eight devotees. The Slave, full of hope, Ali Rizā Abbāsi wrote in the year six, twenty, one thousand of the Hijra (A.H. 1026).

Above three striking bands of inscription, the interior, including the dome, is covered with beautiful frescoes of convention-designs, the general effect being one of considerable richness. The English traveller Fraser, who visited the shrine nearly a century ago, writes that "along with the dome, it is magnificently and very tastefully decorated with gilded flowers, and various fanciful devices, upon an azure ground".¹

I have already touched on the question of whether the saint was a Sunni or a Shia. On the northern side of the interior of the shrine is an inscription which, at any rate, tends to prove that Khwāja Rabī' was highly revered by the Imām Rizā. It is in Sulũ, and runs—

\[
\text{مَسْتَلَتْ عَلَى جَمَاعَةٍ مَّلَكَتُهُمَّ السَّلَامُ مَا حَصِّلَ مِنْ مُسَلِّبٍ إِلَّا زَيَارَةٍ رَبِيعَ}\\
\text{إِنَّ خُلْقَمَ}
\]

"It was said by Rizā (peace be with him !) that there was no profit in the journey to Merv, except the visit to the shrine of Rabī', the son of Khuṣaym."

I have left to the last the second tomb which is in the shrine: and yet Fath Ali Khan Kājār, the ancestor of the

¹ Fraser's Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan, p. 521.
present royal family of Persia, is an historical figure of no slight interest. As chief of the Kajar tribe, which supported Sháh Tahmásp in his dire need, he excited the jealousy of Nádir, who slew him on the pretext that he was corresponding with the enemy. His grandson, Ághá Muhammad, was the first Shah of the Kajar line. The tomb is covered by a truly magnificent slab of yellow marble, measuring 6 by 3 by 2 feet. The inscription, which is beautifully incised, runs——

أنت النبي ولفت نبيّ هالكك لو إله‌ا الله مجمعه رستول الله
علي وَلّيّ الله

1

The heading of the inscription is an Arabic verse in Naskh character: "Thou (sc. O Allah) ever art, whereas all else perisheth. There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah, Ali is the Vice-regent of Allah." Below is the body of the inscription in Persian.

"Grief for the noble Khan, the great, the executor of
sentences, the house of justice he constructed, and the	house of the faith. The world of Honour and Glory was
Fath Ali Khān, great as the Universe, Allah gave honour
to the Kājārs on his account, in Sovereignty. He was
a Pearl in the Sea of Greatness. His fortune was high,
and he was so wise that the Khākān was but fit to be his
doorkeeper. When he entered the field of battle, and cut
off the heads of his foes, the earth he trod was happy and
the heaven sped in his train. When his foe saw him
attacking, he became hopeless of life. When the sun of
his brightness appears, Suhā is obliterated. For keeping
at bay the Yajūj of Tyranny he has become a strong
barrier. In the world his sword is that barrier and he
a Second Alexander. He suddenly quitted the world.
Its inhabitants ever grieve for him. There fall from
their eyes tears of pomegranate colour like rubies. When
that youth obtained martyrdom, Allah gave him ever-
lasting life in Heaven in exchange for this abode of
gloom. When I inquired the year of his date, wisdom
replied, 'His home is the shadow of Tūbā (i.e. the
tree of Paradise), his refuge is the mercy of Allah,'" i.e.
A.H. 1139 (1726).

To conclude, although the shrine of Khwāja Rabī
cannot vie with the exquisite gem of Saracenic art at
Mahun, yet, both in itself, in its surroundings, and in its
historical inscriptions, it is not only well worth repeated
visits, but it ranks among the most interesting shrines in
Khurāsān.

MESHED

Meshed, or, more correctly, Mashhad, "the Place of
Martyrdom" of the Imām 'Ali ar-Riżā, is now the capital

1 Suhā is an obscure star in the Lesser Bear.
2 In Colonel Yate's Khurasan and Sistan there is a good deal of
information about Meshed which this paper to some extent supplements.
In the Matfa' ash-Shams, by the Sāni' ad-Dawla, there is also much
information; but, as the writer was a courtier, there are important
omissions.

JESAS. 1910. 73
of Khurāsān, and is situated some 5 miles from the right bank of the Kashaf Rud, or about half-way between that river and the low range which bounds the valley to the south. The ancient twin city of Nukān is partly incorporated in its north-east quarter, and partly lies outside the city gate, which, as mentioned when dealing with Tus, still retains the same name, albeit in a slightly changed form.

Legend has it that Alexander the Great, who undoubtedly descended this valley, built an "enclosure" on the site where the shrine now stands, as he dreamed a dream, in which he learned that "one of the great men of the world" would be buried on the sacred spot. Possibly, owing to this legend, a hadīs written by Shaykh Saduk in the book of Ikmal-ud-Din runs as follows: "There will be buried in a city built by the beneficent servant Iskandar Zulkarnain, in the soil of Tus, a descendant of mine. The name of it is Sanābād." In this connexion Sanābād is still the name of the kanāt or watercourse which enters Meshed by the Sarāb Gate. We are on historical ground in stating that when, in A.H. 193 (809), Harun-ar-Rashid died, Sanābād was a large garden and apparently owned by Hamid ibn Kahtaba of the Tābi family, and that the great Caliph was buried there. Over his grave his son Mamun built a shrine, and in it the Imām Rizā was buried in A.H. 202 (817). For nearly two centuries the shrine was neglected, but Mahmud of Ghazni, who reigned from A.H. 388 (998) to 421 (1030), also dreamed a dream, as the result of which he ordered the Governor of Nishapur to add to the shrine and also to construct a wall round it. Just about this period Mukaddasi refers to a mosque built by Amir Fā'ǐk Amid-ud-Dawlah, "than which there is none finer in all Khurāsān." To-day this ancient and tottering mosque, with its small dome and its two short minarets of brick, with blue tiles let in at intervals, is the only ruin of
interest inside Meshed, apart from the shrine. It has evidently been repaired more than once, and the following inscription refers to the re-tiling and other repairs of Malik Shâh. The inscription, which consists of verses of the Koran, ends as follows:

"The Amir Malik Shâh, may Allah elevate the grandeur of his royal state, in the year A.H. 855 (1451)."

The architect is Ibn Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, Tabrizi. In A.H. 1119 (1707) a second reparation is recorded.

In A.H. 617 (1220) the whole of Khurâsân was stricken by the Mongols, and it is probable that, as the native historians state, the shrine was sacked; and a similar fate befell Nishapur, Tus, and other ancient and prosperous cities.

A century and a half later, in A.H. 791 (1389), as narrated in the section of this paper dealing with Tus, the rebellion of a Mongol noble caused the final overthrow of the older capital of Tabarân, and the wretched survivors appear to have settled round the shrine. Mustawfi, who wrote in the eighth (fourteenth) century, is perhaps the first historian to use the term of Mashhad, by which the city is now known. Ibn Batutah, a few years later, describes the great dome over the shrine, and refers to the adjacent mosque and madrasa. He describes the silver doors, the beautiful tiles, and adds: "Every Shia, on entering, kicks with his foot the tomb of Harun-ar-Rashid, while he invokes a blessing on that of Imâm Rida." As we shall see later, the modern Shia, too, has not forgiven the Great Caliph for having been the father of so wicked a son. In A.D. 1405 Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo—the account of whose embassy from the court of Castile to that of Tamerlane has been published by the Hakluyt
Society was much impressed by the magnificence of the shrine, which, more fortunate than we are to-day, he was allowed to visit. He refers to the large tomb, which is covered with silver-gilt. He adds: “On account of this tomb, the city is crowded with pilgrims, who come here in large numbers every year.”

The shrine which the adventurous Castilian visited had recently been repaired by Sultān Uljaitu Khān Bahādur, who reigned from A.H. 703 (1304) to A.H. 716 (1316). In A.H. 808 (1405) Shāhrukh, who was Governor of the province at the time of Clavijo’s visit, spent enormous sums on the shrine, which owes perhaps more to him and his pious wife, Gauhar Shād, than to any other benefactors. To the Sefavi dynasty, however, Meshed is indebted for many of its chief glories, as, for political as well as religious reasons, its kings wished to increase the importance of the only great Shia shrine on Persian soil; and so down to modern times, as the account shows, monarch after monarch has added to its wealth and dignity, until it is perhaps the richest shrine in Central Asia.

To describe the shrine in detail would need a volume, and, consequently, I propose to refer briefly to its chief glories.

The pilgrim from the north would enter the sacred buildings by the Bala Khīyābān or “Upper Avenue”, which, at the point where the property of the Imām Riḍā commences, is shut off from the non-Moslem world by chains. Thenceforward to the Ṣāhn-i-Kuhna, or “Old Court”, there are shops on both sides, which are amongst the best in the city. On the outside of the fine brick gateway, which is surmounted by a clock, is a lengthy inscription warning the pilgrim that he is approaching holy ground. Passing through, he enters the grand Ṣāhn-i-Kuhna, which, as the Plan shows, is about 290 feet from east to west and 200 feet from north to south. There are

1 Embassy to the Court of Timour, by Sir Clements Markham, pp. 109-10.
four superb gateways, and the buildings are two-storied: the lower being occupied by doctors, watchmakers, bookbinders, seal-engravers, and even schools; the upper chambers constitute the offices of the shrine officials. The courtyard is paved with hewn blocks of the Meshed black stone, many of which serve as tombstones. Keeping to the left, the first great portico is that of Shâh Abbâs II, who added three sides to this court. The merit of building that portion which is adjacent to the tomb belongs to Amir Shir Ali, Vizier of Sultan Abu-l-Ghâzi Husayn Baykara, who reigned in Khurâsân from A.H. 878 (1473) to A.H. 912 (1506). The portico of Shâh Abbâs II is covered with fine tile-work with florid arabesques. There is a long Suls inscription, consisting of the Sura-i-Jum'a: the letters are white on blue. The inscription ends as follows:

"The Sultan, the Greater, and the Mighty Khâkân, the Lord of Sovereigns of the Arabs and of Ajam, the Sultan, son of a Sultan, the Father of Victory, Shâh Abbâs the Second, Safavi, Musavi, Husayni, Bahâdur Khân, may Allah make his reign eternal, ordered the erection of this auspicious Rizavi building. Muhammad Rizâ Imâmi wrote it in A.H. 1059 (1649)."

In the centre of the court, down which runs the stream which flows from Chashma Gilâs, is the famous Salâkâ Khâna-i-Nâdirî, or "The Water Carriers' house of Nâdir Shâh". Cut from a monolith of white marble in the shape of an octagon, the height is 4 feet and the circumference 20 feet. The angles are decorated with flowers,
and the top is hollowed out like a font: copper cups are fastened round. Above it is a wooden cover richly gilt. It is stated that the great Afshar agreed to pay a large sum for the transport of this monolith from Herat to Meshed, a distance of 231 miles, in twelve days. The contractor, by dint of great exertions, completed his task in nine days and waited on the monarch, hoping for a rich reward. However, the relentless tyrant accused him of breach of contract, and his eyes were put out! This story I was told by a descendant of the much-wronged man.

The portico leading into the Payin Khiyabān, or "Lower Avenue", is that from which the Nakkaara Khāna, or Kettle Drum music, is played morning and evening, in honour of the ever-living Imām; and, passing on, the pilgrim comes to the richest portico of the shrine, which is held to be without a rival in the Muhammadan world. As mentioned above, the building was the work of Amir Shir Ali, whose inscription is as follows:—

فيَ أَيَامِ دُوَّارِ السُلطَانِ الأَعْظَمِ وَالْخَافِقِيُّ الْمُعْتَمِمِ مَلِكْ بِرَأْبِ
أَمْمِ مَوْلَىٰ مَلِكْ الْعَرْبِ وَالْخَيْجِيُّ شَاهِ سُلْطَانٌ حَسَنْمُ بَلْحَرَامَ
بَيْنَاءِ خَانٍ خَلِدَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَ مَلِكَةَ
كنْبَةٌ مُـمْعَدَّ رَمَّةِ اللَّهِ 105

"In the era of the reign of the Sultan, the Greater, and the Mighty Khākān, the Lord of the Necks of Mankind, the Master of the Kings of the Arabs and of Ajam, Shāh Sultān Husayn Mirzā, Baykara, Bahādur Khān, may Allah make his reign eternal. Muhammad Rizā Al-Imāmi wrote this in A.H. 1085 (1675)."  

1 Vide my "Notes on Musical Instruments in Khurāsān" in Man (vol. ix, No. 11, of November, 1909).
2 As Sultān Husayn died in A.H. 912 (1506), it would seem probable that the above date refers to the tile-work.
The "Golden Portico" is paved with blocks of white marble from distant Maragha, and is also panelled with the same costly material, drawn by forced labour from the western frontiers of Persia. Above are the copper bricks covered with plates of gold. The inscription in Nastalik character is in large gold letters on a blue ground in the interior: outside are tiles with an inscription from the Koran, white letters on blue, in Suls character. Nādir's inscription runs as follows:—
"Nādir Ali, the Dog of the Porch of the Commander of the Faithful, who is among the Slaves of the Abode of the Sultān Ali Musa Rizā, whose Destiny is like Alexander's, repaired this Building. The Vali of the Province of Khurāsān. He who is Truthful and Faithful. He whose Disposition is Pure, is a friend of Allah from the Beginning. Also, from the Grace of his Relationship in the world with the Afshar, until the Day of Judgment, there is Honour (to them) above the whole nation of Persia: Throne Giving of the Breadth of the world is from his Sword: Strife and Discord are stilled in the Corner of his Protection. Since from the Hand of his Generosity he employs this gold. He who says that this gold is malleable is right!\(^1\) When he from the wrinkles of his forehead is mighty in his Fury, the Rai of Hind and the Kāṣār and the Khākān are afflicted with gloom. When the Police officer of his Justice patrols by night in the City, there is no sign of a thief: even if all the thieves be henna (they would have no colour). His army from this saying from the Unseen, which was from the Companions of the Prophet in truth, is the Helper of the Firm Religion of Mustafa (sc. the Prophet).\(^2\) In his time the sheep may inquire of the wolves for the water. From his Justice the lion and the gazelle graze in one pasture. When his generosity has become conspicuous among the Kizilbash,\(^3\) the arch and the minaret of the Holy Court have been gilded. The Minaret and the Arch, by the Grace of Allah, have been completed: May it last as long

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1. The story runs that Khusrav Parviz, among other unique possessions, possessed a lump of gold as big as an apple which was so soft that, without melting, it could be used to make a figure, etc. This is termed فشار, i.e. gold malleable by hand. There is also a play on the word Afshar.

2. This refers to a dream of Nādir's to the effect that he should restore the true religion.

3. The Kizilbash, or "Red Head," consisted of seven tribes who united to support the Safavi. Among them were the Afshar.
as there is any sign remaining of the changing seasons of the world! From the word of the Ka‘ba I said, ‘O my friend,’ for its date, ‘every time from that conspicuous arch and gateway there are one hundred lights.’

“Ali, son of Sulayman, Rizavi (may Allah forgive the sins of these two men!), wrote this in the year 1145.

“By the writing of this sinner Muhammad Ali Rizavi and the skill of the goldsmith and the endeavour of Muhammad Tahir, son of Mirzá Masih Shirazi, it was completed in A.H. 1146.”

It now remains to describe the golden minarets, one of which rises from Nādir’s portico and the other from that of Shāh Abbās. They are said to be 110 feet high, and for about 50 feet they are covered with tiles. The upper portion is cased with copper bricks, overlaid with gold. The minarets are both of brick, with a wooden stand for the mu‘ezzin, and both bear the date of A.H. 1142 (1730).

Before quitting the Sahn-i-Kuhna it is as well to refer to the golden dome that dominates it, which is here seen to the best advantage.

The dome of the shrine, which, like all the other buildings, is built of the yellow Persian brick, is covered with copper plates, on which thin gold plates are overlaid. There are two inscriptions, the more important of which consists of two rows of golden letters on blue. So enormous are these letters that the learned pilgrim in the Sahn-i-Kuhna can read how Shāh Abbās recorded his own virtuous acts. Below are four turanj, or lozenge-shaped inscriptions, which touch one another. Three of the turanj are filled with quotations from the Koran, and the fourth sets forth how Shāh Sulayman, who terms himself “the Reviver of the ancient ruins of his Ancestors”, repaired the dome after an earthquake in A.H. 1086 (1676). This inscription I do not propose to

1 This works out at A.H. 1145 (1733).
give. The great inscription of Shāh Abbās runs as follows:

"From the great grace of Allah, who is Pure, it happened that the Greater Sultan, the Lord of the Kings of the Arabs and of Ajam, possessing pure kinship with the Prophet: and the notable qualities of Ali, the Dust of the steps of the servants of this shrine, the Giver of Light to the Angels. The propagator of the Laws of his Ancestors, the Innocent, the Sultan, the son of a Sultan, the Father of the Victorious, Shāh Abbās, Husayni, Musavi, Safavi, Bahādur Khān obtained happiness, owing to his travelling, walking on his two feet, from the capital Isfahan to the Pilgrimage of this Noble Precinct. And he was so ennobled by beautifying this dome, from his private funds, in the year one thousand and ten: and it was completed in one thousand and sixteen."
"The work of Kamâl-ud-Din Mahmud, Yezdi, in one thousand and fifteen."

"Ali Rizâ Abbâsi wrote it."

From the Sahn-i-Kuhna the pilgrim passes through a room where his shoes are deposited: thence by the back of the Golden Portico to a second Sakkâ Khâna, which opens on to the most magnificent hall in the shrine, known as the Dâr-as-Siyâdah, or "Place of Greatness". Its length is 107 feet, with a width which varies, as the hall consists of a central dome, supported by two small domes. Built by the munificent spouse of Shâhrukh, the walls of this great building are cased with slabs of white marble for perhaps 2 feet above the ground. Resting on this are panels of tiles which are finished off by a belt of inscriptions, containing two lines of verses of the Koran, etc., in Nasta'lik character. Above, the ornamentation is of plaster-work, in which mirrors and glass facets are set. This latter style of decoration is highly appreciated by the Persian, but does not commend itself to Europeans. On the left, or north-east, side of the hall is a silver grating, through which the pilgrim can gaze at the tomb of the saint; and just beyond he turns to the left and passes into the adjacent Dâr-ul-Huffâz, or "Place of the Koran Reciters", which is a hall built by the same pious dame on similar but smaller lines, with panels of black stone on which verses, poems, and flowers, etc., are chiselled. Here prayers are recited, and the pilgrim at last approaches the threshold of the Haram, which is the sacred goal of the Shia Muhammadan. Coming from the Dâr-ul-Huffâz, the Dar-i-Pish-Ru, or the "Facing Door", is passed, and it

1 This refers to the fact that a corpse is buried with its face towards Mecca, this position being termed Pish Ru.
is impossible not to admire the splendour of its golden plates. The sacred chamber which is now entered is 33 feet square, with gold-plated doors on two sides, a silver door on the side of the Sahn-u-Kuhna, and the silver grating on the side of the Dār-as-Siyādah. As there are no windows, with the exception of four small skylights at the base of the dome, the light is distinctly dim and religious. The walls are panelled with exquisite polygonal tiles of many colours—blue, green, and white predominating; with patterns of conventional flowers and an inscription in small Suls characters. This inscription, the oldest and perhaps the most important in the shrine, runs as follows:

[two words fallen] (الْأَلْبَالِ هَذِهِ الْإِعْمَارَةِ)
(الْبَيْتُ وَرَبٌّ) (نَسْأَةُ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ بَنَتَ طَاهِرُ الْمُوسِىَّيْ)
(بِرَبَّيْتِهَا الْأَمِيرُ رُقُبِّيِّمُ الْبَيْتُ الْكَبِيرُ قَوْمَ الْعَلِيّةِ وَالْبَيْتُ)
[name fallen]
(حِكْمَةُ الْإِسْلَامِ) (وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ أَشْهَدُ الْمُسْلِمُوكَ) (الْبَيْتُ الْأَخْلَقِ
(قَبْرُ السَّانِ أَبِي) (أَلْجَمَّيْنِ بَنِي أَلْجَمَّيْ)
(صَاجِب) (بِرَّ الْلَّهُ)
(جَهَّازَةُ) (بِيْنِ يَتَّنَى بِنِيَ بْنِي جَغْفَرُ الْمُؤْسِسِي)
(عَلَى السُّلْطَانِ) (وَالْمُقَدَّمَةَ مِنَ السَّعْمَاءِ) (الْمُظْهَرُ عَلَى الْأَعْرَاقِ)
(الْمُعْتَضِمُ الْسُّلْطَانِ) (تُسْجِرُ أَبِي الغَلْفُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سُلْطَانِ)
[tile missing]
(بَنُو سُلْطَانِ) (تُسْجِرُ أَبِي الغَلْفُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سُلْطَانِ)
(بَنُو سُلْطَانِ) (تُسْجِرُ أَبِي الغَلْفُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سُلْطَانِ)
[tile missing]
(عَلَيْهَا) (عَلَيْهَا) (عَلَيْهَا) (عَلَيْهَا) (عَلَيْهَا) (عَلَيْهَا)
(تُسْجِرُ أَبِي الغَلْفُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سُلْطَانِ)
(تُسْجِرُ أَبِي الغَلْفُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سُلْطَانِ)
[tile inserted]
(تُسْجِرُ أَبِي الغَلْفُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سُلْطَانِ)
(tiles fallen)
"The renovation of this building was undertaken by (a tile missing, supply the Unique?) in the world, the Chastity of the Religion, the Beloved, the Great, the Chosen Handmaid of the House (sc. of the Prophet), the daughter of Tahir-ul-Musavi (name missing), by the order of the Amir, the Sayyid, the Great Vizier, the supporter of the Nation and of the Faith, the Glory of Islam and of the Mussulman, the more Just of the Sovereigns, the Sayyid the more Noble, the Vizier of Khurāsān, Abul Maʿāli bin Husayn, Sahib, may Allah keep cool his Grave... 1 bin Yahya bin Ali, bin Jafar al-Musavi, may Allah enlighten his resting-place! (title missing probably).

"(In the time of the reign) of the Lord, the Sultan of the Arabs and of Ajam, the Helped from Heaven, the Victorious over his Foes, the Great Shah of Shahs, the Great, the Honoured, the Sultān Sanjar, Father of Victory, Muhammad son of a Sultan... son of Toghrul Khan, may Allah enlighten his resting-place, in the date of the month of Allah (sc. Ramazan), the Blessed, in the year twelve and five hundred from Hijra of the Prophet, on Him be Peace (tile inserted 'May his blessings reach all men'), Turkān Zumurrud the Queen, the daughter of the martyred Mahmud son of Muhammad...

"The Sinful Slave Sadr-ul-Aalam the Poor, the man who needs His Mercy, Hasan Ali bin Muhammad bin Yahya."

In the above inscription some of the tiles are missing and others have apparently been reset in wrong positions; but there is no reasonable doubt that the tiles were baked and set by the order of the great Seljuk monarch. In this connexion there is a legend that the Vizier of Sultān Sanjar had a son who was afflicted with a lingering disease and went to Tus for change of air. When shooting he pursued a gazelle, which took refuge inside the then neglected

1 The dots show lacunae in the inscription.
shrine of the Imām. His horse refused to pursue the quarry thither, and the youth ultimately understood that he was on holy ground, where he was miraculously cured of his disease. He accordingly wrote to his father, with the result that the Sultan ordered Sharaf-al-Din Abu Tahir, Kummi, who was Governor of Merv, at that time the capital of Khurasan, to repair the dome. He was, for forty years, Governor of Merv and also the agent of Turkān Khātūn, the heroic wife of Sultān Sanjar, and the daughter of his nephew Mahmud. Above these polygonal tiles is a belt of later tiles in large blue Sulbs letters on a white and gold ground. These letters stand out in bold relief, and the inscription, which is almost perfect, runs as follows:—

"This sacred, great, honourable, pure tomb for our Lord the innocent Imām, the Martyr of tyranny, Rīzā Ali, bin
Kázim Musa, ibn Sadik Ja'far, bin Bakir Muhammad bin Zayn-ul-ʿAbidin Ali, bin Husayn, the Martyr of Kerbela, brother of Hasan, bin Ali, bin Abi Talib, the Commander of the Faithful, the Pious Imám, the Trustee of the Prophet of the God of the Nations, Muhammad bin Abdulla, ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, the Blessings of Allah be on Him and his Family, the Pure, the Spotless, and on his Noble Companions and the Mercy of Allah and his Blessings. From the work of the Sinful Slave, the Hopeful of the Mercy of God. The slave of the Imám, on Him be Blessings and Peace, Ali bin Muhammad, Al-Mukri, may Allah forgive him. . . . The weaker of the slaves of Allah, Muhammad bin Abi Tahir bin Abi-l-Hasan. . . . After that he worked it, he made it in the date of the first of the month of Jumādi-al-Ūla, in the year Six hundred and twelve, may Allah forgive him and his parents and all the men believers and the women believers by Muhammad and his Family, the Pure."

The date A.H. 612 (1215) marks the period when Ala-u-Din Muhammad Shāh of Khiva had conquered Afghanistan and was preparing to attack the Abbasid Caliphate. Suddenly, however, the Moghul hordes of Chengiz Khan appeared on his northern frontiers, and a few years later he was a refugee. I cannot gather any details as to the individuals whose names are recorded.

Perhaps the greatest importance of these two inscriptions, still almost perfect, is that they prove beyond reasonable doubt that the Moghuls who sacked Meshed did not destroy the shrine of the saint, even if they stripped it of the gold and jewellery which it contained. In other words, the dome over the tomb may well be the very one under which the saint was buried. To continue, some 20 feet from the ground, just below the point where the dome takes off, there is an inscription consisting of verses from

1 Mukri are reciters of prose or versified prayers, which they frequently chant an hour before dawn.
the Koran in glass letters set in plaster. The height of
the chamber under the dome is some 40 feet, and the
walls are adorned with mirrors set in plaster-work, this
part of the decoration being comparatively modern. The
floor is paved with blocks of the beautiful marble quarried
close by in the hills at Shandiz. Jewelled swords, daggers,
shields, bracelets, and jika or aigrettes, presented by
sovereigns and great nobles, are placed in high recesses,
which are prudently covered over with glass.

The Imam does not lie in the place of honour under the
centre of the dome, as that was already occupied by the
mausoleum erected over the Caliph Harun-al-Rashid, of
which, however, there is no trace to-day above ground.
Indeed, the sacred tomb is set near the north-east corner.
It is surrounded by three gratings, the outside one of which
rises to a height of some 5 feet and is of steel. A second
grating, of brass covered with gold, encloses yet a third
grating of steel in which emeralds and rubies are set.
This latter was the gift of Shâhrukh, the unhappy
grandson of Nâdir Shâh who, as an inscription shows,
presented it in a.H. 1160 (1747). Between the gratings
the floor is covered with glass bricks. A very richly
jewelled dummy door, the gift of Fath Ali Shâh, is set in
a projection at the foot of the tomb. Above, the oblong
mausoleum is completed by a wooden cover plated with
gold. There are four great golden candlesticks at its
corners, and the richest embroideries cover it. To con-
clude this description I cannot do better than give a brief
account of the ceremonies pilgrims perform in this Holy
of Holies.

Upon entering the tomb-chamber they prostrate them-
selves on the threshold, and then rising approach the
grating round the tomb and, seizing the lock and kissing
it, pray to the Imam, not only on their own behalf, but
also on behalf of all their friends and relatives who have
so desired it. Then they move round to the Pâyîn-i-Pâ,
or the "foot" of the grave, and here, after prostration, a second prayer is read. Continuing on, they move slowly and solemnly to the Pusht-i-Sar, or "behind", facing the Şaḥn-i-Kuhna. Thence there is just room to pass to the Bālā-i-Sar, or the "head". In this narrow part all the enemies of the Imām are cursed, the mulla crying out "A curse be on Harun and on Mamun!" To this a reply is made, "Let it be more!" At the head of the tomb the grating is again kissed, and after prostrations two prayers are read. Thrice is the tomb encircled and thrice are the curses pronounced, after which, with tears of joy and in deep humility, the pilgrims lift up their hands to heaven and each says: "O Allah, accept my prayers and receive my praises of Thee, and bind me to Thy chosen people . . ." This concludes what is a most moving ceremony.

The Şaḥn-i-Nau, or "New Court", needs but a short description, as it is a smaller and altogether less important pile of buildings; in fact, it obviously suffers from being an imitation on cheap lines of the Şaḥn-i-Kuhna. Commenced by Fath Ali Shāh, of the Kājār dynasty, it was added to by Muhammad Shāh, his successor, and Nāsir-ad-Din Shāh presented a second but smaller golden portico. The inscriptions are in grandiose language and modelled on the older ones, but everyone agrees that, compared with the Şaḥn-i-Kuhna, the New Court is insignificant.

It now remains to describe the mosque of Gauhar Shād, the third and the finest of the great courts which surround the golden dome. Approached from the Dār-as-Siyādah, a noble quadrangle, with four great arches, is entered. That to the south-west, known as the Ayvān-i-Makṣūra, supports the blue dome, which somewhat dwarfs the golden dome of the shrine, and robs the pile, when viewed from a distance, of symmetry and unity of design. In this portico is set a wooden pulpit which is kept locked, the legend being that the Mahdī, when he reappears, will first
show himself to the faithful from this structure. The
loftiness and elegance of the quadrangle, together with
its perfect proportions and beautiful tile-work, combine
to make it the noblest mosque in Central Asia, so far as
I can learn. In large white Suls letters on a dark-blue
ground the following inscription covers the front of the
unrivalled Aywán-i-Maksúra:—

"Her Highness, the Noble in Greatness, the Sun of the
Heaven of Chastity and Continence, Famous for Nobility
and Honour and Piety, Gauhar Shád, may her Greatness
be eternal and may her Chastity endure and may her
Charity increase with true Thought and high, and with
Pious Intent of Heart of Lofty Ideal for fulfilling and
accomplishing her hopes in Allah, may He accept it; from
her private property for the benefit of her future state and
for the Day on which the Works of every one will be judged, with Zeal for Allah and with Desire to please Allah and with Thankfulness for the Benefits of Allah and for Praise of the Benefits granted by Allah, built this Great Masjid-i-Jami‘ the Holy House, in the era of the reign of the Great Sultân, and the more Just Khâkân, the more Generous, the Lord of Rulers of the Arabs and of Ajam, the Sultan, son of a Sultan, the Father of Victory, Shâhrukh, son of Taymur Gurakâni, Bahâdur Khân, may Allah make eternal his Kingdom and Empire; and may He (i.e. Allah) increase on the inhabitants of the world his Goodness, his Justice, and his Generosity. Thus may Allah accept her work with beneficent acceptance and may He bless her with His choice blessings and may He grant her the greater of the boons which He has promised to the good. Baisunghur, son of Shâhrukh, son of Taymur Gurakâni wrote this inscription with hope in Allah in 821.”¹

In the middle of the above inscription “The Kingdom belongs to Allah” (المملك لله) is written in Kufic letters. Heading the inscription are two lines in small writing on tiles, as follows:

إِنَّعِيلَلَأَوْلَيْهَا فِي أَوَّلِ شَهْرِ الْخَمْسَةِ رَجُبِ الْعُمَّارَيْنَ

“The writing of this inscription happened towards the beginning of the auspicious month of Rajab 821 of the Hijra.”

At the end of the inscription the following two lines are written:

عَمَلُ الْعَبِيدُ الشَّعْبِيِّ الْفَقِيرُ الْمُحْتَنَّ لِعِنَادِهِ الْمَلِكِ الْرَّخْمَس

¹ Shâhrukh reigned from A.H. 807 (1404) to A.H. 850 (1447).
"The work of the slave, weak and poor, needing the favour of the Gracious Allah, Kiwâm-ud-Din, son of Zayn-ud-Din Shîrâzî, the mason."

No description of this great mosque would be complete without referring to the Musjid-i-Pîra-zan, or "Mosque of the Old Woman". The legend runs that an old dame owned part of the land required by Gauhar Shâd and declined to sell it at any price; but insisted that a separate mosque should be built in the interior of the courtyard. This has been done and the "Mosque of the Old Woman", which is roofless and open on all four sides, is still there to-day, as the plan shows.

To take the stately pile of buildings as a whole, it can be safely said, on the unique authority of Professor Vambéry, that the actual tomb-chamber, or haram, surpasses in richness the most renowned shrines of the Muhammadan world in Central Asia, and the great traveller also considers that the mosque of Gauhar Shâd may be awarded "the palm of superior beauty to those of Samarcand and Herât". Consequently, it is rather sad to think that fanaticism bars the way to the European traveller who would fain appreciate to the full this the Glory of the Shia world.

KHÂF AND THE MADRASA OF KHARGİRD

In "A Fifth Journey in Persia" ¹ I described the district of Khâf, the Arab Khwâf, and earlier still, Khwâb. I also referred to the once famous college of Khargird, which word is stated to be a corruption of Khusraugird or "the building of Khusrau". The Madrasa is perfect, so far as the brickwork is concerned, and covers an area of five-sevenths of an acre. The main gateway is a noble piece of work, inlaid with coloured bricks, and beautified by an inscription of white Suls lettering on a blue ground. The

¹ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for November and December, 1906; also Guy le Strange, op. cit., p. 357.
right half of the inscription, consisting of verses from the Koran, has been defaced, but, fortunately, the left half was legible and runs as follows:

أبو العظّمْرَيْنِ يَهَارِبُ الرَّحْمَةَ فِي سَلَّمَ عَلَى مَلَكِهِ وَ سَلٌّ طَأْطُعَ آتِعٍ
دُرْجٍ دُولَتَ أَيْمَانِ عَمَّال وَ دَانُ بَادْشَاهُ بِرَبِيعَ مَسْكُونٍ خُشُرو
صَاحِبٍ قَرَامُ بِصَغُّي الْعَبْدِ الصَّمِيمِ الْمُسَلِّمِ النَّعْمَانِيِّي النَّوْزَيْرِانِ
أَحْمَدُ أَبِي إِسْحَاقٍ وَفَيْضُ الدَّى مُحَمَّدٌ النَّعْمَانِيِّي
تَسْتَنَّ طَمَانَ وَأرْمَعِيَّ وَلَمْ سَبْعَةٌ

"The Father of the Victorious, the Valiant Lord, may Allah, the Omnipotent, make his Empire and Kingdom everlasting! The Sun of the Tower of Empire, the Heaven of Justice of Equity, the King of the inhabited quarter of the Globe, the Khusrau, the Lord of the Conjuncture of the Planets. By the endeavour of the Slave, the Weak, the Poor, the Bare-footed, the two Viziers, Ahmad son of Ishâk and Fakhr-ud-Din Muhammad of Khâf. In the year Eight and Forty and Eight hundred."

This inscription is of value as proving that the college was built in a.h. 848 (1445), during the reign of Shâhrukh, who is the "Khusrau" in the inscription and who died two years later. It is also of interest to be able to identify the two founders, Ahmad ibn Ishâk, Ghiyâs-ud-Din, and Fakhr-ud-Din, Muhammad. These two individuals were joint viziers of Shâhrukh, and history relates that they were friends to the last!

The interior is a quadrangle in the usual style, with four open arches. The coloured bricks are still intact, but the mosaics, which are exquisite, are almost all defaced. Their colours are sapphire-blue with green, yellow, and white, the motive of the pattern being conventional Kufic letters. Fine dark-blue mosaic tiles, with conventional flowers in light blue, white, and gold,
originally covered the arches, the finest being great stars; but, alas! these have almost all been removed, and now adorn collections in Europe. On either side of the main gate is a domed building, which is decorated with exquisite specimens of the lovely old Persian plaster-work. The panelling consists of dark-blue tiles relieved by hexagons of a milk-white marble. Yet another inscription was copied, which we found in mosaics at the back of the arch facing the gateway. It runs—

"This auspicious and spacious madrasa was built by the work of the deceased slave the master-craftsman Ghiyās-ud-Din, Shirāzi, and was completed by the work of the slave the master-craftsman Kiwām-ud-Din, Shirāzi."

Kiwām-ud-Din was the architect of the Gauhar Shād mosque at Meshed, and also, I believe, of the Musalla at Herat, which latter building was destroyed for military reasons by the late Amir. About Kiwām-ud-Din a story has come down the ages, according to which he fell into disfavour with Shāhrūkh and absented himself from court for the space of a year. During this period of leisure he wrote a treatise on astronomy and sent it to his royal master, hoping thereby to be restored to favour. In reply came a distich—

"Thou didst work well indeed on Earth,
That thou also aspiredst to the Heaven."

The photographs of this college by no means do it justice; but if one sees the superb tiles and the lovely
mosaics, it is possible to estimate what a dazzling blaze of splendour this stately college must have presented at the time of its completion, a generation before Alfred the Great sat on the throne of England.

**KALAT-I-NADIRI**

The extraordinary natural fortress of Kalāt-i-Nādiri, enclosed by hills, rising sheer for thousands of feet, and the famous thesaurus of Nādir Shāh has been described by me in detail in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for November and December, 1906. The only inscription that I saw or heard of has hitherto been attributed to Arghun or Argawning Shāh, presumably because it is cut in the living rock near the Darband, or Natural Gateway, called after him.¹ The inscription is not perfect, the water having cut a channel in it; but both its contents and also the ornamentation show that it was the work of and in honour of Nādir Shāh. It runs as follows:

```
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بتدأ نام نعماني أحمد فرد وقيدم
معدلت كشر ومجمل رسل فخر ومهما
ال.wikipedia هو رحمت وسبيار
سربر شهد نادر شر امير

«• مير

يوسفن بلانش واحاتم كاف ولهما حكمة
بتخت شهيب حلم دميم

ك نوسيم زمناقيش كامل
```

¹ In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

1. First the name of Allah, One without Peer, and Ancient, Powerful, Eternal, and Immortal and Wise.

¹ Vide Curzon's Persia, vol. i, p. 128.
2. Ahmad, the Prophet of Mecca, of the Kuraysh, a Certain Light. He displayed justice and concluded the number of the Prophets and the Honour of the Earth.

3. His family and his Companions were a great mercy 

[Second verse of No. 3 blank.]

4. [First verse of No. 4 almost blank.]
Became the throne of Nādir . . . like a King.

5. But like the Power of God he, who built the building, was the Lord of Power . . .

[Second verse of No. 5 nearly blank.]

6. With the courtesy of the Prophet, with the breath of the Messiah, and with a visage like Yusuf.
Like Bu Ali in learning, like Hatim in generosity, and like Lukman in learning.

7. [First verse of No. 7 and most of second verse wanting.]
The royal throne . . . benign to all.

8. All the praise I write is suited for his praise . . .

[Second verse of No. 8 wanting.]

Note. There are a few more verses which are illegible.

THE MUSALLA

About three-quarters of a mile from the city, on the Herat road, is situated the fine Musallah, or "Place of Prayer". Such mosques were built outside Persian cities for the special prayers at the end of Ramazan, i.e. the Id-i-Fitr, and also on the Id-i-Kurbān. These special services at a special mosque outside the city have fallen into disuse among the Shias, but are still observed by Sunnis. To-day the Musallah would be used, if at all, in case of dire calamity such as war, drought, or pestilence.

The building consists of a gigantic arch, with an interior height of about 60 feet and a depth of 30 feet. Its width is 36 feet. There are two gushwar, or side chapels, used by women.

Like most public buildings in Persia, the Musallah is
in a state of decay; but the tile-work, which is almost all mosaic, is still in a fair state of preservation. On the main arch are verses from the Koran in fine white Suls letters on a blue background. On each side are ten lines of a Persian inscription on a blue ground with yellow letters and Nasta’īik character, which run as follows:

Inscription on the Right Side of Arch.

"In the time of Sulayman Shāh, the Fortunate, who has given order in the world. His Audience Chamber is the Sun: His Army the Stars. His Authority like Alexander's and his Greatness like that of Kubād. By the guidance of Allah and by the Power of the Builder of the Bayt-al-Haram (sc. God). By the inspiration of He who is alive eternally: by the order of the Great Personage of High family! Abu Ṣāliḥ Sadr-ud-Din, from the beginning of the world to the end of the world may his wealth remain."

1 The name of the "Great Personage" is not given; it is presumably Sulayman Shāh, who reigned from a.h. 1077 (1667) to a.h. 1105 (1694).
Inscription on the Left Side of Arch.

"By the superintendence and labour of Haji Malik, who, in his work, is thorough. From the trouble he took in the path of Sincerity in a short period he completed this muṣallā. Like an inquirer on the subject of the date, I wandered in the plain of thought. The wise Old Man said to the ear of my heart, 'This Building is the Place of Assembly for the Multitude.' ¹

"The work (sc. the tile-work) of the Haji Shujā', Isfahani.

"Muhammad Husayn Mashhadi wrote the inscriptions."

¹ i.e. A.H. 1087 (1677).
DURING a recent visit to Assam I made some notes on the religion of the country which may possibly prove of interest. The forms of Hinduism prevalent there merit attention for two reasons. Firstly, they present some special developments of the Vaishnava faith in which monasticism and puritanism attain a prominence unusual in contemporary India and, secondly, they illustrate clearly and compendiously the methods by which the propagation of Hinduism in areas originally not Hindu is effected. The historical record, if not ancient, is exceptionally authentic for the last few centuries, and though the Assamese sects have features of their own yet the circumstances of their rise and subdivision may throw light on what occurred elsewhere.¹

Assam has played in the east much the same part as the Panjab in the west, that is to say it has been the door and vestibule through which a long and turbulent procession of invaders has entered from the north. But whereas in the west the majority of the invaders belonged to powerful races importing their civilization with them and moving with an impetus which carried them far beyond their point of entry, in the east they were obscure tribes, who lingered in the border provinces and showed little disposition to impose their languages or institutions on others. It is difficult to trace the migrations of the earlier arrivals, but they seem to have met and

¹ I am indebted for much information to Gait’s *History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1906, the *Assam District Gazetteers*, and the Report on Assam in the last census of India, 1901. The article on Assam in Hastings’ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* unfortunately did not come into my hands until after the present paper was written.
blended with another race, thus forming the present population of Bengal. The historians of later Assam are occupied with the doings of four principal states founded by the Koches, Kacharis, Jaintias, and Ahoms. The Manipuris, though not inferior to their neighbours, stand somewhat apart in political isolation, whereas the other tribes were continually colliding. The most important of the four were the Ahoms, and the story of their advance at the expense of the others forms the major part of Assamese history. They belonged to the same race as the Siamese and Shans and can be traced as far as southern China, whence they descended at the end of the thirteenth century. Their chronicles, called Buranjis, go back to 568 A.D. and though mythical in their earlier portions are said to be very trustworthy from the reign of Sukapha (1228 A.D.) onwards. This prince arrived from Burmah and conquered parts of the present Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. The Ahoms continued to advance in the following centuries, although they had to contend not only with other local tribes but also with various Moslim invasions. In 1671 they had a decisive success over the Mohammedans and annexed the district of Kamrup. For the next hundred years their power was at its height, but subsequently it declined and suffered much from the attacks of the Burmese.

The Koches are allied to the Bodo and belong to the Tibeto-Burmese division. At present their political power is represented by the little state of Koch-Behar, but in the sixteenth century, before the supremacy of the Ahoms was assured, they were for a short time practically masters of the greater part of Assam. The Kacharis are nearly allied to the Koches and as early as the thirteenth century possessed a kingdom on the south bank of the Brahmaputra which included the Naga Hills and North Cachar. In spite of conflicts with the Ahoms this kingdom lasted with varying boundaries until the nineteenth century. The ruins of Dimapur, the old Kachari
capital, on the River Dhansiri show that in the sixteenth century they had attained a relatively high state of civilization. The Jaintias resemble the Khasis in their physical type and language, which latter belongs to the Mon-Khmer family. It is possible that these two tribes represent the remnants of the first invaders who once occupied the whole of Assam, but were in most parts submerged by fresh waves of immigrant population. It does not appear that the Khasis ever formed a political unit, but from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth the Rajas of the Jaintia Hills reigned in regular succession and kept up a conflict with their neighbours.

Most of these tribes seem to have brought with them religions of the same type, which are not yet extinct and include creation legends together with a belief in the existence of the soul after death and in benevolent deities. In practice, however, the evil spirits who injure mankind, beasts, and crops, unless propitiated, receive more attention. Divination and ceremonies for obtaining good luck are held important and the priests or diviners sometimes form a special class, as the Deodhais among the Ahoms, and the Deoris of the Chutiyas. A special feature in these aboriginal religions was the cult of goddesses who were worshipped with human sacrifices and immoral rites. Thus we hear that the Chutiyas of Sadiya used to adore a goddess called Kesai Khati, or the eater of raw flesh, and that criminals or voluntary victims were offered to her. As in ancient Mexico the victims were treated with honour and lived in luxury during the period preceding the ceremony. Similar sacrifices were performed by the Tipperas, Kacharis, Koches, Jaintias, and others.¹

It seems clear that these cults are related to the form of Hindu religion called Śaktism, and two stages in the

¹ See E. A. Gait, "Human Sacrifices in Ancient Assam"; JASB., 1898, p. 56.
relationship can be distinguished. In the later stage, which may be witnessed even at the present day, an aboriginal goddess or demon is identified with one of the aspects (generally the "black" or fierce aspects) of Śiva's spouse. But such identification is facilitated by the fact that such goddesses as Kālī, Bhairavī, and Chinnamastakā are not products of purely Hindu imagination, but represent an earlier stage of amalgamation in which Hindu and aboriginal ideas are compounded. It is probable that the Śaktist form of worship originated in Bengal and Assam. It is true that a goddess who requires to be propitiated with human victims has temples in most parts of India, but Śaktism in the sense of a definite sect with scriptures of its own, if not confined to the north-east corner, at least has its head-quarters there. It has deeply affected the Buddhism of Tibet, and it also tainted the decadent mediaeval Buddhism of Bihar, but, so far as I know, there is no evidence that Buddhism suffered similar corruption in the north-west.¹ Except in Bengal and Assam, I doubt if there are any temples in India which admittedly countenance the rites of Śaktism, and its adherents elsewhere are largely recruited from among Bengali clerks. There is therefore every reason to ascribe to it a local origin, and many of the chief Tantras ² show distinct local colour. For instance, the fish to be used in the pancemakāra rites are described by Bengali names.

One of the principal Tantric legends relates how the body of the Śakti was cut into pieces, which were scattered over Assam and Bengal. This story has an uncouth and barbarous air, and seems out of place even

¹ But Udyāna is traditionally connected with magic and Tantrism, and it would appear that the goddess Anahit, who was revered in Bactria and who figures on the coins of the Kushans, was worshipped with immoral, if not with bloodthirsty rites. It would consequently not be surprising if Tantric elements were found in Kushan Buddhism.

² That is to say, the Tantras inculcating Śaktic worship. The name is commonly restricted to such works, but it means merely abridgement and Vaishnava Tantras from South India are quoted.
in Puranic mythology. It recalls the tales told of Osiris, Orpheus, and Halfdan the Black,\(^1\) and may be ultimately traceable to the idea that the dismemberment of a deity or a human representative ensures fertility. It makes its appearance late in Sanskrit literature, and I have not seen any authority quoted for it earlier than the Tantras or Upapurāṇas (e.g. Kālikā).\(^2\) Various reasons are given for the dismemberment, and the incident is rather awkwardly tacked on to other legends. One common version relates that when Satī died of vexation because her husband Śiva was insulted by her father Daksha, Śiva took up her corpse and wandered distractedly, carrying it on his shoulder. In order to stop this penance Vishṇu followed him and cut off pieces from the corpse with the quoit Sudarśana, until the whole had fallen to earth in fifty-one pieces. The spots where these pieces touched the ground are held to be sacred, and are called pīths. At most of them are shown a rock supposed to represent a portion of the goddess's body, and some object called a bhairabī, or guardian left by Śiva to protect her, which generally takes the form of a lingam. The most important of these pīths are Kāmākhya near Gauhati, and Faljur in the Jaintia Parganas, where the pudenda and left thigh respectively are said to have fallen. Another one, inferior in sanctity but even better known on account of its position, is Kālighāt. Surely we have here an amalgamation of Hinduism with more savage beliefs, and the Śāktic ritual, especially the

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\(^1\) See for these stories of dismemberment Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, pp. 269–73.

\(^2\) Gait’s note (*History of Assam*, p. 11) seems to me misleading in so far as it implies that the germ of the story is found in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The germ of Daksha’s sacrifice is found there, but hardly of Satī’s dismemberment. In the Purāṇas Satī dies of vexation, but is not cut in pieces. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa she is consumed by self-produced fire. The late appearance of the legend does not of course mean that it is late in itself, but merely that it was not known or not countenanced by Sanskrit writers until mediaeval times.
immolation of human victims, tells the same tale. Such sacrifices no doubt formed an occasional part of the earliest Aryan religion, and the burning of widows and various forms of religious suicide which continued until the nineteenth century show that the taking or surrender of life as a religious ceremony was not shocking to many Hindu sects. But though instances of human sacrifices can be cited from most parts of India, it would be hard to find a parallel elsewhere to the hecatombs regularly offered in Assam with the full official sanction of the Brahmans and of the modern scriptures.

At first we hear of these rites being performed by tribal priests, but the transition to Hinduism took place when they were celebrated under Brahmanic auspices. As in all districts and sects of India, the really important point was not the character of the god, the doctrine, or the ceremony, but the admission that the right to worship, teach, and officiate resided in the Brahmans. In return for this acceptance of their spiritual pre-eminence, the Brahmans were ready to support the authority of tribal chiefs, and to supply them with unblushingly fabricated Hindu pedigrees. Thus when the Koch chief Bisu or Bisva Singh became powerful about 1515 they declared him to be a son of Śiva, and his tribesmen to be Kshatriyas who had lost their sacred threads when fleeing before Paraśurāma. The Manipuris are declared to be the descendants of Arjuna, who is said to have lived in their country with a Naga woman.¹ As late as 1790 the

¹ At the present day converts to Hinduism are generally enrolled in the Koch caste. Koch was originally a tribal name, but in Assam it now signifies merely a caste with no racial character, but divided into many subdivisions in which the rules of Hinduism are observed with varying strictness. The families of converts often pass through several subdivisions in successive generations. They begin in the lowest, where eating flesh and drinking alcohol are permitted, and then pass into higher classes where these practices are forbidden. New converts are called Saraniyas, i.e. those who have repeated the Saranam formula to a Guru.
Kachari Raja of Khaspur and his brother "entered the body of a copper effigy of a cow. On emerging from it they were proclaimed to be Hindus of the Kshatriya caste, and a genealogy of a hundred generations reaching to Bhim, the hero of the Mahabharat, was composed for them by the Brahmans".¹ Throughout its history in Assam Śaktism seems to have been allied with the Rajas and aristocracy, and often to have combined with them in persecuting the more democratic forms of Vaishnavism. Until the sixteenth century it was the main form of Hinduism in these regions, but it was probably confined to the upper classes and the mass of the people were not Hinduized. The traces of ancient Buddhism which have been reported appear to be not authentic, and though there are indications that Indian influence reached Burma by land, Yuan Chhwang states ² that in his time Buddhism was not and never had been known in Kāmarūpa. Legend connects Krishṇa with Assam, and temples to him and Vishṇu are mentioned, but before the sixteenth century it does not appear that Vaishnavism was a serious rival of Śaktism, or even clearly distinguished from it.

Before treating of contemporary Śaktism, it may be well to put together what we know of it in the past. The story is simple, for the religious history of the Ahoms is a record of the continuous progress of Śaktism and Brahmanic influence among the upper classes, diversified by the spread of popular forms of Vaishnavism which were not perfectly under the control of either the Brahmans or the Government. The old tribal religion could oppose to both movements little but a surly conservatism, for Hinduism, even in its degraded forms, meant the adoption of a relatively higher civilization. In 1397 we hear that

¹ Gait, History of Assam, 1906, p. 351.
² Watters, ii, pp. 185-6. But possibly Yuan Chhwang's own visit to the Court of Assam may have led to the introduction of Buddhism. In any case it is probable that a few centuries later, when it had been accepted as the religion of Tibet, it did not remain wholly unknown to Assam.
a prince named Sudangpha became king of the Ahoms. According to the story, his mother had been driven from the palace by a court intrigue, and was sent adrift on a raft down the Brahmaputra. The river carried her to a Brahman village in Habung, where her son was brought up. On ascending the throne he summoned his foster-father to be his adviser, and introduced many Hindu rites and beliefs among the Ahoms. We hear little about religion during the fifteenth century, but it is significant that after 1497 the kings have usually Hindu as well as Ahom names, often of religious significance, such as Swāmi Nārāyaṇa. The great religious event of the sixteenth century is the introduction of popular Vaishnavism, of which I will treat subsequently. But though it spread rapidly among the masses, its effect was to increase the zeal of the Śāktist Brahmans and their royal patrons. We hear that Brahmanic influence increased, notably during the reign of Pratap Singh (1603–41), who erected temples to Śīva at Dergaon and Bishnath, and sacrificed prisoners of war at Kāmākhyā. But this monarch was apt to judge of theology by inconveniently practical tests, for when his son died shortly after a distribution of gifts to Brahmans he was so enraged that he executed many of the recipients. Under his successors both Ahom and Hindu rites seem to have been countenanced by Government. Official sacrifices were offered to Śīva and the Ahom gods simultaneously, and solemn oaths were administered, with double formalities. But Gadadhar Singh (1681–96) was a definite patron of Śāktism. He built the temple of Umānanda on Peacock Island, opposite Gauhati, and made numerous grants to Brahmans. He also persecuted the Vaishnava sects. His successor, Rudra Singh (1696–1714), reversed his policy in this last respect, but in his later years embraced the Śākta faith, even more definitely than his predecessors. He refused to let any of his own subjects exercise spiritual authority over him, and
therefore summoned to his court Krishnaram Bhattacarya, a famous Saktist Brahman from Nadia, and became his disciple. But even then his royal spirit rebelled against the requirement of the ritual that he should prostrate himself before his Guru, and the learned doctor was departing in anger when an earthquake occurred, which caused the king to recall him in haste. He still, it appears, remained obstinate about the obeisance, but he made his son Sib Singh become a disciple in due form, and managed to pacify the holy man.

It was in the reign of Sib Singh (1714-44) that Hinduism became the national religion of the Ahoms, those who adhered to the old tribal beliefs and ceremonies being regarded as a separate and inferior class. The people gradually abandoned their old customs, especially the use of meat and alcohol. Large grants were given to Brahmans and many temples were built at Sibsagar, Gaurisagar, and elsewhere. The Vaishnavas, especially the sect called Moamarias, were persecuted, but favours were heaped on the Saktas. Krishnaram was entrusted with the management of the temple of Kambakhyā, and his descendants, known as the Parbatiya Gosains, are still regarded as the head of the sect. But when Lakshmi Singh, the younger brother of Sib Singh, ascended the throne in 1769, the Parbatiya Gosain declined to recognize him, maintaining that he was illegitimate. The king accordingly imported another family of priests called the Na (or new) Gosains from Bengal, who became the rivals of the earlier foundation. Probably the people began to feel the weight of the Brahmanic yoke in this reign, for there appears to have been a double reaction. The Moamarias raised a formidable rebellion, and the Deodhais or tribal priests attributed the misfortunes of the country to the neglect of the ancient Ahom rites. For a time the Deodhais regained their influence, but their religion was hardly capable of competing with Hinduism. Shortly
afterwards the chroniclers record that a solemn ceremony was held in honour of the goddess Tārā and great largess distributed to Brahmins. We hear of no further resistance to the progress of Hinduism, but there are even now a few Deodhais who practise divination and preserve some knowledge of the old Ahom language.

The Koch kings became active patrons of Hinduism earlier than their Ahom rivals, which is not unnatural as their possessions lay nearer to India proper. Bishwa Singh (1515–40) rebuilt the temple of Kāmākhyā and imported families of Brahmins. His successor Nar Nārāyaṇa (1540–84) again restored Kāmākhyā, which had meanwhile been destroyed by the Mohammedans. On the occasion of its consecration a hundred and forty men were sacrificed, their heads being offered to the goddess on copper salvers. He also protected the rising Vaishnava sects, but made no attempt to impose Hinduism on his subjects. On the contrary he set aside special tracts of land for the performance of aboriginal rites. A later Koch king, Raghu Deb, restored and endowed the temple of Hajo, which had also been destroyed by Mohammedans, and dedicated it with human sacrifices, although in his inscriptions he describes himself as a worshipper of Krīṣṇa.

The mass of the Jaintia people do not appear to have ever been much under the influence of Brahmins. The chiefs, however, were Śāktas, and human sacrifices were offered annually at Faljur on the ninth day of the Durgāpūjā.

According to the Census Report of 1901 the Śāktas number only 702,185, as against 3,500,000 Vaishnavas. But these figures probably do not represent their real strength. The sect has not a good reputation among Hindus, and many who belong to it prefer to call themselves by another name. Still, it cannot be said that any odium attaches to the designation Śākta, at any rate in Kamrup, and officials of good position in the Government
service describe themselves as such. The chief sanctuary of the sect is at Kāmākhya (or Kāmākshā) on the Nilachal hill, which stands on the banks of the Brahmaputra, about two miles below Gauhati. It is mentioned in the Padma Purāṇa. As observed above, the temples have been rebuilt several times, and about 1715 were munificently endowed by the Ahom king, and placed under the management of the Parbatiya Gosains. Considerable estates are still assigned to their upkeep, but it is complained that a large proportion of the revenues is diverted to private uses. There are ten shrines on the hill dedicated to various forms of the Śakti, such as Kāli, Tārā, Bhairavi, Bhuvanesvari, etc. The situation is magnificent, commanding an extensive prospect over the Brahmaputra and the plains on either bank, but none of the buildings are of much architectural merit. The largest and best is the temple dedicated to Kāmākhya herself, the goddess of sexual desire. It is of the style usual in Northern India, an unlighted shrine surmounted by a śikra or dome, and approached by a rather ample vestibule, which is also imperfectly lighted. An inscription has been preserved recording the restoration of the temple by Nar Nārāyan and his brother, but only the present basement dates from their time, most of the superstructure being recent. Europeans may not enter the temple, but an image of the goddess can be seen from a side door. In the depths of the shrine is said to be a cleft in the rock, adored as the Yoni of Śakti. In front of the temple are two posts to which a goat is tied, and decapitated daily at noon. On festivals large numbers of goats are killed, and it is remarkable that similar sacrifices are offered to Śiva in the temple of Umānanda, although as a rule he is not, like his spouse, propitiated with animal victims. Pūjā is performed only once a day, but it is said to last from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., and in the

1 So I was told, but I saw only six.
course of it offerings of hot food are made to the goddess. A noticeable feature at Kāmākhya is the great number of little girls called Kumāris, aged from 6 to 10, to whom pilgrims are expected to present alms. My guides maintained that they are merely the ordinary population of the villages on the hill, but their numbers seem out of all proportion to the boys, and I think they are brought from various districts and dedicated to the goddess. At one temple I saw a female ascetic dressed in yellowish clothes. She said she had lived four years at Kāmākhya, but was not connected with any particular order or confraternity. Below the principal shrine is the temple of Bhairavi. Human sacrifices were offered here in comparatively recent times, and it is not denied that they would be offered now if the law allowed. Also it is not denied that the so-called left-hand rites comprising "the five m's" (matsya, mudrā, madya, māmsa, maithuna) are frequently performed in these temples, and that Aghoris may be found in them. The spot attracts a considerable number of pilgrims from Bengal, and a wealthy devotee has built a villa on the hill and resides there for the purpose of taking part in the rites. One of the principal ceremonies is called Cakra, apparently because at its commencement the devotees sit in a circle. It is performed at midnight and is of five kinds (Viracakra, Rājac., Devac.,

1 The rules for these sacrifices are given in the Rudhirādhyāya (Chapter of Blood) of the Kālikā Purāṇa, which, however, appears to prohibit them for the three highest castes. It is translated in Asiatic Researches, vol. v, 1798, pp. 371-91, and specially mentions Kāmākhya as one of the goddesses who are pleased with human victims. Before the immolation the sacrificer worships Brahmā and other deities as if they were present in different parts of the victim’s body, and then adores the victim himself as an assemblage of all the deities. An axe is consecrated to Kālī by the recitation of special mantras, and with it the victim is decapitated. His head is offered to the goddess on a salver of gold, silver, copper, brass, or wood, but not of iron. Offerings of the sacrificer’s own blood drawn from the upper parts of the body may also be presented, as also a lamp with which he has burnt himself in various places.
Mahāc., Paśuc.), some of which require the assistance of five women of various castes. I was informed that the chief scriptures of the sect are the Kālikā Purāṇa, the Jogini (= Yogini), Tantra, and the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra. The Śākta Brahmins make no pretension to a knowledge of the Vedas, and few of them are well versed in Sanskrit. I saw, however, a man reading the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana aloud to an apparently appreciative audience.

It is remarkable that this barbarous and immoral worship, though looked at askance except in its own holy places, is by no means confined to the lower castes. A series of apologies composed in excellent English (but sometimes anonymous) attest the sympathy of the educated. So far as theology and metaphysics are concerned, these defences are plausible. The Śakti is identified with Prakriti or with the Māyā of the Advaita philosophy and defined as the energy, coexistent with Brahman, which creates the world. But attempts to palliate the ceremonial, such as the argument that it is a consecration and limitation of the appetites because they may be gratified only in the service of the goddess, are not convincing. Nor do the Śāktas when able to profess their faith openly, deny the nature of their rites or the importance attached to them. An oft-quoted Tantric verse represents Śiva as saying Maithunena mahāyogī mama tulyo na saṃsārayah. And for practical purposes that is the gist of Śāktist teaching.

It must be confessed that the temples of Kāmākhyā leave a disagreeable impression—an impression of dark evil haunts of lust and bloodshed, akin to madness and unrelieved by any grace or vigour of art. For there is no attempt in them to represent the terrible or voluptuous aspects of Hinduism, such as find expression in sculpture elsewhere. All the buildings, and especially the modern

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1 A translation of this work has been published by Manmatha Nath Datt, 1900. Printed by H. C. Dass, Elysium Press, Calcutta.
temple of Kāli, which is in process of construction, testify to the atrophy and paralysis produced by erotic forms of religion in the artistic and intellectual spheres, a phenomenon which finds another sad illustration in quite different theological surroundings among the Vallabhaçārya sect at Muttra.

It is not surprising if such a creed, bloodthirsty, licentious, and disposed to support tyrannical government, offered a favourable ground for the missionary enterprise of other sects. The beginning of the sixteenth century was remarkable for the rise of two great Vaishnava leaders, Caitanya in Bengal and Vallabhaçārya further west. This wave of religious feeling which inundated northern India from Bengal to Kathiawar had its origin in the teaching of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda. All Vaishnavism is characterized by the doctrine that salvation can be won only by devotion to Rāma, Krishna, or some Vaishnavite deity regarded as the supreme and only god (other deities, if recognized at all, being on a lower and only quasi-divine plane) and by a theistic rather than a pantheistic view of this deity's nature. The Advaita of Śaṅkara is modified, and the individual soul is treated as more or less definitely distinct from the deity at all periods of its career. The northern sects of Vaishnavism are further marked by a tendency (sometimes counteracted by a subsequent reaction) to relax the distinctions of caste and by an emotional or even hysterical devotion which sometimes led them into excesses as bad as those of the Śaktas. This emotional aspect is connected with the worship of Krishṇa as a child or young man and with the veneration of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The special doctrines of Caitanya did not materially differ from those of Vallabha. He enjoined devotion to Krishṇa, the highest form of such devotion being mādhurya, or love such as Rādhā felt for him, and as conducive to religious fervour he recommended singing, dancing, and incessant repetition of the divine names.
He paid no attention to caste and admitted even Mohammedans as converts.

The Vaishnavism which entered Assam was of Caitanya's school. Its first apostle was Śankar Deb, a Kayasth, of the Nowgong district, who is credited with having lived 120 years, and who appears to have died in 1569. At the time of his preaching the sovereignty of the Brahmaaputra valley was divided between the Ahoms, who had their capital at Garhgaon, and the Koches, who were masters of the lower part of the river. The former were destined to prevail in the long run, but for the moment the Koch king, Nar Nārāyan, was the stronger. Śankar Deb preached first in Ahom territory, but the king was under the influence of Śāktist Brahmans, and the reformer was obliged to retire. He found a refuge at Barpeta, and under the protection of Nar Nārāyan his doctrine spread rapidly. He composed several works which are still held in high esteem. Among them are a translation of the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and a collection of Kirttans or hymns, each consisting of a short text or Ghosha followed by a longer poem styled Pada.

The harmony of the Vaishnavas was not untroubled even in Śankar Deb's lifetime. A Sudra among his followers, named Aniruddh, quarrelled with him and founded the sect which attained considerable political notoriety under the name of Moāmariā. I have not been able to obtain any precise information about the theology of this sect, if indeed they have anything worthy of the name. They are said to worship aboriginal deities as well as Kṛshṇa. They reject the authority not only of the Brahmans but of Śankar Deb and his successors, and they venerate a magical copperplate bequeathed by Aniruddh. It bears an inscription which is kept secret. It is clear that the Moāmariās represent a democratic and anti-sacerdotal movement. At present they are repudiated by all the other Vaishnavas and are of no religious
importance, though, in the eighteenth century, they were a considerable political force. They are restricted to the extreme east of Assam, and I have not had an opportunity of seeing them. Their principal religious establishment, which has been frequently shifted, is at present near Chabua in Lakhimpur.\(^1\) The name Moāmariā is currently derived from a fish called moa, caught in large numbers by the original disciples of Aniruddh, who were fishermen.

Śankar Deb appears not only to have inculcated the worship of Krishna as the sole divine being, but also to have denounced sacrifices, idolatry, and the observance of caste. He designated as his successor Mādhah Deb, another Kayasth, who held these views even more strictly than himself. Mādhah Deb was a man of ascetic life and a writer of repute. He composed a sacred poem in thirteen books called the Bhakti-ratnāvali, and a collection of hymns or ecstatic verses, often consisting of little more than the names of the Deity, called Nām-ghosha (in Assamese pronunciation Ghokha). But he was not able to hold the sect together. The Brahmans, who appreciated the importance of Vaishnavism as a religious force, were not disposed to let it pass out of their control and become an anti-brahmanic movement. Many of Mādhah's Brahman disciples, such as Damodar Deb, Hari Deb, and Gopal Deb,\(^2\) seceded from him at the end of the seventeenth century and founded separate communities. Of Gopal Deb it is related that he was once crossing the Brahmaputra with his master on a stormy day when the boat seemed about to capsize. In this extremity he apostrophized Varuna, conjuring him to stay the tempest till the teacher should have landed. But no danger from the elements could modify the convictions of Mādhah. He accused Gopal of idolatry, and then and there flung him into the river.

\(^1\) Assam District Gazetteers, Lakhimpur, 1905, p. 126.

\(^2\) Aniruddh, the founder of the Moāmariās, is said to have been this Gopal Deb's immediate disciple, and to have seceded from him.
Such a return for his loyal, if irregular, prayers was more than Gopal could stand, and as he spluttered among the waves he announced his secession and intention to found a new sect. These schismatic leaders were known as the Bamunia Gosains, and were connected with large monastic establishments called sattras,¹ which form a special feature in the religious life of Assam. The title Gosain is roughly equivalent to abbot. The various communities exhibited slight differences in doctrine and practice, but insisted on the observance of caste and especially on the necessity of religious teachers being Brahmins, while they were tolerant of idolatry and even of the worship of non-Vaishnava deities. They also allowed the flesh of goats, pigeons, and ducks to be eaten. The adherents of Mādhhab Deb were distinguished by the name of Mahāpurushias; they repudiated idolatry and the ascendancy of Brahmans, admitting, and even preferring, Sudras as religious guides.

Whereas the history of Śāktism is little more than a chronicle of successful sacerdotal ambition, the fortunes of Vaishnavism have been more varied. It produced martyrs as well as prince-bishops. In the first generation after Mādhhab Deb, all branches of the faith seem to have made rapid progress in both Ahom and Koch territory. Somewhat later we hear that Jayadhwaj Singh (1648–63), the Ahom monarch, was much under the influence of Brahmans, both Vaishnava and Śākta. He founded the great sattra of Auniati, but at the instigation of his priestly advisers persecuted the Mahāpurushias and killed some of their leading men. But on the whole Vaishnavism—particularly Brahmanic Vaishnavism—still flourished. The country became full of religious establishments, and the inmates claimed exemption not only from military service but from the obligation to labour in the

¹ This is the usual spelling of the word, but it appears to be really the Sanskrit chattr, an umbrella or shelter for pupils. In Eastern Bengal and Assam ch is generally pronounced as s.
construction of roads and public works, to which all subjects of the king were liable. This pretension brought upon them the wrath of Gadadhar Singh (1681–96), who feared the growing power of the Gosains and had also a private grudge against them because they had opposed his accession to the throne. Ram Bapu, head of the great monastery of Dakhinpath, was mutilated and had his property confiscated; his colleague of Auniati escaped the same fate only by flight, and many others were killed or sacrificed to idols. Assam was given over to murder and brigandage until Gadadhar Singh, seeing that the prosperity of his kingdom was in danger, ordered the persecution to stop. The same considerations doubtless weighed with his son Rudra Singh (1696–1714). He effected a compromise by which the Brahman Gosains were shown all honour, but he assigned to them the Majuli Island in the Upper Brahmaputra as their chief, if not only residence. The abbot of Auniati was recalled and made the king's guru. The Sudra Gosains were not persecuted, but were obliged to wear a distinctive badge consisting of a small earthen jar hanging on a string round their necks, and Brahmans were forbidden to show them reverence.

As already mentioned, the next king, Sib Singh, was entirely under the influence of Brahmans, and took so seriously to heart an astrological prediction that his reign would soon come to an end that he sought to fulfil the decree of heaven by the subterfuge of resigning the insignia and authority of royalty to his chief wife, Phulesvari, who was a bigoted Śākta. It was reported to her that the Sudra Gosains refused to worship Durgā. She accordingly ordered the chief of the Moāmariās and other prominent Gosains to be taken to a Śākta temple and have the Śākta sectarian marks imprinted on their foreheads in the blood of the victims. This outrage seems to have sowed the seeds of the Moāmariā rebellion
which broke out about forty years later in 1769. In the interval the country was peaceful and prosperous, military ardour decayed, and we hear that the nobles were unwilling to go on warlike expeditions. Sectarian disputes became rife, and in 1769 the Moāmaniās revolted. There seems to have been little real religious enthusiasm or fanaticism in these conflicts, but as the hinduized Ahom government grew weaker, other vigorous, if less civilized, elements tried to assert themselves. For some forty years we have a melancholy alternation of disorder and misgovernment in the provinces held by ephemeral Moāmaniā rulers and of atrociously cruel vengeance exacted by the Ahoms when they had the chance. The principal rebellions were in 1769, 1782, 1786, 1795, and 1805, when the insurgents invoked the help of the Burmese. The movement appears to have gradually worn itself out, but the Moāmaniās remained quasi-independent in the district between the Buri Dihing and the Brahmaputra under a chief with the title of Senapati, and when Assam was made a British province in 1826 this autonomy was allowed to continue for a time, and the district was excluded from direct British administration until 1842.

At the present day the arrangement made by Rudra Singh, in virtue of which the Majuli Island became the head-quarters of the Vaishnava Gosains, is still in force, and the chief monasteries or sattras are situated there. But the centre of the Mahāpurushia faith is Barpeta in the district of Kamrup, and there is one large Brahman monastery called Karua Bahi in Nowgong. The long island of Majuli, commonly called the Majuli, has an area of 485 square miles. It is quite flat, and much of it is covered with reed jungle and picturesque forest. In the rainy season large tracts are under water. It lies in the Upper Brahmaputra, within the district of Sibsagar, and in some ways may be compared to Mt. Athos,
for it contains no less than 188 monasteries, large and small, but women, though not allowed to enter the precincts of the monasteries, are not excluded from the island as they are from the Holy Mountain. Roads are few and elephants are the only means of transport. The satras fall into two classes, those in which the abbots must be Brahmans, and those belonging to the Mahāpurushias in which the head is generally a Sudra. The Brahmans will not willingly give such Sudras the title of Gosain, and speak of them as Mahants. I heard of no Moāmariās on the island. The Mahāpurushia sattras have preserved the faith of Sankar Deb and Mádhab Deb with little change. The other or Bamunia monasteries represent the brahmanized form of the same faith. Its democratic tendencies and intolerance of deities other than Krishṇa have been toned down, and it has been brought within the pale of Hindu orthodoxy. Thus these monasteries exhibit to some extent a secondary corruption of Assamese Vaishnavism, but at present they are wealthier and better organized than the others, and are typical of the predominant religion. Three establishments stand out among many others on the Majuli, namely, Dakhinpath, Auniati, and Goramur. I visited the first two; Goramur is said not to differ from them materially, and is less accessible.

Dakhinpath lies close to the river. The Gosain has built a guest-house for travellers on the bank, and a road leads straight from it to the sattrā, which is approached through three gates, women not being admitted beyond the third. The outer courts, however, resemble an ordinary village, and contain women and children. In the centre is a spacious quadrangle planted with trees. At the sides of it are long, low buildings with thatched roofs, divided into chambers for about three hundred monks. In all parts of the grounds there are many tanks, and the roads are raised. In the rainy season I believe that nearly all
the sattra is under water, except these roads and the central quadrangle. On the right hand of the latter, and close to the last gate, is the temple or Namghar, a long, low, wooden building with a somewhat incongruous roof of corrugated iron. This type of temple, which is unknown, so far as I am aware, in other parts of India, is characteristic of Assamese Vaishnavism. The roof is sometimes thatched and sometimes of metal, but in no case have I seen any towers or sculptures, or indeed any external sign that the building was used for religious purposes. Close to the Namghar is a reception hall and the private apartments of the Gosain. In all the sattras which I have visited the buildings, though very extensive, are of wood, not of stone, and the fact that no stone is obtainable may have something to do with the style of architecture. All the Gosains accorded me a most ceremonious and dignified reception, which seemed to indicate that they considered that their status was as high as that of any Bengali Raja.

The inmates of the sattras are styled Bhakats (i.e. Bhaktas) or devotees. Unlike Buddhists and other monks they take no vows and wear no distinguishing dress, though the simplicity of their garments produces a certain uniformity. They wear their hair long, except when in mourning. During their residence in the monastery they are obliged to be celibate, and in this respect and in conduct generally they have a good reputation, which is confirmed by their appearance. They rigidly observe distinctions of caste. Unlike most Indian religious orders, they make no pretence of living on alms. The lands of the monastery supply grain and other food, which is received by the steward and distributed to the Bhakats.

1 Though the general appearance of an Assamese sattra is sui generis, the plan of the interior seems to be much the same as in Sikhim. Waddell's diagram of a Sikhim temple (Buddhism of Tibet, p. 291) would represent a Namghar if it were longer in proportion to its breadth.
in monthly doles. A Bhakat may abandon the religious life and marry, but it is thought discreetable if he does so after the age of 50. As long as they remain in the sattrā they are supposed to be occupied exclusively with their religious duties, that is to say, the services held in the temple and meditation. Many of them, however, are inclined to dabble in commercial transactions, and the legality of such doings is a fruitful source of dispute. The majority of Bhakats are devoted to the religious life by their parents, and enter the sattrā when little children.

The temple ritual is sufficiently lengthy to occupy the Bhakats for a great part of the day, or at least a certain number of them, for they attend the services in relays. The interior of the building consists of a long nave divided by two rows of wooden pillars. Near the entrance are two large figures of Garuḍa,1 with their backs turned to the door, and on the walls are several pictures representing Krishṇa, Rāma, and Sitā, and also Durgā carrying the infant Krishṇa. Half-way down the nave is seated during the time of service a choir of men and boys arranged in two rows on either side, exactly as in a Lamaist temple or Roman Catholic church. They sing sacred texts such as the Bhagavad Gītā or the Gṛhoṣha, to the accompaniment of a peculiar kind of cymbal, of which every chorister has a pair. When heard within the building this music is too noisy to be agreeable, but from a distance the solemn cadence of the chant, followed by the clash of cymbals at the end of every verse, is most impressive, and suggests the roaring of waves that break on a rocky shore. Further on, in front of the choir, are low lecterns on which lie copies of the scriptures (such as the Bhagavad Gītā, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and Ghosha) wrapped in cloths. The sanctuary is at the end of the

1 They perhaps correspond to the images of the kings and other guardian deities placed at the door of Buddhist temples, and like them are of grotesque appearance.
building, and divided from it by a screen similar to the ikonostasis in a Greek church. Behind this are gilt shrines containing images of Krishna at various periods of his life. Before them stand candles and vases containing flowers. The whole arrangement of the Namghar and its ritual differs strikingly from the ornaments and pūja usually seen in a Hindu temple, but reminded me in many respects of Lamaistic worship as performed for instance in the Lama temple at Peking. On the rafters beneath the ceiling were hanging a number of figures of horses and other theatrical properties. These are used in dramatic performances called Jātras (= Yātras), in which various incidents of the life of Krishṇa, particularly his birth and childhood, are represented. The performances are held outside the temple. They appear to be strictly moral, but I did not gather from the accounts given of them that they offer any striking resemblance to the representations of Christ's nativity seen in Roman Catholic countries, as is often stated. It was denied, for instance, that the scene of Krishṇa's birth resembles a stable.

The Gosain or abbot is an elderly man of great intelligence, and acquainted with Sanskrit. He has absolute authority in all matters affecting discipline and the management of the sattra property, but though he is treated with great respect I did not gather that he or his colleagues in the other monasteries are regarded as avatāras. They wear white robes and high white turbans of a peculiar shape. Though very courteous they will not shake hands with Europeans or otherwise touch them. Each Gosain appoints his successor during his lifetime, usually soon after his own accession, so that the latter has time to become imbued with the traditions of his superior. All the Gosains informed me that the significance of their title (Goswāmi in Sanskrit) is Lord of the Vedas, but the real meaning (as is admitted, I believe, among the Gosains of Muttra) appears to be possessor of cows. This word
being applied to Krishña in his pastoral aspect became a title of honour and was transferred to religious teachers. Others explain it as meaning lord of the senses, that is, self-controlled. The Gosain of Dakhinpath would not allow that his sect was in any sense founded by Śankar Deb or Mādhab Deb. He admitted that their works (the Kirttans, the translation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book x, the Ghosha, and the Ratnavālī) are used in the temple worship, but this, he said, was due to the excellence of the sentiments they contained, not to the authority of the writers. He stated that the Vaishnava faith represented the teaching of Nārada, and that when this was becoming forgotten God took human form as Dattātreya, who made Sankarācārya of Benares his disciple. The Gosain claimed to be the thirty-fourth in spiritual descent from this Sankarācārya, whom he identified with the well-known author of the Advaita philosophy. But when I asked him if he accepted that philosophy he became confused and seemed indisposed to pursue the subject, saying that bhakti or faith was the foundation of religion.

The Dattātreya mentioned is said to have been a son of the ancient Rishi, Atri, and an incarnation of Vishnu. The Majuli Gosains have little knowledge of Hinduism in other parts of India, and I do not think any importance can be attached to their statements, except as regards the

religious history of Assam from 1500 onwards, about which they are well informed. It will be observed that the line of teachers includes Caitanya, but not Sankar Deb or Madhab Deb. The twenty-first Gosain, Damodar Deb, is said to have founded the sattrra of Dakhinpath, and to have lived from 1510 to 1601. The twenty-fourth, Ramadeb, was persecuted and mutilated by Gadhadar Singh.

The Gosain is occupied every day from about 5 a.m. until noon with religious observances, including the preparation of his food, which has to be done by himself. He stated that he belonged to the same sect as the Gosains of Auniati and Goramur, as far as doctrine was concerned, but that each monastery had some peculiarities in details of ritual and discipline. The worship of Krishna was the essence of religion in all of them, but at Dakhinpath there was no objection to the worship of Durgā and other Saktis as an accessory. This combination of deities, though it may seem strange, is not alien to the spirit of modern Vaishnavism. Tulsi Das, for instance, enjoins the worship of Śiva, not indeed as the supreme Being, but as a deity who is both very powerful and deeply devoted to Rāma.¹ Though the Gosain expressed many tolerant and unsectarian views, he spoke of the Mahāpurushias with bitterness and of the Moāmariās with contempt.

In all essential points Auniati resembles Dakhinpath, both as to appearance, discipline, and doctrine. It is said

¹ See especially his Rāmāyaṇa, book vi, Doha 3, and the preceding Chaupai (p. 67 in Growse's translation), where Rāma, after moulding a lingam at Ramesvaram, says: "There is none other so dear to me as Śiva. No man, though he call himself a votary of mine, can ever dream of really finding me if he offend Śiva. If he desire to serve me in antagonism to Śiva his doom is hell. He is a fool of no understanding. They who either out of attachment to Śiva dishonour me or who serve me but dishonour Śiva shall have their abode in the deepest hell until the end of the world . . . To all who serve me unselfishly and without guile Śiva will grant the boon of faith."
to be the largest of the sattras when it has its full complement of Bhakats, but at present the numbers are reduced owing to an internal schism, which is giving rise to a lawsuit, as Indian religious disputes often do. The present Gosain is a young man who only recently succeeded to his office. When he did so he was asked to designate his own successor, according to custom, and was apparently induced to select a Bhakat who was the head of a powerful faction. Subsequently, becoming convinced that this individual was unfit for the office to which he was destined, he cancelled the nomination. His right to do so was challenged, and many Bhakats left the sattra. Apparently the real motive of the Gosain was to introduce certain reforms, such as the stoppage of trading. Others attributed the dissensions to the intrigues of the Mahāpurushias, who, since they advocate democratic principles, find sympathizers among the Bhakats belonging to the lower castes. In spite of the schism the monastery is well kept, the only sign of trouble visible being the large number of empty quarters. It was founded about 1655 by the Ahom king Jayadhwaj Singh, who appointed Niranjan Bapu as the first Gosain, and it was from the beginning under strong Brahmanic influence. The temple is in the same style as that of Dakhinpath, and has a roof of corrugated iron. The interior is ornamented with many pictures. In the shrine at the end are about five images of Krīṣhṇa, before which pūjā is performed in the ordinary Hindu manner. But there are also choral services, and the whole of the Bhagavad Gītā is recited twice daily. I saw no traces of Śāktist worship, but the ceremonial came nearer to the ordinary Hindu type than at Dakhinpath. The Gosain disclaimed all knowledge of philosophical questions, such as Dvaita and Advaita, and said that simple bhakti or faith was the teaching of his sect.

The larger sattras are very wealthy and own considerable estates which pay no taxes. Thus Auniati owns
21,000 acres and Dakinpath 10,400. The Gosains, however, do not always receive the rents due to them and are reluctant to recover their debts by an action at law, for they prefer to regard the payment as a religious rather than a legal duty. They are greatly respected, and are said to use their influence in the interests of the British authorities and the maintenance of law and order. They receive offerings as well as rents from their lands. In every village where a Gosain has a considerable number of adherents, he appoints a representative or Medhi who enjoys a position of social importance and collects from each of the faithful a small annual contribution in kind (rice, cloth, silk, etc.) or cash, amounting only to a quarter or half rupee. The offerings are remitted to a superior officer or Raj-Medhi, who pays them into the treasury of the sattra, and the accumulated amount is considerable.

I also visited a Mahāpurushia sattra at Kamala Bari, not very far from Dakhinpath, but a little distance inland. In general plan and appearance it resembled those which I have already described, but the interior of the temple offered some differences. There was no separate shrine, but near the end stood a high throne or gaddi on which lay a copy of the Nām-ghosha of Mādhab Deb. I specially inquired if the work which received such marked reverence was not the Bhagavad Gītā, but the abbot stated positively that it was not and that the Nām-ghosha was the principal scripture of the sect. To the left of the throne stood a small image representing Krishna under the form of Vaikuṇṭha-Nātha, who is the only deity acknowledged. There were no other statues or pictures. In a separate shrine outside the main building were the footprints of Śankar Deb and Mādhab Deb, which receive veneration.

The abbot was a young man who had lately succeeded, and was still in mourning for his predecessor, on which account he wore no turban. He is a sudra and bears the
title of Atta. He claims to be the twelfth \(^1\) in spiritual
descent from Śankar Deb, who is here recognized un-
reservedly, although Mādhhab Deb shares in the honour
accorded to him. The monastery was built by Bandula
Atta, the successor of Mādhhab Deb. The principal
divergences between the Mahāpurushias and the Brahmanic
Vaishnavas appear to be the following: Firstly, they
acknowledge Śankar Deb and Mādhhab Deb as their
founder. These are the Mahāpurushias or great men
from whom the sect takes its name: their footprints are
worshipped; their compositions are regarded as scripture
and are treated with extreme reverence, receiving worship
almost like images of deities. This form of bibliolatry is
rare in India, but something like it is found among the
Sikhs. Secondly, their Gosains are not Brahmans and
enjoy a less autocratic position than in the Brahmanic
monasteries, since all important questions have to be settled
not, as there, by the Gosain alone, but by a council of
all the Bhakats in which the Gosain merely presides.
Thirdly, they lay little stress on caste, though they do not
absolutely condemn or reject it. Fourthly, they almost
entirely reject idolatry, the only exception allowed being
the small image of Vaikuṇṭha-Nātha already mentioned.
It is probable that in these last two points the present
practice is a modification of a more uncompromising earlier
rule which absolutely prohibited idolatry and ignored caste.
It is remarkable that many Indian sects which have begun
by asserting the equality of all their members (e.g. the
Lingāyats and the followers of Caitanya) have ultimately
conformed to what is undoubtedly the general opinion and
practice of India and have reintroduced caste.

The forms of Vaishnavism described above appear to

\(^{1}\) The list is, in the orthography of the original: (1) Śankar Deb,
(2) Mādhhab Deb, (3) Bandula Atta, (4) Parsuram Deb, (5) Kamal Lochan
Kanta Deb, (10) Krishn Kanta Deb, (11) Lakhi Kanta Deb, (12) Śrī
Śrī Chandra Kanta Deb, the present Adhikar.
be practically confined to the valley of the Brahmaputra. In Sylhet\(^1\) the religious establishments are called akhra, but have not the same extent, influence, or good moral tone as those on the Majuli. In Goalpara they are called dhams, and are occupied only by a few monks. But in all districts the history of the communities appears to have been similar. Originally they were rigidly puritanical, rejecting idolatry and even the worship of incarnations, but gradually they have become brahmanized, though from time to time new democratic movements may occur.

Thus the history of Assam shows how an extensive country in which there were only scattered traces of Indian religion four hundred years ago, has been brought almost wholly within the pale of Hindu orthodoxy, not always by missionary enterprise but by effective methods of propagating the faith. First came Śaktism, an unethical system, itself a hybrid of Hinduism and alien beliefs, appealing chiefly to the passions and fears, more anxious to win the favour of princes than the hearts of the people. But though it may justly be painted in black colours, it can on occasion command the support of theology and philosophy, and it undoubtedly touches the higher as well as the lower emotions of the educated classes in Bengal and Assam. When Śaktism had been to some extent accepted by the chiefs of the various tribes, Vaishnavism made its appearance as a missionary religion in the true sense, that is, it was preached by men who believed it to be the only way to salvation, and wished to teach it to all. It practically taught that men are equal, ceremonies useless, and that God can be known by faith and love. This creed was not preached

\(^1\) Assam District Gazetteers, 1905, vol. ii, Sylhet, pp. 84-9. Strange sects called Sahaj Bhajan and Ratikhoa are also reported from Sylhet. They are said to take women as their religious teachers, and worship them as incarnations of Rādhā.
by Brāhmans at first, but as soon as its popularity was established they took it under their protection and supervision. Hence we have three tendencies: first, popular Vaishnavism, too weak in thought and discipline to be a great religious system, but showing its strength in serious insurrections; secondly, Brāhmanic Vaishnavism, which was strong enough to force the authorities to come to terms, and which, while fully recognizing the doctrine of salvation by faith, also made provision for due respect to caste and Brāhmanic authority; thirdly, Śāktism, which remained until the last the creed of the kings of Assam, and ultimately made a truce with the brāhmanized forms of Vaishnavism, though originally disposed to persecute all varieties of the sect. Such persecution, though often barbarous, never became so systematic as religious persecution in Europe, and perhaps exemplifies the kind of trials which harassed the later days of Indian Buddhism. The history of Vaishnavism in Assam may also illustrate what happened on a much larger scale in other parts of India. The mediaeval Bhāgavatas were a sect of dubious orthodoxy, but when their doctrine penetrated to the south it was taken up by Brāhmanic champions such as Rāmānuja, who associated it with the strictest observance of caste, and by an imposing array of commentaries proved it in harmony with the orthodox scriptures. But, as in Assam, a less orthodox current continued. Even in the Tengalai division of Rāmānuja's sect we find that Tamil works have replaced the old Sanskrit scriptures, and the subsequent teaching of Rāmānanda sanctioned not only the use of the vernacular in religion but also the neglect of caste, thus leading directly to such admittedly unorthodox sects as the Kabir-panthis and Sikhs. Yet the later history of these sects shows how hard it is to withstand Brāhmanic influence, for even Sikhism appears to be in process of being reabsorbed into Hinduism.
Another interesting point is the connexion between Assamese Vaishnavism and Buddhism. The doctrine seems to have a purely Hindu pedigree, but the monasticism and ceremonial are not of the usual Hindu type. India is full of institutions called maths, which are often described as monasteries; but the description is misleading, for a math is not essentially a convent but the residence of a teacher. His pupils frequent the place and may become semi-resident: wandering ascetics stop there and in old age may make it their last home, but its inmates are not a permanent body under a particular rule and discipline. Only in the Swámi-Nárayana monastery at Ahmedabad have I seen a Hindu establishment comparable to a Buddhist vihāra, and the instance, I must admit, is important, for it is hard to see how it can be due to Buddhist influence. But in the Assamese sattras we have not only more hierarchy and discipline than the Hindu temperament will usually tolerate (though even here there are no vows or monastic costume), but also halls for worship and choral services which find no eastern parallel except in Lamaism. It would be easy to explain resemblances to Burmese Buddhism, but these apparently do not exist, and we must look the other way, towards Tibet and Bhutan. Though recent research has thrown doubt on the ancient existence of Buddhism in Assam, the Bhutias worship certain images at Hajo under the impression that they represent the Buddha. This idea may be erroneous, but the existence of the worship is at least a proof of continuous contact between the two religions. Singri Parbat, not far from Tezpur, is a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists. Many Tibetans visit the northern districts of Assam, especially in winter, and I am informed that the district officer at Udalgiri regularly receives representatives of the

1 There is another large one at Wartál.
Government of Lhasa. Similar communication probably existed in the past. We hear that Rudra Singh, the same monarch who made the Majuli the head-quarters of the Gosains, established an extensive trade with Tibet,¹ and it seems eminently probable that the early abbots of the sattras took some hints from the Lamas in organization and ritual.

¹ Gait, History of Assam, p. 175.
CHINESE RIDDLES ON ANCIENT INDIAN TOponomy

I. CH'Α-PO-HO-LO AND KA-P'I-LI

BY COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

THE New History of the T'ang dynasty relates that in A.D. 648 the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'ē, having raised an army in Tibet and Nepal, advanced into Central India as far as the town Ch'α-po-ho-lo, which he stormed after three days' siege. The Na-fu-ti (or Ti-na-fu-ti) A-lo-na-shun,1 an usurper who had just seized the throne after the death of King Śīlāditya (i.e. Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya of Kanauj), thereupon fled, but was shortly afterwards taken prisoner. A band of his dispersed followers, however, took position, barring the way across the Kan-to-wei River, but were in their turn routed by Hsüan-ts'ē's second in command.2

V. A. Smith in his Early History of India3 vaguely assumes "the chief city of Tirhūt" to have been the town attacked on that occasion, seemingly relying on Professor Sylvain Lévi's suggestion—put forward, however, with all reserve—that the title P'o-lo-mén Ti-na-fu-ti (occurring in the T'ang Annals as well as in an inscription discovered by Professor Chavannes) may be taken to mean "King A-lo-na-shun of the Ti-na-fu-ti ("bhukti?") State of the Brāhmans [of India]."4 Along with this Professor Lévi

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1 Arunaśāra, Arunēvara, or Aruna-svāmin (?). See, however, n. 4 below.
4 J.A., fasc. cit., p. 300. In J.A. for 1892, p. 337, Professor Lévi had suggested the rendering (discarded in his later paper just quoted) Senāpati Arjuna, which V. A. Smith has nevertheless adopted in op. cit. It has been suggested that A-lo-na-shun may be Amśu[-varman],
tiso proposes the alternative interpretation: "King A-lo-na-shun, Emperor of the Brāhmaṇs, Emperor of Na-fu."
I must confess that the equivalent Ti-na-fu-ti = Tirabhukti = Tirhūt is seductive, but whether it may historically and topographically seem justified the reader is left to judge for himself from what follows.

Beyond V. A. Smith's indirect allusion referred to above no attempt is so far known to me of locating that most puzzling town Ch'a-po-ho-lo. I have endeavoured to do so on the basis of the indications supplied in Chinese literature, and gathered together, for the most part, by Professor Lévi himself in the paper already quoted,¹ to which therefore I refer the reader.

In the general account of India in the New History of the T'ang dynasty it is pointed out that the capital of the whole of Central India bears the name Ch'a-po-ho-lo, 荼錦和羅, and lies on the bank of the River Ka-p'i-li.

Ma Tuan-lin in the chapter on India of his encyclopedia states: "The capital lies close to the Héng Ho (Ganges) River, which is also called Ka-p'i-li Ho,"² and adds further on that the capital stood not far from another stream named Kan-t'o-wei.

The Old History of the T'ang dynasty does not tell the name of the capital, but points out that "it is 70 li [i.e. 10 to 12 miles] in circuit and lies close to the River Shan-lien".

a rendering which I consider unsatisfactory on phonetic grounds. From an historical point of view it is also hardly convincing, for Anšu-varman, the Thākuri prince of Western Nepal who was seemingly a feudatory of Harsavardhana of Kanauj and became supreme probably on the latter's death in A.D. 648, was not improbably the very personage who assisted Hsüan-ts'ê with troops against A-lo-na-shun.

² The T'ung-chien-kang-mu (twelfth century) also states that Ka-p'i-li is a name of the Ganges (see Bulletin École Française Extrême Orient, t. iv, 272, n. 4). In the T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan cyclopedia (pub. A.D. 983), Mr. Pelliot observes (op. cit.), it is wrongly spelled P'i-ka-li. We shall see below that it was also the name of a kingdom.
To sum up, then, the capital Ch’-a-po-ho-lo stood—
1. On the bank of the Ka-p’i-li, 迦毗黎, River.
2. Near the River Shan-lien, 禪連.
3. Not far from the River Kan-t’o-wei, 乾陀衛.
4. Close to the Ganges, here, apparently, also called then Ka-p’i-li.

Subjoined I venture to offer my identifications of these toponyms:

1. Ka-p’i-li, which represents phonetically some term like Kăveri, Kapili,¹ or even Kauveri, Kauri, Gauri (a name, both in this and in its vulgar form Gaurana, so frequently occurring in the river nomenclature of India), here seemingly is intended for Kauri[āla] (Kauryāla ?), the designation applied in Nepāl to the Ghaghṛa (Gharharā) River. Although in the lower portion of its course this stream is known either as Ghaghṛa, Gogrā, or Sarjū (Śrārayā), it is not impossible that at the period in question it was commonly called Kaurīla. At all events, this name may have become familiar, in preference to the other ones, to the Chinese of Hsüan-t’sé’s mission, who must have learnt it from the Nepālēse forming part of the joint raid of 648 A.D.

It is interesting to notice that Gharharā is likewise one of the many Sanskrit names of the Ganges, a fact which would to some extent explain the Chinese statement that the Ganges was also termed Ka-p’i-li (= Kaurīla = Gharharā).

¹ A Kapil River actually exists in Assam, but is obviously out of the question. On the other hand, in Hindī classical literature mention is made of a Kapilā (tributary of the Narmadā); of Kapila-dhārā, as a name of the Ganges; and of a second Kāverī which Professor F. Hall thought to be a tributary of the Narmadā (see Wilson’s Vīnac Purāna, 1865, vol. ii, pp. 148, 151). It has been shown quite recently (JRAS., April, 1910, p. 442, and July, 1910, p. 868) that this Kāverī joins the Narmadā from the south about a mile above Māndhātā, and that the confluence, called Kāverī-saṅgama, was held sacred. Evidently it cannot be connected with the Ka-p’i-li of Chinese records, which is located in the middle and not in the west of Northern India.
2. Shan-lien represents sounds like San-ran (or Sāran), San-len, or even San-din. The stream here intended is then possibly the Sundi, Sondi, or Dahā, flowing past Siwān in the Sāran District, where it joins the Ghaghra.  

One cannot help being struck by the possible identity Shan-lien = Sāran, the name of the district through which the Sundi River flows; and, indeed, it is not at all unlikely that formerly this, instead of Sundi, was commonly designated “Sāran River” from Sāran, a place-name here extant apparently from a remote period.  

Here, however, a difficulty crops up; for one of the fragments of the Chinese narrative translated by Professor Lévi, after noticing that Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva erected seven hundred stūpas in the Po-lo-nai (Benares) kingdom, proceeds to state: “Owing to the legion of other saints who have erected stūpas being numberless, upwards of a thousand [of such monuments] exist on the banks of

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1 On Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas a small watercourse, also marked “Soondee” (Sundi), is shown lower down wending its way towards Chhaprā and Cherānd. Whether it is this, rather than the other Sundi (i.e. the Dahā) the Chinese authors had in mind, I am unable to say.

2 Cf. Cunningham’s *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 441, where the name Sāran of the actual district is traced to Skr. sāraṇa, “refuge,” through the legend related by Hwén Tsang that some demons converted here by the Buddha sought the “refuge” of the Buddhist triad. For this legend see also Watters’ *Yuan Chüan’s Travels in India*, O.T.F., London, 1905, vol. ii, pp. 60-1.

Dr. Grierson kindly informs me, however, that General Cunningham later on abandoned that early theory of his on the derivation of Sāran, which has no basis in fact.

Given that the smaller watercourse marked “Soondee N.” on Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas was already in existence at the period here treated, and that it is this the Chinese authors meant by their term Shan-lien, it is not impossible that the streamlet in question was then better known as Cherānd (if not Sāran) River, after Cherānd or Cherānd (a well-known ancient town, Dr. Grierson informs me), close to which it joins the Ganges. If so, the term Shan-lien would have to be traced to Cherānd rather than to Sāran, which would not be altogether unsatisfactory from an etymological point of view.

the Shan-lien River.” It seems extraordinary that such a large number of stūpas should grace so unimportant a watercourse as the Sundī, and this almost leads one to doubt that the holy Sarjū (Śarayū, Saranjū) is implied under the term Shan-lien. If so, this stream would have to be identified with the Ghaghṛā, and the term Ka-p’i-li held to exclusively designate the Ganges. I prefer, however, to adhere to my initial identifications, namely, Ka-p’i-li = Kauriālā = Ghaghṛā and Shan-lien = Sāran River = Sundī. As to the large number of stūpas alleged to have been erected on the banks of the Shan-lien, I may point out that on Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas temples are marked close to the Sundī or Dahā in two places from Siwān downwards, while numerous temples existed moreover at Revelganj on the bank of the Ghaghṛā nearest to the Sundī.¹

¹ See Cunningham, op. cit., p. 440. In connexion with a river of a similar name to Shan-lien, namely, the Shih-la-na-fa-ti, mentioned by Hwèn Tsang as flowing past Kuśinagara and identified by Watters (op. cit., ii, 29) with the Siranyavatī (for Hiranyavatī)—the Hsi-lien or Hsi-lien-shan, 希連禪, of Fa-hsien (see Legge’s Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Oxford, 1886, p. 23 of Chinese text) and other Chinese pilgrims—I would beg to point out that Shih-la-na-fa-ti is more probably a transcript of Sikrāṇa (Sikrāṇa-vatī?). This is one of the names of the Būrhi (or Chota, i.e. “Little”) Gaṇḍak, seemingly also known as Hiranyavatī, albeit this term appears to more properly denote the Little Gaṇḍak, a quite distinct stream known to this day as Hiraṇa (a contraction of Hiranyavatī).

Some confusion seems to have arisen regarding the correct application of the term Hiranyavatī; but if, as it seems beyond question, the Shih-la-na-fa-ti is, conformably to our suggestion, the Sikrāṇa, all doubt would at once be removed as to the real location of Kuśinagara, and this city should forthwith be looked for on the upper course of the Būrhi Gaṇḍak, i.e. in the North Bettiā and South Lāuriyā territory, where this stream just happens to be more particularly called Sikrāṇa. The now widely accepted location of Kuśinagara to the north of Lāuriyā Nandangarh receives confirmation thereby, but would far earlier have been inferred had the Sikrāṇa been recognized in Hwèn Tsang’s Shih-la-na-fa-ti, and no fanciful suggestions such as Kasiā and the like would have been put forth. For the same reasons I fear that V. A. Smith’s Nepāl theory (see op. cit., p. 139, n. 3, and JRAS., January, 1902) is now untenable.
3. Kan-to-wei is evidently a transcript of Gandha[ka]vati, one of the names of the Great Gandak River, the Kondokhates of Pliny and Arrian. It may, however, in the present instance mean the Gandaki, a small stream flowing to the west of the Great Gandak and joining the Ghangri, which, in its turn, falls into the Ganges.\(^1\)

We thus obtain for Ch’a-po-ho-lo a location, referred to modern maps—

1. On the bank of the Kauriāla or Ghaghra.
2. Close to the Sundi (Sāran or Cherānd?) River.
3. Not far from the Great Gandak (or, may be, from its western smaller namesake the Gandaki).
4. Close to the Ganges, here also called Kauriāla (and in Sanskrit Ghargharā).

This argues, not merely a location in the Sāran District as already noticed, but a site at or near its present head-quarter town Chhapra, which alone would seem to suit in view of both the Ganges and the Ghaghra flowing of old past it and effecting their junction close by. The smaller Sundi River (whatever its correct name and physical features may be) now wends its course less than half a mile off on the south of Chhapra, while the other one (the Sundi or Sondi proper, i.e. the Dahā) flows not far away on the north-west. Finally, the Gandaki and the Great Gandak pass at no great distance on the east, and are, except the Ghangri, the nearest streams in that direction. To crown the whole of these topographic and toponomastic coincidences, which can hardly be fortuitous, comes the fact of a most striking resemblance between the names Ch’a-po-ho-lo (Ch’a-pa-ha-ra, Ch’a-pagara?) and Chāpra or Ch’apra, the unknown old form of the latter of which may have been Chhaprāgara or something to that effect.\(^2\)

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\(^{1}\) See Indian Atlas, Sheet 103.

\(^{2}\) In the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. x (Oxford, 1908), pp. 174–5, the name is spelt Chāpra. Cf. Chāparmukh on the Kapilī River, Assam; a striking parallel case.
Unfortunately, this place never seems, up to the present, to have possessed any importance, nor are ruins extant even in the immediate neighbourhood,\(^1\) while its name, Chhaprä, is an exceedingly common one appearing almost everywhere on the maps of this and neighbouring districts in the forms Chapra, Chupra, etc. The nearest objects of an antiquarian interest are the numerous temples, already referred to, extant near Revelganj, about 5 miles to the west of Chhaprä, while about 6 miles to the east of the latter rises, as we have pointed out, the ancient town of Chiränd or Cheränd. As the results here brought forward forcibly argue in favour of a site at or near Chhaprä, we may reasonably conclude that the location of Ch'ʌ-po-ho-lo becomes, at any rate, fixed between Revelganj and Cheränd, and must be sought for in that territory.\(^2\) It is to be hoped that further exploration in this area may disclose the exact site, which would be highly desirable, in view of the sidelights that the identification of Ch'ʌ-po-ho-lo would throw on that obscure period of the history of India which immediately followed the reign of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.

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\(^1\) Cf. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 441. Quite recently an archaeological tour in the Sāran District yielded no very brilliant results (see JRAS, for April, 1910, p. 546). Chupra, the Chhaprä in question, is, however, the only place of a similar name appearing in the maps appended to vol. i of Holwell’s Indostan, London, 1766.

\(^2\) It may be possible to ultimately fix it at Cheränd itself, and, if not, at Revelganj, either of which may have of yore borne appellations resembling Ch'ʌ-po-ho-lo. Professor Lévi has pointed out (op. cit., p. 307, note) that the first three syllables of this name recall the term Dvāka; but the Dvāka “frontier country” conquered by Samudra Gupta in A.D. 345-80 was certainly not in this neighbourhood (see JRAS., 1897, pp. 29 and 879; also V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 250), unless we assume the existence of a second Dvāka=Āṭavi, Āḷavi (?) in the Sāran District, and locate here the legend of the demons’ conversion to Buddhism related by Hwén Tsang (see Watters, op. cit., ii, 61). Ch'ʌ-po-ho-lo undoubtedly is a rendering of something like Ch'ʌ-parha-ra, Dabargaṛh, or Davaṛkara, and about the only approach in the area in question is, besides Chhaprä, Deghwāra (for which see Cunningham, op. cit., p. 442).
While in favour of our proposed location of Ch'a-po-ho-lo there stands the fact of the practical impossibility of finding another set of place-names in the neighbouring districts which will collectively suit the Chinese topographical data on Ch'a-po-ho-lo, against it but negative arguments can be brought in the present state of our knowledge. These, though obviously of a doubtful value, may briefly be mentioned on the ground of the rather important side issues that some of them involve.

To begin with, there is the fact, already adverted to, of extensive remains being unknown to exist in the tract extending from Revelganj to Cherând, such as would be expected in a territory where rose a city—capital of the whole of Central India as the Chinese accounts assert—which was, according to the same accounts, 70 li, i.e. 10 to 12 miles, in circuit. This measurement at once recalls the one recorded at the same period by Hwên Tsang for Pāṭaliputra, "above 70 li in circuit"; but the coincidence is hardly worth insisting on because, fortunately, Hwên Tsang clearly states that Pāṭaliputra "had long been a wilderness",¹ and that the capital of Harśavardhana Śīlāditya was then at Kanauj. This will at once dispose, it seems to me, of the suspicion that the identity in circuit may arouse as to Ch'a-po-ho-lo being, after all, one and the same with Pāṭaliputra, and the Shan-vien River, mentioned in connexion with the former, being the Sôn, flowing of old nearer the latter than is now the case.

Next comes the negative argument of Hwên Tsang's silence about Ch'a-po-ho-lo, which causes no little surprise in view of the fact that the pilgrim, although he may not have travelled across the lower part of the Sāran district via Revelganj, Chhaprā, and Cherând, should have heard at any rate of so important a town while proceeding along the Ganges from Benares to Patna in 636 or 637 A.D. One would expect that Ch'a-po-ho-lo

¹ Watters, op. cit., ii, 87.
had by this time attained considerable importance, since it was already a city when stormed a few years later (648), being besides—unless it became afterwards—the seat of the capital.

If great stress is to be laid on Hwên Tsang’s silence about this centre, the argument is nevertheless hardly strong enough to sweepingly condemn its identity with either Cherând, Chhaprā, or Revelganj, for the omission may be due to other causes besides oversight and the like. Namely, the pilgrim may have passed at some distance off,¹ thus ignoring the city, or this was then as yet a petty hamlet which did not rise in status till a few years afterwards, when A-lo-na-shun established there his head-quarters—whether as chief of the district under King Harṣa, or as sovereign after the demise of the latter in 646–7.

It is not, on the other hand, altogether unlikely that Ch’æ-po-ho-lo had not yet come into existence in Hwên Tsang’s time (636–7), and that it was founded, for pressing strategic or political reasons,² some years afterwards, becoming in the course of time the capital of the region. For the passage in the New History of the T’ang dynasty, relative to Hsüan-ts’e’s storming of Ch’æ-po-ho-lo, merely terms it “a city”, and at what date the section on India in the same History refers its status as a capital of the whole of Central India is not clear. I am afraid that such a statement is tinged with exaggeration; perhaps Ch’æ-po-ho-lo was simply the chief city of a district.

If so, the question here crops up as to what district

¹ The route he followed from Mahāśāla (Masār’) on to Vaiśāli is yet far from settled, but he seems on the whole to have travelled along the northern bank of the Ganges.

² The position at or near the confluence of two important streams like the Ganges and the Ghaghrā must have been in past ages of considerable strategic as well as commercial importance, so as to justify the foundation, or spontaneous growth, of a town.
this was, and from the fact of A-lo-na-shun being given in the Chinese text (already quoted at the beginning of the present paper) the title Ti-na-fu-ti, or something of the sort, the query naturally suggests itself—Was that district Tirabhukti?

If it be considered that Hwén Tsang, besides ignoring such a designation for Tirhūt, mentions this district under the name of Vaiśāli Country, and that probably the same did not extend westwards farther than the Great Gañḍak River, it seems logical to answer that query in the negative.

On the other hand, the pilgrim (and if not, the history of his life, more explicitly) states that he proceeded north-east to Vaiśāli from the Chan-chu, 戳主, country.¹ This he had reached shortly before that by travelling from Benares for above 300 ¹ (50 to 60 miles), following the course of the Ganges.² The puzzling term Chan-chu has hitherto been thought to be a translation of Skr. Yuddha-pati, Rana-pati, or something of the sort;³ but I venture to suggest that it may be a rough phonetic rendering of Sarjū, in which case it would mean the wedge-shaped tract of land between the Ganges below Benares and the Sarjū (that is, the Ghaghṛā), thus corresponding to the present Ghāzīpur and Balliā Districts.⁴

¹ Watters, op. cit., ii, 63.
² Ibid., 59.
³ Cunningham (op. cit., 438–9) identified it with Ghāzīpur (ancient Garjapur, Garjana-pati?); but it seems to me that this town is not far enough from Benares to suit as a site for the capital of Chan-chu. If this term really be a translation of Yuddhapati, such a name may still survive in Juddoopoor (Yuddhapur?), a place marked above Korantadih in the Garha pargana (Balliā District) on Sheet 103 of the Indian Atlas.
⁴ And, it may be of interest to notice, to the territory of the later mediaeval Jaunpur kingdom, the name of which (variously recorded in the forms Jaunpur, Jadīnpur, Jācunpur, Jāmanpur) is notoriously of uncertain origin, but may have existed from a far earlier period in connection with the older town, which, judging from ancient remains, stood on the present site of Jaunpur. If so, Chan-chu might refer to this territory, being a transcript of Juan-pati or something of the sort. See, however, note 3 on p. 1199 below in connexion with Chao-no-p'o.
It may or may not have also included the Sāran District on the other side of the Sarjū or Ghaghṛā. Now, if the equivalent Chan-chu = Yuddha-pati, Raṇa-pati, etc., is at all founded on fact, it would not be impossible for the term Ti-na-fu-ti to be somehow connected with it, despite the improbability that fu-ti may represent pati, and ti-na be a slip for raṇa or may stand for another term of a similar meaning. Tīrabhukti is certainly a far more logical, and withal seductive, interpretation; but against it stand the reasons adduced above, from which follows that Ch'ā-po-ho-lo not improbably stood in the territory styled Chan-chu country by Hwên Tsang, although not being the chief city of the same, at any rate in Hwên Tsang’s time, for this pilgrim locates the Chan-chu capital far more westwards, as we have seen.

It may be, however, that between Chan-chu and Vaiśāli there still existed another district of which Hwên Tsang forgot to make mention, corresponding roughly to the present Sāran District. This is the State of Ka-p’i-li of earlier Chinese records, which must have been so named after the Ka-p’i-li River already referred to in connexion with Ch’ā-po-ho-lo. Owing to this relation, whether real or merely apparent, existing between this city and the Ka-p’i-li River and State, it may not be uninteresting to briefly examine the information supplied on the latter in the Chinese records.

The earliest mention of the Ka-p’i-li State occurs in the Sung Shu, or History of the first Sung dynasty (A.D. 420–79), where two embassies are recorded as having been sent to China from Ka-p’i-li, viz. in A.D. 428 and 466.¹ In connexion with the first one of these ² the

² In the P’ei-wén-yín-fu the following account of it occurs, culled presumably from the Sung Shu:—“The Indian [P’ien-chu] State of Ka-p’i-li. In the 5th year of Yüan Chia [A.D. 428], the King sent an envoy with a letter and offering, of diamond finger-rings and Mo-lei [Marak = Marakata, Marakta = ‘Emerald’] gold rings” (see China
name of the Ka-p' i-li king has also been put on record in the form 月愛, Yüeh-ai = “Moon-beloved”, which is not unlikely a loose translation of Chandra-gupta, “Moon-protected.”

The date A.D. 428 makes it impossible to identify him with Chandragupta II of Magadha, who reigned in about 375–413, or till 415 at the very latest; it can seemingly thus apply only to his successor Kumāragupta I (c. 413–55), who may also have been known as Chandragupta, or styled Chandragupta - Kumāra. For otherwise we must admit either that Chandragupta II reigned till 428, or that the Chinese through some mistake understood so and ascribed to him the embassy which was sent instead by his successor.

Where the capital was at this period is unknown. In the opinion of Indianists Pātaliputra had, since about the middle of the fourth century, “ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns.”

Ayodhya “appears to have been at times the head quarters of the government of both Samudragupta [c. 326–75] and his son [Chandragupta II, c. 375–413], the latter of whom probably had a mint for copper coins there.”

Since it is impossible to admit of a separate kingdom, free to entertain relations with foreign powers, in Central India at this period, after the extensive and drastic conquests of the Gupta kings, it follows that the Ka-p' i-li Kingdom of the Chinese can hardly mean anything else than the Gupta Empire. The reason for such a curious designation, taken, as we have surmised, from the Kauriāla

Review, xiii, 339). Mas'udī (A.D. 915) states (Les Prairies d’Or, t. iii, p. 47, Paris, 1864) that the Sindân (=Sanjan) and Kambāya (Cambay) Districts produced a sort of emerald (= beryl from the Jaipur District in Rājputāna?). Beryls from the Hazaribāgh District in Western Bengal are, however, presumably meant in the passage quoted above.

1 Cf. Hwén Tsang’s 月光, Yüeh-kuang = Chandraprabha (Watters, op. cit., i, 244), and 艾, Ch’u-ai = Udayana (ibid., i, 368).

2 V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 257.
or Ghaghrá, may be explained from the fact of this river, the great waterway of Oudh, flowing past Ayodhyā, the possible capital at that time.

On the other hand, if Ka-p'î-li was a term applied to the Ganges (Ghargharâ)—presumably in that portion of its course where it receives the Ghaghrá (Sarjû)—the Ka-p'î-li State may correspond to what two centuries later Hwên Tsang recorded under the name Chan-chu. If not, we must conclude either that the Ka-p'î-li State had ceased to exist by Hwên Tsang's time, or that, though it was still extant and the pilgrim not unlikely travelled through part of it, he forgot to enter its name in his narrative. In this second hypothesis we may assume

1 The classing of Ka-p'î-li in Eitel's Handbook of Chinese Buddhism (Hong-Kong, 1888, p. 70) among the alternative Chinese transcripts of Kapilavastu; the Sanskrit equivalent Kapila adopted for it by Professor Schlegel in T'oung Pao, x, 160, and so forth, are evidently absurd and, topographically, unjustified in so far as they are made to apply to Kapilavastu, a city which had long ceased to exist: Fa-Hian in 406-11 found it deserted. If Ka-p'î-li is at all to be regarded as a transcript of the Sanskrit term Kapila, it can only apply to the Ganges, also known as Kapila-dhârâ, as we have pointed out above; and this view finds its confirmation in the Chinese texts, which tell us that Ka-p'î-li was likewise a name of the Ganges.

* And, though far less probably, to Hardwar, which according to tradition was also named Kapila after the sage of that name who is said to have had his hermitage there. See, however, the note on next page as regards Kampîla.

2 Were we to accept for Ka-p'î-li the seemingly wrong spelling P'î-kâ-li occurring in the T'ai-p'îng-yü-lan, we might locate it at Bikapur, a village 1 mile to the east of Ballâ, where Cunningham (op. cit., 439) places Hwên Tsang's Aviddhakarna monastery. The correct spelling unquestionably is, however, Ka-p'î-li, which occurs in all other known Chinese texts on the subject.

2 The Ka-p'î-li State is still mentioned (retrospectively no doubt) in the Hsiang-chiao-p'î-pien, a well-digested Buddhist cyclopædia of the Ming dynasty, in the following passage: "Pang-ko-la [Bangala, Bengal] is in the east of T'ien-chu [N. India]; Chao-no-p'o [Jaunpur?] in the middle; † Magadha in the south; Ka-p'î-li in the west; and Ka-shê-na [Kásia, Kâshipur, Kusinârā, (Northern) Kosala?] ‡ in the north" (cf. JRAS. for July, 1896, p. 496, note. I have here, however, suggested new identifications for all the above Chinese toponyms except the first one). It will be seen from the context that Ka-p'î-li lay to the west (or, rather, north-west) of Magadha (i.e. Bihâr), and cannot therefore
that Ka-p'i-li roughly corresponded to the present Sāran District, and that Ch'a-po-ho-lo, if then already existing, be Kapilavastu, nor, more probably, Kapila (Hardwar). No better chance seems to be offered by other similarly named places (e.g., the Kāteri-sangama, Old Kalpi, the famous stronghold on the Jamnā, etc.). Kampilla, now Kampil (long. 79° 14' E., lat. 27° 35' N.), the ancient capital of Northern Pañchāla, may, however, be intended after all. Owing to its proximity to Kanaūj the Gupta sovereigns may have made it their residence in the fifth century. Not unlikely it is the place Alluded to by Hwen Tsang as Ka-pi-t'a, a Jílīch (Kalpita, Kapīda, Kapīsha) ? see Watters, op. cit., i, 335). If so, we would have the equation Ka-p'i-li=Hwen Tsang's Ka-pi-t'a=Kampilla=Kampil, from which latter the Ganges may have been termed the "Kampil [Ka-p'i-li] River". We prefer anyhow to adhere to the location of Ka-p'i-li proposed above, namely, between the Ganges and the Ghaghāra.

† Cf., however, n. 4, p. 1196. Chao-no-p'o cannot obviously be, despite toponomastic resemblance, Chenāb (the Chenāb of Bābar, Memoirs, see JRAS., 1898, pp. 803-4), nor Sanabīl-pur (the former name of Multān). I would not even think of connecting it with Ptolomy's Sanabās, which, if not actually Sankissā, must have stood not far from it. For the location assigned to Chao-no-p'o to the west of Bengal and to the north of Magadha (Bihār) argues a site somewhere between Jaunpur and Bhāgalpur. The Chinese characters of the original text not having been given in the extract quoted above from the JRAS., the identification of the toponyms occurring therein is rendered far more difficult than would otherwise be the case.

After writing the above I came across a further reference to Chao-no-p'o (in the form Chao-no-p'u-érh) in the following passage translated by Dr. Bretschneider from the Ming Shih (concluded 1724) in China Review, iv, 388: "沼 納 植 牆 Jao-na-pu-r. This country lies west of Bang-k'o-la (Bengal) and is also known under the name 中印度 Chung In-ku (middle Hindustān [=Madhyadesa]). In ancient times it was the kingdom of Buddha. This is, I think, the same as the Znungpur on Fra Mauro's map (fifteenth century; see Yule's Cathay, cxxxviii)." And further on (op. cit., p. 389): "底 里. This country adjoins Jao-na-pu-r [see above]. . . . It seems that Di-li denotes Delhi"—in which I fully agree.

This fixes the position of Chao-no-p'u-érh or Jau-na-pu-r (evidently the same as Chao-no-p'o) between Bengal and Delhi (politically the historical continuation of Ka-p'i-li), and confirms our suggested identification of it with Jaunpur. As Magadha (Bihār) lay in the south of Chao-no-p'o, this state evidently embraced the country to the north of the Ganges between Jaunpur and Bengal. Ka-p'i-li, adjoining Chao-no-p'o on the west, must then be the Ayodhyā (=Kampilla?)—later Delhi—State, as we have surmised.

‡ "Gazna" (Ghazni) is suggested as an equivalent in JRAS., loc. cit. But this relatively modern place, or some town in its neighbourhood, is
may have been its chief city; while the capital of the empire, till, at any rate, the death of King Harṣavardhana in 647–8, was at Kanauj.

To sum up, we have thus four solutions of the puzzle concerning the identity of the Ka-p’i-li State, of which the last three are alternative and still require sifting—

1. Ka-p’i-li State (fifth century) = Gupta Empire; capital Ayodhyā (or Kampilla?).

2. Ka-p’i-li State = Chan-chu country; capital Garjapur (now Ghāzipur)?

3. Ka-p’i-li State = Sāran District; capital Ch’a-po-ho-lo (Che-rānd, Chhaprā?).

4. Ka-p’i-li State Seventh century

No longer existing in 636–7, the date of Hwên Tsang’s journey that way.

It is now for Indianists to thrash out the matter thoroughly and decide, according to their own lights, which, if any, of the solutions I have ventured to offer above is the most likely to prove correct.

**NOTE BY DR. GRIERSON**

At Colonel Gerini’s request I have the honour to submit the following note on certain points suggested by the preceding paper.

p. 1190, n. 1. I know only one Sundī or Sondi River in the Sāran District. It is the one also called Dahā. referred to by Hwên Tsang in the form Ho-hsi-na, and seems too far away in the north-west to suit the purpose. Nor would Hwên Tsang’s Ku-shang-na (Kasunna = Kesh), Ka-shē-pu-lo (Kasūpura, in the Unāo district?), and Ku-shē-ka-lo-pu-lo (Kusūgara-pura). Appearances are therefore in favour—till the original Chinese characters are placed before us—of either Kāśī, Kāśipur, Kusinārā, [Northern] Kosala, as proposed above, or even Kesariyā.
Dr. Hoey, loc. cit., p. 82, derives the name from *suvarṇa-nādi*, which, from the point of view of phonetics, is not impossible, provided the real name is “Sōn-nadi”. We should, however, expect *suvarṇa-nādi* to become “Sōn-nāi” or something of that sort.

p. 1190, n. 2. Cunningham’s derivation of “Sāran” from *śaraṇa* cannot now be accepted. He himself must have abandoned his early theory, for in Arch. Surv. Ind., iii, 72, he locates the legend about the cannibal demons, upon which it depends, in the district of Shāhābād, near Arrah, and not in Sāran. There are two contiguous districts, Campāran (*vulgo* “Champāran”) and Sāran. The former was once part of Sāran, but became a separate district in 1866. In the word “Campāran” the last two syllables represent the Sanskrit *aranya*. Of this there is no doubt. “Campāran” is *campaka-aranya*, the “Campaka Forest”. The inference is that the *āraṇ* of “Sāran” has the same origin. If I understand Dr. Hoey aright, he derives “Sāran” from *Śakra-aranya* (JASB., 1900, lxix, p. 81), but the phonetics of Bihārī render this impossible. The *kr* would be simplified to *kk* or *k*, but would not disappear. Speaking merely from the point of view of phonetics, “Sāran” could well be derived from *Śaka-aranya*, “the Forest of the Śakas,” but of course this is only a guess. Anyhow, the word can have nothing to do with *śaraṇa*.

p. 1192, n. 2. Wherever Ch’a-po-ho-lo may have been situated, I do not think that it is possible to equate the name with “Chaprā”. Note, *en passant*, that the name of the town is not “Cāpra” (चापरा) or “Capra” (चपरा), but “Chaprā” (कपरा), or, to use the same system of spelling as that employed for the Chinese word, “Ch’aprā.” Even with this spelling I do not think that the equation can be supported, and see no reason for doubting the popular explanation of the name. This explanation is that the word is not a proper name at all, but is the
ordinary common noun *chaprā*, meaning "a collection of thatched huts". It is a modern word, derived from the Sanskrit *chattvāra*. The present town has risen round a village of no importance, once on the bank of the Gogra River, and subject to periodical inundation. Such a village is made up of wattle and daub huts, with thatched roofs, so as to be capable of abandonment at a moment's notice, and is called a *chaprā*. As this village has now grown to be the head-quarters of the district, it is *locally* known as *the* chaprā *par excellence*, and this name has been adopted all over India by Europeans and in official documents. But, outside the district, natives of the district do not call the town "Chaprā", as it is here no longer *the* chaprā *par excellence*. Outside the district they call it "Cirān-Chaprā", i.e. the *chaprā* belonging to, or near, Cirānd, thus clearly showing the meaning of the name, and illustrating the temporary and upstart nature of the original village which has since grown into the town of Chaprā. Cirānd or Cerānd is a well-known ancient town, now a mere village, about 6 miles east of the modern Chaprā. It has many remains. Cf. Arch. Surv. Ind., xxii, 74, and Dr. Hoey's article already referred to, p. 78. The latter article may be consulted with advantage in connexion with this paper. I must, however, confess that my phonetic conscience forbids me to accept its learned author's derivation of Chaprā from *capalā* or from *cāpa-ālaya*, or of Cirānd from *chidra-aṅga.*

G. A. G.
NOTE ON THE DALAI LAMA'S SEAL AND THE TIBETO-MONGOLIAN CHARACTERS

By A. H. FRANCKE, Moravian Missionary

REPRODUCTIONS of the Dalai Lama's seal are found in Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 448, and in Walsh's *Coinage of Tibet*, MASB, vol. ii, p. 16. No attempt to read it has as yet been made, and neither of the reproductions is absolutely correct, though Waddell's is by far the better of the two. In the accompanying plate I give copies of both these versions, together with my own corrected version.

The first column in the plate consists of three groups of characters. The first group is made up of a snake-ornament and a stroke called *shad*. The second group consists of a *ta* and a subjoined *a*; it represents the syllable *ta*. The third group consists of a *la*, a subjoined *a*, and an *i* vowel-sign: it has to be read *lai*.

The second column is composed of three groups. The first group is formed of a *ba* and a *la*, and has to be read *bla*. The second group consists of a *ma*, a subjoined *a*, and an *i* vowel-sign, and has to be read *mai*. The third group consists (probably) of a *ra* and a *u* vowel-sign, and has to be read *ru*.

In the third column also we find three groups. The first group is formed of a *tha* and a *ma*, and has to be read *tham*. The second group consists of a *ka* only, and has to be read *ka*. The third group is composed of a prefixed *r*, a *ga*, a suffixed *y*, and a final *la*, and has to be read *rgyal*.
The reading of the seal is therefore—

talai blamai ru thamka rgyal.

**Translation**

"Standard seal of the Dalai lama, bene!"

The word *rgyal* at the end is used in a sense similar to the more common legs, 'good', which is also placed at the end of sentences.

My reading of the seal is based on a Tibetan one-sheet wood-print, discovered in Ladakh. This wood-print is a kind of abridged primer of this character. When trying my primer on Sarat Chandra Das’ Yugur characters (see plates v, e, and vii, 1, of his article, “The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,” JASB, vol. Ivii, 1888, p. 41) I saw that the specimens given on plate v are but another primer of the same kind of script. Thus the first column, plate v, e, has to be read as follows: snake-ornament, *shad, ka, kha, ga, nga, ca, cha, ja*, etc.

The specimen given as plate vii, 1, has to be read as follows:—

First column: *bkrashi.*
Second column: *s ’abar.*
Third column: *’agyur.*
Fourth column: *geig.*

*bkrashis ’abar ’agyur geig.*

Or in a corrected form—

*bkrashispar ’agyurcig.*

**Translation**

"May you be happy!"

In the accompanying plate I give also the reading *rNam rgyal*, in Tibeto-Mongolian characters, as it is found on the seal of the rNam rgyal dynasty of Western Tibet.
No. 1. Waddell's reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.
No. 2. Walsh's reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.
No. 3. The author's corrected reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.
No. 4. Seal of the rNam rgyal dynasty of Western Tibet.
THE TIBETO-MONGOLIAN ALPHABET

The following notes on the Tibeto-Mongolian alphabet are based on the specimens published by Sarat Chandra Das in the JASB, vol. lvii (1888), p. 41 ff., on the Dalai Lama's seal, and on a one-sheet wood-print, discovered by myself in Ladakh, which may be styled a primer of this kind of writing.

This type of Tibetan writing, which runs from top to bottom, was invented by the Saskya hierarch Kun dga rgyal mthsan, a.d. 1182–1252, who presented it to the Mongolians. They were to use it for their newly started literature. The characters were, however, too clumsy for general use, and the Mongolians preferred a form of the Uigur alphabet which was founded on the Syriac characters of the Nestorians. S. Ch. Das states that the invention of the Saskya hierarch was actually used in Mongolia for a certain time by the successors of Chingis Khan and Qublai on golden tablets. In Yule's Marco Polo, edition of 1903, there are reproduced two of these golden tablets (Paiza) which are actually inscribed with this type of characters. They exhibit the more ancient rounded form. The rectangular form was developed later on in Tibet, where it was used for seal inscriptions.

The present article does not deal with the reading of these characters when used for Mongolian, but only with their Tibetan interpretation.

In Tables I and II the alphabet is given in its various forms. The two columns called Horyig are from the one-sheet wood-print brought from Ladakh; the Khong seng and Shintu jodpa characters in the two other columns are from S. Ch. Das' tables. Two different forms of characters are found in most cases, and in several cases (see ts to zh of Table II) even four different forms can be stated.

The script is written from top to bottom. Characters which form a syllable are joined to one another by
connecting lines at the middle or on the right-hand side of the characters: see Table IV. In the specimens taken from the wood-print this connecting line is invariably found on the right-hand side of the consonants, while the specimens taken from S. Ch. Das and from the golden tablet have it in the middle.

Vowel-signs

The vowel-signs are always joined to the lower portion of the consonant base. The \( i \) vowel-sign is generally joined to the right corner of the consonant: see Table III, \( ki \) and \( shi \). Only in one case of S. Ch. Das’ specimen of Yugur, Table III, \( ci \), the connecting line starts from the middle of the lower line of the consonant base. The \( i \) vowel-sign seems to be mostly of the same shape, but it is somewhat different on the Dalai Lama’s seal: compare plate of the latter at p. 1207 above.

The \( u \) vowel-sign is also fastened to the right-hand corner of the consonant base. The few specimens in Table III show no less than three different forms of it: see \( khu, ku, \) and \( gyu \).

The \( e \) vowel-sign is also joined to the right-hand corner of the consonant base. It consists generally of a single straight line; but in the specimen taken from S. Ch. Das’ \( Shintu jodpa \) the line is angular: see Table III, \( ge \) and \( ke \).

The \( o \) vowel-sign is joined to the middle of the lower line of the consonant base. There are two different forms of it: see Table III, \( ngo, ko, \) and \( mo \).

Compound Consonants

The specimens in Table III contain only two kinds of combinations; consonants with subjoined \( y \) and those with subjoined \( r \). The combination \( rgy \) is found on the Dalai Lama’s seal and on S. Ch. Das’ specimen of Yugur. The subjoined \( y \) seems to be everywhere the same; it is hardly different from the \( i \) vowel-sign: see Table III, \( kya, khya, \)
gya, pya. The subjoined r shows two different forms: see Table III, khra and kra. As the two specimens of khra show, it can be joined to the right- as well as to the left-hand corner of the consonant.

With regard to Table IV, the reading of the first seven specimens is given on the wood-print in Tibetan characters. The reading of the following four specimens (given in brackets) is in my opinion a reasonable decipheration. Also S. Ch. Das' specimen of Yugur characters had to be deciphered by myself.
### Comparative Tables of Tibeto-Mongolian Characters

#### TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Horyig, a Series</th>
<th>Horyig, b Series</th>
<th>Khong Seng</th>
<th>Shintu Jodpa</th>
<th>Roman</th>
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**Compound Characters**

Roman | Horyig
---|---
sh | ကြာ
ch | ကြာ
sh | ကြာ
ch | ကြာ

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Yugur</th>
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<tr>
<td>ci</td>
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<tr>
<td>gyu</td>
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A B
**TABLE IV**

Specimens of the Tibeto-Mongolian Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From the Wood-print.</th>
<th>From S. Ch. Das' Yughur Characters.</th>
<th>From J. F. Schmidt's Tables, after Golden Tablets.</th>
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</table>
THE TIBETAN ANATOMICAL SYSTEM

By E. H. C. WALSH.

In the present article I give a translation and description of the anatomical chart kept in the Temple of Medicine on the lChags-po-ri (“Iron Hill”) at Lhasa, which, together with its connected monastery, forms the medical college of Tibet. The chart demonstrates the Tibetan science of anatomy, and every Tibetan doctor is taught his anatomy from it.

The existence of the chart was discovered by Colonel Waddell, I.M.S., who when at Lhasa as Chief Medical Officer with the Tibet Mission paid a visit to the lChags-po-ri Monastery, together with Captain (now Major) H. J. Walton, I.M.S., medical officer with the Mission, and other medical officers attached to the expedition, and Mr. D. Macdonald, interpreter. It was produced at Colonel Waddell’s request, on his inquiring regarding the course of instruction and the methods of teaching that were followed. The chart is painted on a scroll of canvas mounted on cloth, the form in which all Tibetan paintings other than wall-paintings are made. It is 31½ inches long by 25½ inches broad. Recognizing the interest and value of the chart, Colonel Waddell tried to secure the Monastery copy, but the Head Lama was not willing to part with it. He, however, allowed Colonel Waddell to

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1 Csoma de Körös was informed that there are two other medical colleges in Middle Tibet of some repute, called Byang-zur (བོད་རི་), “Analysis of a Tibetan Medical Work,” by M. Alexander Csoma de Körös, JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, p. 2. I have not heard of the Byang-zur school.

2 A description of the “Temple of Medicine” and of Colonel Waddell’s visit here referred to is given on pp. 376-9 of Lhasa and its Mysteries, by L. Austin Waddell.
take the chart with him to have a copy of it made, and
Major W. F. O'Connor, Secretary to the Mission, arranged
for a Tibetan Lama artist to copy it at the Lha-lu House,
where the Mission resided while at Lhasa. Four copies
were made—one for the Government, one for Colonel
Waddell, one for Captain Walton, and the other for
myself, which is the copy now reproduced and described.
The copies were all made from the original chart, which
was then returned to the Head Lama. The copy made
for Government is in the Library of the India Office,
and Major Walton's copy of the chart is in the Hunterian
Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, to which he has
presented it.

In the transliteration of the chart, I have given the silent
letters of the Tibetan words (prefixes, superscribed letters,
and final s) which are not pronounced, in italics, and in the
case of proper names, or other words spelt with a capital,
the initial silent letters are given in small type, the capital
being given to the first letter which is pronounced.

In translating the chart I was fortunate in being able
to get the assistance of a Tibetan doctor, Am-chhi Champa
Thin-le, from the lChags-po-ri Monastery, who had come
on a pilgrimage through Nepal, and was staying at the
time at the Ghoom Monastery near Darjeeling.

The chart is known as Pyang-khok Las-thig (་བ་མ་ས་ས་ས་),
namely "The chart divided by lines", from the fact that
the figure is divided up into a number of squares with the
object of locating the correct position of the arteries,
veins, and other organs marked.

I cannot say what the age of the chart may be. The
chart now in use in the monastery is not the original,
but is said to have been copied from an older chart,
no longer in existence. The lChags-po-ri Monastery and
medical school is said to have been built by Šangs-rgyas
rGya-mtsho, the minister of the fifth Dalai Lama, at
the same time as the present Potala Palace was built,
1640-80 A.D. But the tradition is that Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho only added to or rebuilt a smaller monastery already in existence there, the foundation of which is attributed to King Sron-btsan sGampo when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, namely about 650 A.D., and the monks are taught that the original chart was in existence long previous to Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho. Moreover, Saṅs-rgyas rGya-mtsho is also credited with having written the medical commentary Baidurya sgon-po, which is certainly much older, as it is in the bsTan-hgyur.

The Am-chhi ("Doctor") informs me that this is the only anatomical chart used. Each student has a copy of the chart. He had had his own copy, but had sold it to another Am-chhi in Sher-Khong-bu (on the border of Nepal) when he was coming to Darjeeling. The student gets the copy made by a painter in Lhasa, and is allowed to take the original from the Monastery for the purpose. The cost of making a copy varies from 20 to 30 tankas, namely from 10 to 15 shillings.

Preliminary instruction is also given from another chart, of which the Am-chhi made me a rough sketch, in which four trees are shown side by side, namely, (1) the healthy tree (དགེ་ཐོང་བ། nad med sdon-po), (2) the diseased tree (དགེ་ཐོང་བ། nad kyi sdon-po), (3) the tree under treatment (བོ་ཆེས་པའི་སྐོད་པོ། bchos-pai sdon-po), and (4) the tree under nourishment (བཤིས་ཀྱི་སྐོད་པོ། zas kyi sdon-po); and from the analogy of these the benefits of treatment and suitable food in the case of human disease is explained.1

1 The Am-chhi explained the use of this chart as follows. In the perfect tree there should be 500 branches. In the diseased tree certain parts are inactive, such as dead leaves and branches; so in the body, disease is shown by certain veins (ཞི་རིས་) being inactive, but, as the withered tree under care and cultivation can recover and put out fresh leaves, so a patient can recover and the diseased parts be restored under treatment. This chart is referred to in the Tibetan medical work, the rGyud-bsi, which is the source of the Tibetan science of medicine. A translation of an analysis of the contents of this work has been given
The Tibetan system of anatomy and of medicine was derived from India. In its original form it is contained in a work entitled ༨༤༦ བསི (rGyud-bṣi),¹ "The Four Tantras," from the four parts into which it is divided, and which is said to have been spoken by Buddha, although it is not contained in the bKah-hgyur, or bsTan-hgyur. Csoma de Körös has given a translation of an analysis of this work that was made for him by a Tibetan Lama.² The following is the account given in the rGyud-bṣi of the manner in which this treatise of medicine found its way into Tibet:—"In the time of Khri-srong Dehutsan [in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era] a Tibetan interpreter Bairotsana or [Vairochana], having translated it in Cashmir, with the assistance of a physician-pandit མན་འགའ་ [Zla-ba mNon-dgah, pronounced 'Dawa Non-gah'], presented it to the above-mentioned

by Csoma de Körös, in which the above chart is referred to as follows: "The theory of the human constitution is illustrated by a similitude taken from the Indian fig-tree (སི་ཐུན་ཧིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིིhiba

¹ There are two block-print copies of the rGyud-bṣi in the Library of the India Office, marked D. 1 and D. 2. The title is ཉུ་ཆུ་གི་བཟབ་པོ་པ་ (bdud rtsi sni-po yan-lag brgyad-pa-ga- na-ba man-nag gi rgyud), "The treatise of the nectar-essence of the eight branches (lit. 'limbs') of hidden instruction," which is also given in Sanskrit as Aṃrtā-hṛdaya-aṣṭā-aṅgaguhya-upadesa. The four parts, ད་, ད་, བ་, and བ་, of the copy D. 1 consist of 8, 43, 210, and 62 folios respectively, and of the copy D. 2 consist of 11, 43, 226, and 62 folios respectively. There is also a copy in the British Museum in which the second part (ད) is wanting. The other parts, ད་, བ་, and བ་, consist of 5, 226, and 62 folios respectively. The printing of the British Museum copy is the more distinct.

Tibetan king. At that time it was received by gYu-Thog, a learned physician, and by several others, and afterwards it devolved successively to others till gYu-Thog (the thirteenth in descent from the first), styled the New gYu-Thog to distinguish him from the former physician of the same name, who is called 'the ancient'. This physician much improved and propagated it; and at that time, it is stated, nine men became learned in medicine."

Besides the five volumes on medicine in the bsTan-hgyur and the instructions on medicine to be found scattered in the bKah-hgyur, there are several subsequent works on medicine in Tibet, the principal of which is the Baidurya sNon-po ("The Lapis Lazuli"), written by Sañs-rgyad rGya-mtsho, the regent of the fifth Dalai Lama, which is a commentary on the rGyud-bsi.¹

The Am-chhi says that all the students at the medical monastery of lChags-po-ri are taught the rGyud-bsi, but that only the most advanced students go on to the Baidurya sNon-po.

The four parts of the rGyud-bsi are: (1) རྒྱུད་བྱིན་, the treatise of the rTsas, namely, arteries, veins, nerves, and pulses. Csoma de Körös has translated this word as "root", which is another of its meanings, and consequently calls the first rGyud, "The treatise of the root or theory of medicine," but this is not the meaning of the word as used in the anatomical sense; (2) རྒྱུད་བཞིན་, "explanation" of the body and the causes of diseases; (3) རྒྱུད་བཞིན་.¹

¹ There is a block-print copy of the Baidurya sNon-po in the Library of the India Office. The title is སྒྲོང་པོ་དཔོན་ལྡན་གྲོས་དབུས་ཀྱུར་བཞིན་ (gSo-bai rig-pai bsTan-bcos sMan-bLai dbang-rgyan rGyud-bsi gsal byed-Baidura sNon-poi maliika), "The Jasmine-flower [a complimentary title given to books], the Baidurya sNon-po, a treatise on the science of healing by sMan-bLai, being an explanation of the ornament of thought, the rGyud-bsi." The work is in four volumes (་, ག, བ, ལ), which consist of 40, 283, 563, and 250 folios respectively. The copy is a clearly printed one.
"instruction" as to the treatment of diseases; and (4) ཡི་བོད་དྲན་, "external" treatment, namely, manual operation, etc.

The following extracts from the analysis of the ཨ་གྱུད་བོས་པར་མེད་ཅེ་ཀྱི་མི་ཐོབ་མེ་ལ་take give the principal Tibetan theories in regard to anatomy:

"There are seven supports of the body on which life depends: the chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen.

"The three generative causes of diseases are: lust or ardent desire, passion or anger, dullness or ignorance. By the first is caused wind, by the second bile, by the last phlegm. The accessory causes of disease are four: (1) the season with respect to cold and heat, (2) any evil spirit, (3) wrong use of food, and (4) ill conduct of life.

"The parts of the body commonly subject to disease are six: the skin, the flesh, the veins, the bones, the viscera, and the bowels.

"The proper places of the three humours are: that of the phlegm in the upper part of the body, as the proper place of dullness in the brain or skull; that of the bile in the middle part of the body, which is appropriate to anger; and the wind resides in the lower part of the trunk, in the waist and loins, as in its proper place.

"There are fifteen ways or channels through which disease spreads itself. The channels of the motion of wind are the bones, the ear, skin, heart, artery, and the guts. The blood, sweat, the eye, the liver, the bowels are the ways or vehicles of bile. The chyle, flesh and fat, marrow and semen, ordure and urine, the nose and the tongue, the lungs, the spleen, and the kidneys, the stomach and the bladder, are the vehicles for the conveyance of the phlegmatic humour.

"With respect to the three humours this further distinction is made: wind is predominant in the diseases
of old people, bile in those of adolescents or youths, and phlegm in children.

"With respect to the place (or part of the body): wind occurs in the cold parts of the body, bile in the dry and hot parts, phlegm abides in the moist and unctuous parts." 1

"The cause of the generation of the body is stated to be: the father's seed, the mother's blood, and the arising of consciousness. If the first be predominant there will be born a son; if the second, a daughter; if both are equal, then a hermaphrodite. Should it happen that the blood be formed into two masses, then twins will be born.

"Out of the semen are formed: the bone, the brain, and the skeleton of the body. Out of the mother's blood are generated the flesh, blood, heart, with the other four vital parts (lungs, liver, spleen, kidneys), and the six vessels or veins. From the soul, or vital principle, arises consciousness through the several organs.

"There are 23 sorts of bones. In the backbone 28 are distinguished. There are 24 ribs, 32 teeth, 360 pieces of bones. There are 12 large joints of limbs, small joints 250. There are 16 tendons or sinews, and 900 nerves or fibres; 11,000 hairs on the head; 11,000,000 pores of the hair on the body. There are five vital parts (or viscera) (as the heart, lungs, liver, spleen, and the reins or kidneys); six vessels and nine openings or holes. In Jambudwipa the measure of a man's height is 1 fathom or 4 cubits; deformed bodies have only 3½ cubits, measured by their own.

"With respect to the second section, showing the state of the veins. There are four kinds of veins or nerves: (1) that of conception, (2) of sensation, (3) of connexion, and (4) that of vitality.

"The first: From the navel there arise or spread three veins or nerves; one of them ascends to the brain, and is

1 JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, p. 3.
acted on by the dull part of it, generating the phlegm in the upper part of the body. Another nerve (or vein) entering into the middle forms the vital nerve, and depends for its existence on the vital nerve of passion and blood; that part of it which causes bile resides in the middle. The third nerve (or vein) descends to the privy parts, and generates desire both in the male and female. The part of it which produces wind resides in the lower extremity.

"The second: There are four kinds of nerves of existence or sensation.

"For rousing (or exciting) the organs in their proper place there is in the brain a principal nerve, surrounded by 500 other smaller ones. Another nerve for making clear the organ of recollection or memory resides in the heart, surrounded with 500 other smaller ones.

"The nerve which causes the increase and renovation of the aggregate of the body resides in the navel, surrounded with 500 other smaller ones.

"The nerve which causes the increase of children and descendants resides in the privy member, together with 500 other smaller ones, and comprehends or encompasses the whole body.

"The third: The nerve of connexion consists of two kinds, white and black. There are twenty-four large veins (or nerves), which, like as so many branches ascending the principal stem of the vital principle, serve for increasing the flesh and the blood. There are eight large hidden veins or nerves for making the connexion of the diseases of the viscera and vessels.

"There are sixteen conspicuous veins connecting the outward limbs, and seventy-seven others spreading from them, called 甘血 gtar-rtsa, bleeding veins (that may occasionally be opened to let out blood).

"There are 112 hurtful or pestilential veins (or nerves), of a mixed nature; there are 189 others. Thence originate
120 in the outer, inner, and middle parts, that spread into 360 smaller ones. Thence smaller ones encompass the body as with a network.

"There are nineteen strong working nerves, which, like roots, descend from the brain, the ocean of nerves; from among them there are thirteen that are hidden, and connect the intestines; six others, connecting the outward parts, are visible; from them spread sixteen small tendons or sinews.

"There are three vital nerves (or veins) in a man. The one encompasses both the head and the body; the second, associating with respiration, moves accordingly; the third is the principal, and, connecting the veins or canals for the circulation of air and blood, is occupied with generating or increasing the body, and being the vital nerve is called by way of eminence the artery or the principal vital nerve."

The following is the theory as regards the three humours—wind, bile, and phlegm:—

"(1) Of wind. The life-keeping wind or air resides in the upper part of the head; that which operates upward has its place in the breast; that which pervades or encompasses all resides in the heart; that which communicates or conveys an equal heat to the body has its seat in the stomach; that which cleanses downwards abides in the lower part of the trunk.

"(2) Of bile. The digesting bile resides in the stomach, between the digested and indigested part; that which forms the chyle resides in the liver; that which prepares or increases, in the heart; that which assists the sight (or causes to see), in the eye; that which gives a clear colour resides in the skin.

"(3) Of phlegm. The supporting phlegm resides in the breast; the masticatory, in the indigested part; the tasting, on the tongue; the refreshing (or that which
makes contented), in the head; the conjunctive or uniting, resides in every juncture (or joint).”\footnote{JASB., vol. iv, Calcutta, 1838, pp. 5–10.}

Reference should also be made to Dr. Heinrich Laufer’s Treatise on Tibetan Medicine, in which he includes the above analysis of the ḥGyud-bṣi and also refers to the contributions of subsequent European writers.\footnote{Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tibetischen Medicin, by Heinrich Laufer, Berlin, 1900.}

**Description of the Chart**

The Am-chhi gave me the following information with reference to the chart:

The central figure is, as will be seen, standing with its back to the observer. There is no other chart giving a corresponding front view of the standing figure, as the remaining organs viewed from in front are given in the two seated figures at the side on the chart.

The Am-chhi says that the numbers given against each entry in the chart refer to the numbers in a medical book under which a full description of the part is given, but he did not remember the name of the book.

In the spine the vertebrae numbers 1 to 5, the Am-chhi says, are considered to be the bones (ṛṣṇṝṇṇ ṛṣ khog) of the neck (ṛṇṝṇṇ ḥjin-pa); Nos. 6 to 20 those of the backbone (ṛṇṝṇṇ ṣgal-tshigs); and Nos. 1 to 3 at the base of the spine the continuation of the spinal marrow into the genital organ; Nos. 1 and 2 are bones, and 3 is the penis.

The Am-chhi says there are four principal rtsas ( setText), which term comprises arteries, veins, and pulses, namely ṛṇṝṇṇ (ro-ma), ṛṇṝṇṇ (ṛkyang-ma), ṛṇṝṇṇ (ṛbu-ma), and, ṛṇṝṇṇ (sdud-pa). Ro-ma is the artery to the teeth, and it is through this artery that man has the sense of taste. There are two branches of the ro-ma, one on either side of
the neck (the external jugular veins). The ro-ma is white in colour.

The rKyang-ma also has two branches, one on each side of the neck. It is red in colour. Its principal function is the contraction and relaxing of the limbs. The Tibetans believe that this is done by the veins (or nerves) (ṛ tsa), and not by the muscles (ṣa).

The dBu-ma is the principal or central artery. It cannot be seen. It is within the heart, and it is by means of this artery that man breathes. It is elastic like a piece of india-rubber, and can stretch and contract with the breathing. When it breaks life at once becomes extinct. The breaking of the dBU-ma is the cause of death in all creatures.

The sDud-pai-ṛtsa is the general system of veins throughout the body. These veins extend to the tips of the third finger.

It is believed that a child is born with its hands up to its face in such a position that the two nostrils are closed by the two third fingers, the two eyes by the two second fingers, and the mouth by the two fourth fingers, and the two ears are bent forward and closed by the thumbs; in this way seven of the nine openings of the body (dbaṅ-po bu-ga dgu) are closed, the remaining two openings, the anus and the urethra, not being closed at birth.

The veins are like a tree. They spring from roots and terminate in a flower. Thus the tongue (lche) is the flower of the dBU-ma. The dBU-ma comes from the heart (sni). The eyes are the flower of the liver artery (mchhin-ṛtsa), which springs from the liver (mchhin-pa). The nose is the flower of the lung artery (glo-ṛtsa), which springs from the lungs (glo-ma). The ears are the flower of the kidney artery (mkhal-ṛtsa), which springs from the kidney (mkhal-ma).
The lips are the flower of the spleen artery (མཆེད་རྩ་ mechher-rtsa), which springs from the spleen (མཆེད་པ mechher-pa).

The seated figure on the left of the chart represents a man, that on the right of the chart a woman. But the organs are the same in the man and in the woman, except that a woman's heart is said to be in the centre of the body and the man's somewhat to the left.

The figure on the right shows the internal organs of the body. The Am-chhi says that the position of the internal organs has been ascertained when the dead body is cut up for distribution of its flesh to birds and dogs, which is the method of disposal after death. But no dissection is followed at the lChags-po-ri Monastery as part of the training in anatomy, which is only taught from the chart.

There are five elements in the body (ལྷོན་པ་བི་ོ་ lhbyun-wa bsii kham), namely, earth (ས་ sa), water (ཞུ་ chhu), air (ཉུ་ rlun), fire (ཨུ me), and ether (མྲེན mkah). The theory of digestion is curious. The stomach is earth, the air blows, so that the fire burns and causes the water to boil, and so digests the food.

The Tibetans believe that the red blood circulates on the right side and the yellow bile on the left side. They say that there are six pulses, three on the right arm and three on the left, and a Tibetan doctor feels the three pulses at the same time with three fingers. These pulses are said to come from different organs, and from the condition of each pulse the doctor judges the condition of the organ from which it is said to come. The Tibetan word for pulse is མྱར་ (phar-rtsa), viz. "throbbing artery". The following are the names of the six pulses: མཁྲིས (mkhris-rtsa), which comes from the bile; རྩུན (rlun-rtsa), from the breath; ནས། (glo-rtsa), from the lungs;
(sniṅ-rtsa), from the heart; मखङ्क (mkhal-rtsa), from the kidneys; and मेकङ्क (mechher-rtsa), from the spleen.

The figure of the body is marked out in squares by the lines, in the first place, to show the correct position of the organs, so that they may be correctly placed in all the copies made of it for the students’ use, and, secondly, for use in cupping and cauterizing. Cupping, ग्याब (me rgyab-pa, “applying fire”), is usually done by means of a small copper pot, in which paper is lit and is then quickly applied to the affected part, and a blister is thus burnt. Cauterizing, which is also called ग्याब (me rgyab-pa), is done by an iron rod called लचाङ्क (lchage-me, “iron-fire”), which is applied through a series of small holes in a flat iron disc laid over the place to be cauterized. No cupping or cauterizing is allowed from between the eleventh and twentieth joints of the spine. Each square is the width across the knuckle when the hand is closed (vide No. 120). Having diagnosed the seat of the pain or the organ affected, the physician measures on the patient's body the same number of widths across the patient's knuckle as there are squares to the position of the organ on the chart. This measurement varies with the size of the individual patient, and so gives the correct location of the organ. The portions of the body which can be cupped or lanced depend on the day of the month, because the soul, or life (bla), moves about to different parts of the body on different days of the month, and cupping or cauterizing cannot be done at the part of the body where the soul is at the time. There is a manual called ल्ग्नस क्यि र्त्सिस (bLa gnas kyi rtsis, The Calculation of the Movement of the Soul), which states in what part of the body the soul is on each day of the month. The position of the soul is as follows:—

On the 1st day of the month the soul abides in the sole of the right foot of a male person. It then ascends by the right side. On the 2nd it abides in the upper part
of the right foot; on the 3rd in the calf of the leg; on the 4th in the back of the knee-joint; on the 5th in the knee; on the 6th in the thigh; on the 7th in the hip; on the 8th in the kidney; on the 9th in the ribs; on the 10th in the shoulder; on the 11th in the arm; on the 12th in the palm of the hand; on the 13th in the neck; on the 14th in the right cheek; on the 15th it permeates the whole body. It then descends by the left side. On the 16th in the left cheek; on the 17th in the neck; on the 18th in the palm of the hand; on the 19th in the arm; on the 20th in the shoulder; on the 21st in the ribs; on the 22nd in the kidney; on the 23rd in the hip; on the 24th in the thighs; on the 25th in the knees; on the 26th in the back of the knee-joint; on the 27th in the calf of the leg; on the 28th in the upper part of the foot; on the 29th in the sole of the left foot; and on the 30th it again permeates the whole body. The soul abides in the soul of the left leg of a female person on the 1st day of the month, and goes round the body to the sole of the right foot in the reverse of the order mentioned above. If the affected part is burnt, or if blood is taken out of it, where the soul abides at the time in a human body or animal, he will die within three years. It is therefore very necessary to ascertain the abode of the soul if one cuts oneself with any weapon or hurts oneself in any way.

The colouring of the chart is as follows: The central figure is coloured buff. The lines forming the squares are yellow. The veins on the right side of the body are coloured red; those on the left side yellow. The coil on the sole of the right foot is red, that of the left foot yellow. The outer portion of each of the vertebrae is pink. The genital organ is coloured red, yellow, and blue in twisted bands (representing blood, bile, and the marrow of the spinal chord respectively). The bottom part of the finger and toe-nails is red, the upper part blue.
The standing figure represents the portions of the veins and arteries that are visible externally.

The seated figure on the left, which represents internal organs, is coloured light pink. The spinal marrow is blue, and also the rtsas leading from it to the kidneys (Nos. 107 and 108) and to the liver (105), and from the liver to the lungs. The three arteries shown connecting the heart and lungs are red. The lips and outer corners of the eyes are red. The kidneys are a mottled pink, darker than the figure. The liver and spleen are dark pink. The heart and lungs are shaded a darker pink on their outer edges.

The right-hand seated figure, which is a female figure, is coloured light pink, the same colour as the seated male figure. The four main arteries ending in a flower and forming a cross are blue. The circle of smaller arteries radiating from the centre are alternately red and blue; of the others, No. 114 is red, 115 is yellow, 116 is white, 118 is red. The nails are red at the bottom and blue at the top. The lips and the outer corner of the right eye and inner corner of the left are red.

The two hands given as measures (120 and 121) are light pink, the same colour as the seated figures.

The veins and arteries shown on the central figure are those that are conspicuous when the limb is warm, and are therefore easily seen. The vessels shown at various parts of the back are suggestive of some slight knowledge of dissection. The cutaneous branches of the intercostal vessels become superficial in a somewhat similar manner.

The liver, though shown entirely on the right side, is correctly shown as having a large right half and a smaller left half.

It is curious that the stomach (ཐོ་ཤུག་ pho-wa), the intestines (ཐེ་ོ་ཤུག་ loń-ka, the large intestine, སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་མ་, the small intestines), and the bladder (ཐོ་ རྲལ། gilaŋ) should not be shown on the chart of the internal
organs. The reason for their omission appears to be that the chart (vide serial No. 111) is of the eight principal rtsas connecting the spinal cord and the internal organs, and that the stomach, intestines, and bladder, etc., are not considered as being so connected.

TRANSLATION OF THE ANATOMICAL CHART

At the top of the chart there are pictures of twelve famous physicians. They are as follows, beginning from the left hand:

1. གནོད་པོ་དབུན་པོ་(man-thöṣ zLa-wai dBu-poi mtshan). “The name of the famous zLawai dBangpo” (pronounced Dawai Wanpo).

2. རིན་་བྲག་རྒྱ་མཚོན་(Rin-sdiňs bLo-bzan rGya- mtshoi dpal). “The exalted bLo-bzan rGya-mtsho of Rin-sdiũs.” Rin-sdiũs is a monastery near Gyantse, at which place this physician is said to have been born.

3. དྲུན་་བསྟན་བཅིག་(draũ-sroũ bstan-hdzin rgyal- poi mtshan). “The name of the holy hermit (=Sanskrit Rṣi) bstan-hdzin rGyal-po.”

4. དབྱུན་ནོས་མཁས་དབང་(byan-nös mkhas-dbaŋ dar-rgyas sabs). “At the feet of the honourable mkhas-dBaṅ of the Northern desert.

5. བཤེེ་ཡེ་བཞི་བཞི་ལ་(ūm-sun rtoṅs mṇah-wa sMan sGom-pa). “The all-knowing learned sMan sGom-pa” (=Meditator on medicine).

6. གྱུ་ཚང་བྲག་མཆོད་(khra-tshang bLo-mchhog rDo- rje sabs). “At the feet of the honourable bLo-mchhog rDo-rje.”


8. མ་ཁན་ཆེན་ས་-ས་(mkhan-chhen Šaṅ-kyas dBaṅ- phyug sabs). “At the feet of the great abbot
Sahkya dBar-phug.” Above this picture there is the following inscription:  གཉིས་པ་གཙོ་མ་བརྩེན་པོའི་དབུས་པ་ (hdi-nas sNin-po bDus-pai brgyud-pa). “From here begin the descendants of sNin-po bDus-pa,” who was a celebrated Lama physician.

9. བསྐྱིན་པའི་དབྱིན་པ་བསྔན་པོའི་མཚན་ (mkhas-mchhog bSod-nams rgyal-poi mtshan). “The name of the most learned bSod-nams rGyal-po.”

10. རིན་སྡིན་བློ་བཙན་རྒྱལ་མཚོའི་དཔལ་ (Rin-sdiṅs bLo-bzaṅ rGya-mtsho dpal). “The exalted bLo-bzaṅ rGya-mtsho of Rin-sdiṅs.” This is the same name as No. 2, the reason being that the Lama now referred to was a reincarnation of the former Lama.

11. རྡུ་སྲོི་བསྟན་ཧྲེ་འཕྲི་རྒྱལཔོ་ (draṅ-sroṅ bstan-hdzin rgyal-poi sabs). “At the feet of the holy hermit bS Tan-hdzin rGyal-po.” This is the same name as No. 3, as this Lama physician was a reincarnation of the former Lama.

12. རྡུ་སྲོི་བློ་བཙན་རྒྱལ་མཚོའི་དཔལ་ (gLiṅ-ston bLo-bzaṅ rGya-mtsho dpal). “The exalted bLo-bzaṅ rGya-mtsho of gLiṅ-ston.”

The entry at the foot of the chart (No. 85) is as follows:——
The translation of the above is as follows:

"The head, throat, heart, navel, (and) the secret parts, these five, each have twenty-four leaves (viz. branch arteries). Again, from the ro-ma (artery there are) ten and from the rkyan-ma (artery there are) ten. These twenty have each twenty small ones. From the dbu-ma (artery) there are four separate (branches), each having twenty-five (branches), and these are each surrounded by five hundred small arteries. The artery which produces the six kinds of perception of the five senses, and of the good soul, etc., is vermilion. The ninety blood veins on the back, in front, and on the sides of the illustration are also vermilion. And the most powerful (lit. ‘fierce’) and essential arteries, ro-ma and rkyan-ma, (are shown) in white and red colour, running right and left. All the pulses (are) quick-moving. The head, neck, (and) corners of the mouth (are) carefully drawn. The human body of usual power is ninety-six sor-mos (measure of the width of the knuckle—vide No. 120), as is well shown on the diagram."

The last line (No. 86) is as follows:

"The manner of reading the chart, all the meanings, and measurements are given above."

The entries on the central figure of the chart bear serial numbers from 1 to 97, with the exception of certain numbers which are omitted. I have also given numbers (99 and 100) to the two entries on the soles of the feet, and to the entries on the two figures on either side, and also (85 and 86) to the entries at the foot of the chart for convenience of reference.

The following serial numbers do not appear on the chart: 1, 2, 5, 6, 11–14, 17, 28, 29, 59–61, 65–76, 78, 80, 83, 86, 89–96. Of these, the four numbers 1, 2, 5, and 6 would appear to have been omitted from the four entries of
muscles, ० (śa), in the head, which bear no number, in the same line as the muscles Nos. 26 and 27.

The following numbers occur twice, being given in most cases for the corresponding entries on either side of the body, namely, 39–41, 49, 50, 53, 54, 63, and 81.

The entry at the right-hand side of the top of the head of the standing figure (beneath the figures of the seventh and eighth Lama physicians) has, by oversight, not been given a serial number. It is as follows: क्रमवर्ती भागाकार (tshañ-pai sdud-pa an-krer), “the suture of Brahma and the forehead” (vide serial 3 below).

The serial numbers are as follows:—

1, 2. These numbers are not entered on the chart. As No. 3 occurs twice, it would appear that the entry No. 3 (re-thag) is intended to be No. 2.

3. रे-ठग् (re-thag). “The cord of hope.” This is said to be a cord extending from the end of the spinal cord to the suture (Posterior Fontanelle) on the crown of the head (टिकार्ण spyi-gtsug). It is up this cord that the soul or life (जीवन dbu-ma) passes out of the body through the suture at the time of death. This suture is called क्रमवर्ती भागाकार tshañ-pai bu-ga, “the aperture of Brahma,” from the corresponding Sanskrit term ब्रह्मार्द्ध, the above belief having been taken from Indian medicine. As soon as the soul has left the body blood issues from the left nostril and mucus from the right.

3, 4. त्वर्त्तर्ताइ (blta- rtsa güns). “The two occipital arteries.” The spelling on the chart is unusual. The word is generally spelt त्वर्त्त (tlag-rtsa), namely, the artery of the occiput.

5, 6. These numbers are not entered on the chart.

7. त्वर्त्तर्ताइ (skyogs-rai tshig-mtshams). “The tissue (or muscle) between two joints.” The muscle
shown here, and also the corresponding one on the right side shown under No. 77, is that of the shoulder joint, but there is a similar muscle called by the same name at every joint. It is considered to be a vein or artery, rtsa. As this number corresponds to No. 77 on the right arm, and as Nos. 76 and 78 do not occur on the chart, it seems probable that this number should be 76 or 78, the last figure having been omitted.

8. The name is not entered on the chart against this number.

9, 10. རིས་ལྷག་པའི་སྲུང་སྐོ་དahn་དeiགྱས་ལྭོན (rüs lhag-pai sdü-dgo dān dei gyas- gyōn). "The opening (lit. door) where the chief bones connect, and its right and left," namely, the sutures where the bones of the skull join. These sutures are shown under No. 10 in three places on the head, the lower one being the counterpart on the left side to No. 9, and the other two on either side higher up. These should probably bear the succeeding Nos. 11 and 12, which are not noted on the chart. The position of these sutures is not accurate, but they appear to represent the two lateral (squamous) sutures, and the two transverse (coronal and lambdoid) sutures.

11–14. These numbers are not entered on the chart.

15. ཤྱི་ཤི་ཤི་ (lun-ḥdzin khug-pa). "The hollow of the joint." The Am-chhi says that this is a rtsa in the hollow between the collarbone and the sternocleido-mastoid muscle. It is therefore the subclavian vein. The No. 15 on the chart is evidently a clerical error of the copyist for 55, which is the number given to this entry on the other copies, and corresponds on the right side to No. 56 on the left side. But, as 55 is also the number given to a vein on the left hand, the present number should, apparently, be 57, which does not occur on the chart.
16. རྣ་སྣང་སྤྲོལ་ (pho-mtshan lpha-rta rgyab). "The back pulse of the male organ." It would appear that this No. 16 is a mistake for 80, which is the number that this vein would, from the figure, be expected to have.

17. This number is not entered on the chart.

18. ༨ (sā). "Muscle."

18a. ༨ (sā). "Muscle." I inserted this extra number (18a) against this entry on the chart by oversight, as I did not notice that the No. 26 on the chart applies to this entry.


20, 21. These numbers are not entered on the chart. These numbers would probably be other sās or muscles of the head, as they come amongst those entries.

22. ༨ (sā). Muscle.

23. ༨ (sā). Muscle.

24. ༨ (sā). Muscle on the left, corresponding to No. 22 on the right.

25. ༨ (sā). Muscle on the left, corresponding to No. 23 on the right.


27. ༨ (sā). Muscle on the left, corresponding to No. 26 on the right.

28, 29. These numbers are not entered on the chart.

30. མུ་ (ru-thun). "The short horn." The Am-chhi says that the word མ has not the meaning of "horn" here, but is merely the name given to the vein (rtṣa), because it is a short one (viz. that the portion of it which is visible on the surface is short). He pointed out the posterior ulnar vein as being this rtṣa.

31. མུ་ (ru-thun). The vein on the left arm corresponding to the above.
32. མཁྲིས་པ་གཤེར་རིན (mkhris-pa gsah-rin). "The long pure bile." The Am-chhi says that although the bile mainly circulates on the left side and its "veins" (rtsa) are shown as yellow, it also circulates, mixed with blood on the right side, as here.

33. མཁྲིས་པ་གཤེར་རིན (mkhris-pa gsah-rin). "The long pure bile." The corresponding "vein" on the left arm to No. 32 on the right.

34. སྣོ་ནོར་གཤེས་བག་ (glo-ma tshigs-hgram). (The rtsa of) the (left) posterior lobe of the lungs.

35. སྣོ་ནོར་གཤེས་བག་ (glo-ma tshigs-hgram). (The rtsa of) the (right) posterior lobe of the lungs.

36. སྣོད་དུ་ (glo-ma nañ-rgyug). The vein circulating inside the (left) posterior lobe of the lungs.

37. སྣོད་དུ་ (glo-ma nañ-rgyug). The vein circulating inside the (right) posterior lobe of the lungs.

38. མཆིག་མཁྲིས་འདུལ་ (mchhin-mkhris hdom-rtsa). "The vein connecting the liver and the bile." The vein is on the right forearm. The Am-chhi cannot explain why this name should be given to this vein.

39 (on the left forearm). མཆིག་མཁྲིས་འདུལ་ (mchhin-mkhris hdom-rtsa). The corresponding vein to the above on the left forearm.

39 (on the right side). སྣོད་དུ་ (glo-ma grog-sked). "The ant-like waist of the posterior lobe of the lungs" (right side). The Am-chhi cannot explain what is exactly meant by this term.

40 (on the left side). སྣོད་དུ་ (glo-ma grog-sked). The rtsa corresponding to the preceding, on the left side.

40 (on the right wrist). སྣོད་དུ་ (skyor-gon). "The flesh lump of the hollow of the hand," namely, the ball of the thumb. The name given to the vein passing through the wrist to the thumb (right hand).
41 (on the left wrist).  སྐྱོར་གོན་ (skyor-гон). Ditto (left hand).

41 (on the right side). སྐྱོར་གོན་ (skyor-гон). "The posterior lobe of the lung" (right). The meaning of the word སྐྱོར་ is not clear. The Am-chhi says it is meant for འཇིག་ (rdo-rje), because this rtsa crosses itself and is like the shape of the rdo-rje, thunderbolt. This word is, however, spelt differently.

42 (on the left side). སྐྱོར་གོན་ (skyor-гон). "The posterior lobe of the lung" (left).

42 (on fourth finger of right hand). རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). The vein of the "little finger".

43. རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). Ditto (on the left hand).

44. རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). "The collection of six veins of the back" (viz. of the back of the right hand).

45. རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). Ditto. The corresponding veins on the left hand.

46. རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). "The back vein of the third finger (right hand)."

47. རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). Ditto (left hand).

48. རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). "The middle vein" (right hand).

The Am-chhi says this vein is so called because it runs between the thumb and first finger.

49 (on the left hand). རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). Ditto. The corresponding vein on the left hand.

49 (on the right side). རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). "The source of pain." The Am-chhi says that this rtsa and the corresponding one on the left side are so called because all pains of the upper part of the back arise from them.

50 (on the left side). རྒྱུབ་ (rgyab). The vein corresponding to the preceding, on the left side.
50 (on the right hand).  རྒྱ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between two fingers, viz. the first and second fingers of the right hand.

51.  རྒྱ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the first and second fingers of the left hand.

52.  རྒྱ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the second and third fingers of the right hand.


54. རྒྱ་ (glo-bu sngön-bu). "The blue anterior lobe of the lungs" (left). These numbers (53 and 54) given to the lobes of the lungs appear to be a mistake for some other serial.

54 (on right hand). རྒྱ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the third and fourth fingers of the right hand.

55. རྒྱ་ (bar-rtsa). "Middle vein," running between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand.

56. སྟི་ཐྱེ་ (lung-hdzin khug-pa). "The hollow of the joint." Namely, a vein in the hollow between the collarbone and the sterno-cleido-mastoid muscle. This corresponds to No. 15 for the right collarbone, which number, as already noted, appears to be a mistake of the抄ist.

57-61. Numbers not entered on the chart.

62. མཆད་ (mchher-rtsa bya-rkañ). "The bird-foot vein of the spleen" (left side). The Am-chhi says this is so called because the veins spread out like the foot of a bird.

63 (on the right side of the back). མཁྲི་རྩ་ཙྲ་སྒེར་བཞི་ཁ་བ་། "The golden-pillar vein of the bile." The Am-chhi says this is so called because it is a single straight vein like a pillar, and not branched like the "bird-foot" vein above.

64. མཁྲི་རྩ་ཙྲ་སྒེར་བཞི་ཁ་བ་། "The golden-pillar vein of the bile." The corresponding vein on the left side.

65–76. These numbers are not entered on the chart.

77. སྐྱོད་རི་ཚིགས་མཚམས། "The tissue (or muscle) between two joints." This number on the right shoulder corresponds to No. 7 on the left shoulder, which would therefore appear to be a mistake of the copyist for 78.

78. This number is not entered on the chart.

79. རྣ་ཆེན་གྱེ་གྲི་མཁྲི་རྩ་སྡེ་རྒྱ་གིས། "The two long grey bile veins of long twisted pus" (at the back of each thigh). No. 79 is the right vein, and No. 81 the left vein.

80. This number is not entered on the chart. I put the figure "80" on the chart by mistake, as when first reading the chart I mistook the word ཁབ་ for "80", for which, as written on the chart, it might be taken. But it is evidently the entry against No. 16.

81 (on the left thigh). རྣ་ཆེན་གྱེ་གྲི་མཁྲི་རྩ་སྡེ་རྒྱ་གིས། The same entry as No. 79. As No. 81 occurs against the next entry the number 81 against the present entry is probably a mistake of the copyist for 80, for which there is no entry on the chart.


83. This number is not entered on the chart.

84 (left thigh). *brlai phyi-bul mkhal-rtsa rkañ-hdegs*. "The kidney vein coming out of the thigh, the support of the leg."

85 (right thigh). *brlai bul-mkhal rkañ-hdegs*. "The kidney vein coming out of the thigh, the support of the leg."

85, 86 (at the foot of the chart). These numbers are not in the Tibetan. I gave them for reference against the entry at the foot of the chart, which has been already referred to.

87. *brlai phyi-zur mechher-pai rtsa-nag*. "The black vein of the spleen on the outer side of the thigh" (left thigh).

88. *brlai phyi-zur mechher-pai rtsa-nag*. The same as the above on the right thigh.

89-96. Numbers not entered on the chart.

97. *sgab-rtsa nag-po*. "The black vein at the back" (of the right knee-joint). This is the external saphenous vein in the popliteal space.

98. *sgab-rtsa nag-po*. "The black vein at the back" (of the left knee-joint). The corresponding vein to the preceding.

99, 100. *rkañ-pai mthil-gyi bzhag-hdra mthil-hphrog gnis*. "The two wheels resembling a coil of rope on the soles of the feet." The word *bṣag*, as spelt, means "placed", but the Am-chhi says that it means a coil of rope, which is usually spelt *sags-pa*. The Am-chhi says that these are the terminations on either foot of a *rtsa* connected with the heart.
The title of this diagram (No. 111) is—

(Don-snod nam hbral sbas-pai rtsa-chhen rgyad tshigs-pa nas hbral-pai tshul). "The diagram showing the eight hidden chief arteries (rtsas) passing through the joints (of the vertebrae) and connecting the internal organs." These eight rtsas connecting the internal organs are—

(1) The spinal chord, coloured blue, running from the top of the brain to the genital organ.

(2, 3) The rtsas connecting the spinal chord with the two kidneys. These are also coloured blue, the kidneys being coloured a mottled pink.

(4) The rtsa from below the eighth vertebra to the liver (105). This is also coloured blue, the liver being coloured dark pink.

(5) The rtsa from below the tenth vertebra to the spleen (106). This is coloured dark pink, the spleen also being coloured dark pink.

(6–8) Three rtsas connecting the heart (104) and the lungs (102 and 103). These rtsas are coloured red, the heart and lungs being coloured dark pink.

The internal organs depicted on this figure do not bear any serial numbers in the Tibetan, except the bones of the spine, which are numbered from 1 to 20, the three supposed to be continued into the genital organ being numbered 1, 2, 3. I have given serial numbers to each entry for reference. This figure is coloured pink. The spinal cord is coloured blue, as also the cords leading from it to the kidneys (107 and 108), and the cord shown as leading from the eighth vertebra to the liver (105).

101. ལེག (pha). "Male." This indicates the spinal cord, which is supposed to pass from the genital organs to the top of the brain.

102. ཤོག་ (glo-wa). "The lungs."
103. གྱོ་ (glo-bu). "The anterior lobes of the lungs."
104. ལྟོག (snyin). "The heart."
105. སྣོན་ (mchhin-pa). "The liver."
106. སྨོས་ (mchher-pa). "The spleen."
107. བློ་ (mkhal-ma). "The kidney (right)."
108. བློ་ (mkhal-ma). "The kidney (left)."

110. ག་ (figures 1, 2, and 3). Supposed additional vertebrae of the spine, continuing the spinal marrow into the genital organ.

111. ཞེས་པོ་ རྡོ་ཞིང་ རྡོ་པོ་ རོ་ (don-snog nan-lbrel las-pai rtsa-chhen rgyad tshigs-pa nas lbre-lpai tshul). "The diagram showing the eight hidden chief arteries (rtsas) passing through the joints (of the vertebrae) and connecting the internal organs." This is the title of this diagram, which has been already noticed.

The right-hand seated figure

The title of this figure is (vide No. 119) "The diagram showing the religious wheel of the heart, in which the leaf-arteries collect in the centre with the five arteries by which the consciousness of the five doors (i.e. the five senses) passes to the back, front, right, left."

112. ཕྱུབ (rgyab). "The back (artery)."
113. མོན་ (ñon moṅs yid-kyi rgyu-wai rtsa). "The artery through which the misery of mind goes."
114. སྲོང་ (dbüs yid-bzang-ma). "The middle artery of the good mind."
115. གཉིས་ (kün-gši-i rnam-šes rgyu-wai rtsa-gyas). "The right artery of the going (of the) consciousness of the soul," viz. through which
the consciousness of the soul passes. རྒྱ་གི (kün-gśi), "soul" or "spirit," indicates the seat of the passions as opposed to སེམས་ནི (sems ṅid), the "spirit" as the seat of reason.

116. བྱིན་བཞི་གཞི་ཞུ་བཞི་ལམ་ (yid-kyi rnam-śes rgyu-wa gyön). "The left artery of the going (of the) consciousness of the mind." བྱིན (yid), "soul" or "mind," is the power of perception, will, and imagination.

117. ག (ta). The letter ག (ta) is written in the centre of the heart, as this letter is the mystical symbol of the door of admission to all knowledge. The Tibetans place the seat of the memory in the heart, and not in the brain.

118. སྐོ་གཉིད་གཞི་ཞུ་བཞི་ལམ་ (sgo-lnai rnam-śes rgyu-wa mdün). The front (artery) of the going of the consciousness of the five senses.


120. དགེ་བྱུང་ སྐྱེས་ (chhang-gan-gi tshad). "The measure of the full hand." This is a unit of measure taken across the second knuckles of the fingers when the hand is closed, as shown in the illustration given. The chhang-gan consists of four sors (སོར) or sor-mos, the sor-mo being the width of a finger across the
knuckle. This is the measure of the squares on the chart, each being one sor, by which the physician (am-chhi) is supposed to ascertain the correct position of each rtsa on the body, so as to ascertain the position of the different rtsas, and whether those of the patient are in the normal position.

121. ལྷུབ་གང་གི་ཚད (hdzub-gan-gi tshad). "The measure of the full finger." The hdzub-gang is the length of the first finger. It is divided into six parts, of which each of the phalanges is supposed to contain two. As the phalanges are of different lengths these subdivisions are conventional.

A NOTE ON TIBETAN SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS

The present practice of surgery in Tibet is very simple, and, as already noted, consists chiefly of cupping, cauterizing, and bleeding. The Am-chhi informed me that the only instruments used are the cupping-bowl (སྣོ་མེ་པུན, or སྣོ་མེ་བུམ, both meaning "fire vessel"), in which paper is lit and the bowl is placed while hot over the part to be blistered; the sucking-horn (གི་གོ་ གེ་རུ), by which cupping by vacuum is done; the cautery (གཤེན་མི་ lchags-me); the lancet (རྟྜྷ་ rtsa-u), for bleeding, and a golden lancet (རྫུ་རྟྜྷ་ gser kyi rtsa-u), for operating on the eye.

In the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta for 1894 three Tibetan block-prints are illustrated, which contain representations of a large number of surgical instruments, some of them of an elaborate nature, including specula, saws, catheters, exploring needles, instruments for tapping hydrocele, and midwifery and other forceps. The block-prints were brought by Rai Sarat Candra Das Bahadur from Lhasa,¹ and a description of the figures was

TIBETAN ANATOMICAL CHART

Used for instruction at the JChagpo-ri Monastery at Lhasa
given by the late Lama Śes-rab mGya-mtsho, the Abbot of Ghoom Monastery, near Darjeeling, who was formerly physician to the late Tashi Lama, which were explained in a paper read by Dr. Sarada Prasad Banerji.¹

If the elaborate and various instruments shown in the block-print were ever in general use they appear to have now ceased to be used.

ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

(Continued from JRAS., 1909, p. 952.)

The other and most ancient historical edicts discovered by me at Lhasa are inscribed upon a lofty pillar of victory which stands at the foot of Potala Hill, under the castle of the ancient kings, now incorporated in the palace of the Dalai Lamas.

These edicts, three in number, are of the first importance, and two of them, dating between 730 and 763 A.D., are the earliest historical Tibetan documents hitherto discovered. They disclose to us much of the lost history of those stirring times, and throw a sidelight on the ancient history and geography of China. Each of the edicts, fortunately, deals with a different epoch in the national life, and furnishes us with trustworthy contemporary accounts at first hand of important events for which there has hitherto been no authentic indigenous record whatever.

They open up to us a vivid picture of the rise of Tibet as a great military power. We see her engaged in carving out for herself an empire, traces of the northern portion of which have lately been unearthed by Dr. Stein in Eastern Turkestan. We see her, a generation later, waging victorious devastating wars in the heart of China, and actually forcing the latter to pay tribute, occupying the imperial capital, putting the Son of Heaven to precipitate flight, and threatening to annex the celestial empire itself. Again, two generations still later, we are shown the causes which led to the collapse of Tibet as a great Asiatic power, and to the sudden disappearance of her menace to China, which hitherto has been somewhat inexplicable. Now,
however, we see the king, a zealous patron of Buddhism and founder of Lamism, described as of unsound mind, and deposed by a family of soldier-nobles who have usurped the power, and who in their reactionary policy have restored the pre-Buddhist native religion, the Bon. One of the edicts is a manifesto by this party, obviously to justify their action and allay public clamour, which soon, however, vented itself in internecine civil war, that extinguished the monarchy altogether and broke up the country into petty principalities. Many of these were permanently lost to the country for ever, and the remainder were only reunited under the rise of the priest-kings, several centuries later.

Yet the native Tibetan "histories," so called, with characteristic worthlessness in regard to the earlier periods, as is usual in the East generally, excepting China, know nothing of the great events chronicled in these edicts. The very names of the heroic warriors who built up Tibet and won renown for their fatherland have all been forgotten! So too even the names of the great battle-fields on which China lost to her victorious neighbour whole provinces are nowhere mentioned, nor even the very name of the ancient capital of China, Tse-ngan or Changan, the modern Singan Fu, which was the objective of the Tibetan armies for several centuries!

These edicts, however, have preserved for us for over a thousand years the records of those times; and by means of the facts which they provide, we are enabled to set aside the current fiction and conjecture of the "native historians" and to reconstruct the true history.

The pillar bearing these edicts is one of the landmarks of Lhasa. Its exact location is shown in my plan of that city (No. 87) in my Lhasa and its Mysteries.\(^1\) Its form and appearance are well seen in my photograph at p. 336

\(^1\) p. 331.
of the same work. It stands on the old bank of the Kyid River, in the middle of the wide road to allow of circumambulation. Its tall needle-like shape is well described by its native name of "the long stone" (ydo-ring). It is a four-sided monolith column of dark basaltic stone, standing upon a broad three-stepped (and probably originally five-stepped) plinth of masonry, into which it is built. Its projecting shaft rises to a height of about 25 or 30 feet, and is surmounted by a wide-brimmed pyramidal cap or finial.

No rubbing could be taken, for political reasons, and my detailed photographs of it were unfortunately destroyed, but I secured very careful eye-copies of the inscriptions, taken with the aid of field-glasses, and these are the source of my translation.

The writing engraved upon the stone is in fairly good preservation, on the whole, though some of the record is lost in each inscription. This has manifestly occurred less by weathering and scaling than by deliberate removal at the hands of the Chinese. For the obliteration is mainly confined to those portions relating to the defeats of the Chinese by the Tibetans. At such places whole lines are deliberately erased, and the marks of the obliterating chisel are evident. In the paragraphs describing the occupation of the Chinese capital and the appointment by the Tibetans of a new emperor the record has been so deeply dug out as to leave depressions like cup-markings. Fortunately for history, however, this obliteration has evidently been carried out by persons who either could not read the Tibetan text or did not trouble to remove it entirely. In particular, the names of the emperors remain, as these were too sacred to be tampered with or touched. Enough of the text, however, remains at most of these places to enable us to restore considerable portions of it.

The Chinese manifestly recognized the great importance of this native memorial, for in addition to obliterating in
part its humiliating references to themselves they have erected at its side two imperial edicts as a counterblast. These edicts are on small tablets enshrined in two miniature Chinese temple-like buildings, seen on the left side of my photograph above-cited. Although both of these buildings were locked up during our stay in Lhasa and not accessible, the edicts in question are known. One was erected by the Emperor K'ang-hsi in the year 1721 A.D., on his occupation of Lhasa and suppression of a civil war there. It is entitled "The Pacification of Tibet", and its text has been published in this Journal by Mr. Rockhill¹ from Chinese sources. The other is an edict by Chien-lung in the year 1794 A.D.²

The great pillar of victory of the Tibetans is inscribed on three of its sides, namely, (1) that facing Lhasa city on the east, which, as the most conspicuous side, bears the inscription for which the pillar was originally erected, (2) facing Potala on the north (or rather north-west), and (3) facing the old bank of the River Kyid. The west is devoid of inscription.

The characters in all three are in the "headed" or U-chan form of letter, and are identical in shape with that in use at the present day. This shows how rigidly the Tibetans stereotyped the form of their letters from the earliest times, as one of these inscriptions dates to within a century of the first introduction of writing into Tibet.

The language in all is archaic Tibetan prose of the pre-classical period, as regards its orthography and grammatical construction. That archaic element, the "d-drag" (see Part I, pp. 942, etc.) is present as a very frequent and conspicuous feature. It is present in the following words:—

¹ JRAS., 1891, pp. 185-7, and p. 264, "Imperial Autograph dated 60th year of K'ang-hsi."
² Ibid., p. 264, "Imperial Autograph dated 59th year of Chien-lung (1794)." It is entitled 十全記.
Its presence, indeed, even in the last edict of the three, dating to about 840 A.D., that is about sixty years after the establishment of the classical epoch, lends support to my previous suggestion (p. 944), that the remarkable classical purity in the Tibetan orthography of the joint treaty-edict of 783 A.D. was owing to its revision by the staff of scholarly Indian and Tibetan monks working under the orders of the king, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, who had themselves, only a short time previously, erected the new classical standard for their systematic translation of the Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan. That an edict of later date should retain the old popular style of orthography sixty years after the introduction of the classical standard is easily explained. For this edict is a manifesto by a reactionary and revolutionary party returning to the old religion and ways of their forefathers, and openly hostile to the Buddhist religion and the royal patron of those literary monks who had erected the classical standard. This edict, therefore, was not likely to have had the benefit of revision by the latter. These circumstances thus enable us to fix with greater precision an initial date for the commencement of the classical period of literary composition in Tibet.

The grammatical construction, too, presents many archaic features which render the translation a matter of some difficulty at times. This arises from the somewhat condensed and rudimentary form of the sentences owing to the absence of many of the differentiating prefixes and case affixes and postpositions of later times. Although in
these difficulties I have not enjoyed the benefit of any native assistance I believe that I have elicited the meaning in most instances correctly. When this is obviously doubtful I have made a note to that effect.

Although, like most Tibetan records, these lithic documents are undated, the references which they contain to contemporary events and kings in Chinese and Tibetan history enable us to fix the dates with more or less precision.

In translating and commenting on these three edicts, I will designate them Potala Pillar Inscription A, B, and C respectively. This will distinguish them from those of the Lhasa Treaty Pillar at the door of the great temple within the city, which also displays three inscriptions, one of which, namely, the Tè Tsung joint edict, I have described in the first part of my article. This will also sufficiently distinguish them from the other inscriptions on various sites in and around Potala, which are in Chinese and on small tablets, not pillars.

II. POTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION A, circa 730 A.D.

This inscription, the shortest and most obliterated of the three, is the oldest of all; and it is the one for which the pillar was originally erected. Though its text is badly defaced in the portion which manifestly referred to victories over China, it retains much that is important; and its information is supplemented and complemented by the text of the other inscriptions (B and C) of the same pillars.

It is an edict by the king K'ri gTsug-lde-btsan, the father of the king of the Tè Tsung joint treaty-edict (pp. 924, etc.), in honour of his greatest minister, named Je-lā, who had guarded him since his accession to the throne as a child of 8, had procured him an imperial princess from China as consort, had widely extended the dominions of Tibet by conquest from China, and, to crown all, had with retention of these conquered provinces
actually extracted from the Emperor of China twenty years later an honourable peace. Such great achievements were no doubt worthy of commemoration by such a fine pillar of victory.

He belonged to the lDon tribe (pronounced Dong), so we are informed in Inscription B, where this tribe is given the epithet of 'bal or "the parted hair". This is the term applied to the mode of dressing the hair as prevalent in the Kham province of Eastern Tibet, where it is combed out and hangs down nearly to the shoulders. So it is probable that Je-lä came from the borders of China and inherited a higher civilization than the generality of Tibetans, who doubtless wore their hair shaggy in those days. The pigtail appears to me probably to have been introduced only in the reign of the great-grandson of this king, namely, the sovereign of the edict C, or thereabouts, who is only known to Tibetans by his nickname of "the long-locked or pigtailed"—Ral-pa-chan. This king is noted for having introduced many Chinese customs into Tibet, amongst others, it would thus appear probable, the pigtail.

Although in his own country the name of this great general is now quite forgotten and unknown in the native history books, Je-lä is well known to Chinese history under the name of Hsi-lieh (see p. 1252). The Chinese chronicles of the T'ang dynasty of the eighth century A.D. record as follows regarding him:—

"In the 18th year (730 A.D.), the 10th month, Ming-Hsilieh and the rest arrived at the capital. The Emperor received them in the Hsüanch'eng palace, surrounded by his armed guards. Ming-Hsilieh was a scholar learned in literature; he had been before to Ch'angan (the Chinese capital) to receive the Princess of Chinch'eng, and on that occasion all the Court talked of his ability and eloquence. On his arrival the Emperor invited him to a banquet in the palace, conversed with him, and treated him most graciously, presenting to him a purple robe and gold girdle with fish-bag, as well as seasonable apparel, a silver plate and wine vase, and afterwards entertained him sumptuously at a separate

1 Jaeschke, Dict., p. 392.
2 Bushell, JRAS., 1880, p. 466.
hotel. Hsilieh kept the robe and girdle as well as the other presents, but declined the fish-bag, excusing himself thus: 'In our native country we do not wear this, and I dare not keep such a new and rare gift.' The Emperor approved and consented."

For the text of the edict see p. 1276.

Translation of Edict.

(Parv ed brackets enclose doubtful readings and restorations of the text, whilst explanatory interpolations are placed within square brackets.)

"By the command [of the king] this tall [pillar] to (?honour the minister) vJe (blas) was ordered. The order was obeyed. vJe-blas having ......... (?defeated the Chinese at ... and extended) the dominions ......... (?and made Tibet) master of ....... [to] the river ......... (?Tibet and China) were made equal. The victory was good for the dominion of the black-headed people [Tibetans]. It made them contented."

The very first word\(^1\) reveals an archaic feature in the presence of the drag\(^2\) of the pre-classic period.

The loftiness of the monolithic column is well described by the term which is ordinarily used to describe tall trees.\(^3\)

The name vJe-blas is pronounced by Tibetans Je-lā. We never find exact literal transcriptions of foreign proper names into Chinese, but merely the phonetic form as the Chinese render it. In the Chinese records this minister is called Hsilā\(^4\) on the occasion of his first visit to China, and bears the title of Shang-tsan-cho, which we shall see later is a royal title, which may be bestowed upon the highest ministers. On his subsequent visit to China he is called Hsilieh with the prefixed title of "Ming", which may simply be that this Tibetan word for "named" has got joined on to it by oversight. Both of these forms are, for the Chinese, fairly good attempts at reproducing his proper

\(^1\) staald.  
\(^2\) v. p. 1250.  
\(^3\) But see n. 2, p. 1277.  
\(^4\) Bushell, JRAS., 1889, p. 456. He seems to be the same person as "Je-ku" there also named.
name of Je-lä. Some further particulars in regard to him are furnished by Inscriptions B and C.

The Tibetans are here termed by their own king "the black-headed people". This epithet is met with in other of the inscriptions, also in old ballads; and probably may denote, I think, that in those days the Tibetans did not wear caps. Indeed, the caps at the present day are all of Chinese pattern and manufactured in China.

The date would appear to be within the period 731–5 A.D., and most probably the former. The text describes the country as being at rest after its accession of dominion, acquired through the achievements of Je-lä. This would place it shortly after the peace treaty of 730 A.D., secured by this minister. For, six years later, in 736 A.D., the two countries were again actively at war, and Tibet was wrestling Baltistan, Khotan, etc., from China. Moreover, we do not find Je-lä mentioned after 730 in Chinese annals, and we are told in Inscription B that he died before the "time" of K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan, who was born, according to my calculation, in 739 A.D. As he already was "the chief minister of Tibet" when he headed the mission to China in 709, he may be presumed to have been at that time not less than 40 years of age, seeing that his conspicuous ability made such an impression at the imperial court. All this would be in keeping with his death occurring, at an age over sixty, before 739 A.D., also with 731 A.D. as the probable date of the dedication to him of this pillar of victory.

III. POTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION B, circa 764 A.D.

This inscription\(^1\) relates to the epoch-making events which happened a generation later than the era of Inscription A. It records a glorification of the successor and, as it tells us, the kinsman of Je-lä, who occupied a similar relation to King K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan that Je-lä

\(^1\) A preliminary note on it by me appeared in the *Times* of July, 1910.
did to his father. He was a mighty warrior as well as politician; and this edict bears internal evidence of it having been promulgated by the king in the first flush of victory, after the occupation of the imperial capital of China, and the appointment by Tibet of a new emperor to the throne of China, events which happened, as we know from the annals of China itself,¹ in 763 A.D.

The edict occupies the next place of honour on the pillar to the original dedicatory one. It covers a large portion of the south face, towards the old bank of the river.² It faces the direction in which people coming from the city must pass the pillar in going to Potala, or to the west gate of the city; for the Tibetans, in passing a monument, invariably do so in the respectful way of circumambulation, that is with the right hand towards the venerated object.

It records the Tibetan version of the chief victories by Tibet over the Chinese in the eighth century, which the Chinese with admirable impartiality have chronicled against themselves, and so provided the only record of these events hitherto known. The accuracy of the Chinese accounts is confirmed and supplemented to a remarkable extent by this Tibetan version, which throws fresh light on this invasion of China.

The date of this edict is manifestly 764 A.D., i.e. immediately after the occupation of the imperial capital and the setting up of a new emperor, as it stops short at the record of these events; whereas we know from Chinese sources that the latter arrangement was upset six months later by the return of the old emperor to his capital.

The credit for the most important conquests is given not to the king himself but almost entirely to his minister-general, Lu-kon. This may be partly owing to the king's

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 476.
² The modern bank of the river is about a quarter of a mile further to the south.
modesty as author of this proclamation. Hitherto this
king, under whom Tibet reached its zenith as an Asiatic
power, was believed to have been personally a great
warrior, leading his troops into battle like his ancestors;
and the title which he assumed in his joint treaty-edict
with China, about twenty years after the date of the
present edict, namely "the helmeted king" (see JRAS.,
1909, p. 934), supported this view. Here, however, we
see that the two greatest of the campaigns were conducted
by his militant minister, Lu-kon, in person.

For the text of this inscription see p. 1276. The
peculiarities of the letters and the orthography have already
been noted.

Translation.

(Curved and square brackets as formerly.)

“There arose [the minister] named rJe-blas\(^1\) of the
smooth-haired lDoñ tribe,\(^2\) who became the intimate
counsellor [of the king] and was looked up to by men.
The great minister worked swiftly and was at the side \(^3\)
[of the king] in sudden emergencies. He extended [the
dominions] in the time of the king’s father, K’ri-lde

\(^1\) Pronounced Je-lä.
\(^2\) glo-ba. This term presents some difficulties, as it is never used in
such a sense nowadays. glo literally is the ordinary term for "the side"
of a person or thing; but is not the respectful form of the word to be
applied to a king, which now would be a different root, e.g. gz’ogs. It
also means a "cough", with reference apparently to the movement of
one’s side which a cough entails. In its determinative form as glo-ba, as
here used, it ordinarily means a cough with the sense of sudden move-
ment, so that when compounded with ‘bur itself, meaning sudden, the
word glo-’bur means "suddenly", though here again it may merely mean
the sudden "side" or aspect. I have therefore treated it as meaning
"side", and it recurs very often throughout these edicts in connexion
with advice tendered to the king or State on emergencies by an adviser
on the spot or at the "side" or ear of the State or king.

JRAS. 1910.
gTszg-rtson, until he died. He extended [it] until near the time of the prince K'ri Sron-lde-btsan. He made the dominion of the black-headed Tibetans to fight.

"kLu-k'ohn also, like [rJe-]blas, was one who was systematically quick in sudden emergencies. [This] came to the ear of the prince, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, that another smooth-haired one has arisen [who is] quick in sudden emergencies. This having been found to be true, he, even kLu-k'ohn, was sent for and taken to be the intimate [counsellor] at the side of [the prince].

"During the reign of the king, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, kLu-k'ohn was the intimate [counsellor] at the side [of the king] on the Tshe-ngan high road [to China]. After the great conference ¹ he became firm in mind and was appointed to the rank of Minister of the Interior.² He viewed with warm apprehension the dominion of China.

"No sooner was he commanded to go in the direction of K'ar-chan³ as commander of the leading upper division of the army than he set out, taking heed of resourceful precautions like a god of war. With a force greatly more numerous than that assembled [in or by] the z'a-z'a⁴ of rank in the territories of China he beat⁵ the Chinese.

¹ See p. 1261.
² Na-h-blon'. This rank is mentioned in several of these edicts (see after), and is also noted in the Chinese records of the seventh century as "Nanglun" (Bushell, loc. cit., p. 440) as a title of ministers of rank.
³ The "Kakan" or "Cachan" of Marco Polo, see p. 1262.
⁴ 男神 is evidently a Chinese word. If intended for 男神, it might probably mean "by each cap (or 'button') of rank."
⁵ 男神 is not a recognized expression nowadays. It literally means "bamboo", "became uppermost"; and this might mean "made themselves uppermost [over the Chinese] by beating [the latter]". Probably the first component of the phrase should be 轴, which means "overthrow", and the sentence then would read "overthrew [the Chinese] and became uppermost". It is noteworthy that the latter word 轴 is the same root which is used as the ordinary designation of the Emperor of China, namely, "The Supreme One"—Gon-ma. Another possible though less probable form might be 扇 "to smack" or "lick".
Of those who took the part of China at Byar-mo-t'ān¹ some [escaped] towards T'ong-k'a...also during the rising of the night to neighbouring...The [new] boundary was laid out. kLu[-k'ōn]...of the war...by the great dominion...A great conference was requested...[?by the Chinese. He] having become [again] confidential counsellor at the side [of the king] he was a continual pattern to the State...by what [he] did.

"The king...[K'ri Sron]-lde-btsan with profound prudence of mind treasured up with full precautions what dominions [he conquered]. Being ever experienced by practice he conquered a great many countries of rank and forts in the territories of China, and joined them together.

"The lord of China [the emperor] Heū-'di Wang-te² [and] the lord's minister, being terrified, offered tribute for ever of fifty thousand pieces of silk cloth a year. The Chinese were made to pay the tribute.

"After this, the lord of China, Yang³ Heū-'di Wang-te, having died,⁴ the son of the lord of China, Wang Teng Wang,⁵ became king. He was unable⁶ to pay the tribute to Tibet. On this account kLu-k'ōn begged the Tibetan king, who was heartsick of the accursed road [to Tshe-ngan], that Tibet issue a war-order for a great army to march straight to the Keng-shi palace of the lord of China. To be the great commanders of the army [marching]

¹ Pronounced "Char-mot'ang". It is possible that the word here may be �����, i.e. byar-o, pron. "char-o", instead of ����� byar-mo as transcribed in my eye-copy, especially as a Chinese town named "Chao-yi" exists in this neighbourhood at the present day, see p. 1263.
² The Emperor Su Tsung, whose regal title in 756–8 was Che-Teh.
³ Yang here may not be part of the proper name, but merely the conjunction meaning "or".
⁵ Kwang Teh, the reigning title of Tai Tsung, who succeeded to the throne in this year 763.
⁶ gron-ste.
straight for Keng-shi were appointed Z’ang mCh’ims,\(^1\) prince\(^2\) of the royal race of Shu-teng, and the minister \(\text{st} \text{Tag}-\text{sgra} \text{kLu-k’on},\) and they both \(\text{[proceeded]}\) straight to Keng-shi.

“\(\text{A great battle was fought on the bank of the ford of Chiu-chi}.\)\(^3\) China and all its great households\(^4\) were defeated. Tibet made the enemy flee from battle. Many Chinese were struck down.\(^5\) The lord of China, [the emperor] Kwang-t’eng Wang,\(^6\) also having come forth from the fort of Keng-shi fled to Sheng-chiu.

“Keng-shi having been brought down, the inner minister of the lord of China . . -byeu . -keng cowered and ceased [digging] entrenchments and . . . . of the Tibetan king. . . . . . Whatsoever Tibet . [?] demanded] . . . . in Keng-shi . . . . causing disturbances . . . . minister . [?Tibet set up as Chinese emperor] the king Che-chung\(^7\); . . [?] to hold] the dominion for the future.

“\(\text{kLu-k’on having done . . [this] became [again]}\) counsellor at the side [of the king]. [?] His soundness of judgment has caused happiness for the dominion.”

One of the most striking facts revealed by this edict is the vast distance eastwards to which the Tibetans had overrun China at this time, in the middle of the eighth century A.D. They had extended their dominion half-way across the continent of China to the great bend of the Yellow River, and beyond the imperial capital itself, so as to outflank it.

The eastern limit of the boundary of Tibet in 755 as

\(^1\) mCh’ims is a small principality or district near Samyās, south of Lhasa, a princess of which was married to King K’ri Sroö-lde-btsan, so that this commander was probably the uncle of the king, and thus was entitled Z’ang, which literally means “maternal uncle” (Jaeschke, \textit{Dict.}, 471), though it also is the name of a district of Western Tibet to the north of Shigatse.

\(^2\) rgyal.

\(^3\) The modern Chou-chih, see p. 1265.

\(^4\) མི་ སོག་ གཞི་


\(^6\) The Emperor Kwang Teh.

\(^7\) See p. 1266.
inherited by K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan from his father is uncertain, especially as the name of the frontier river has been erased in his father's edict, as we have seen. But it must have been to the east of Koko Nor and have included a considerable portion of Kansu, as the Chinese records show incessant Tibetan aggression in Kansu in his father's reign.¹

In 755, the very first year of the son's reign, the whole of Kansu up to the Lung Mountains, which separate that province from Shensi on the east, were annexed by Tibet. In the following year, 756, this loss of territory appears to have been accepted by the Chinese at a sworn treaty held at the imperial capital, Ch'angan.² This is manifestly "the great conference" of this edict, which the militant Tibetan minister Lu-koñ attended, and at which he formed the resolve, as the edict tells us, to carry the campaign of conquest further, despite the formal treaty. For there is no other Chinese record of any conference or meeting of these two powers between the years 756 and 762, whilst the first of the two great conquests by Lukoñ is chronicled by the Chinese to have been made in 758.

In that year the Chinese record ³ that they lost to the Tibetans the key to Central China, namely, the famous pass of T'ung-kwan, together with the important districts which it commanded to the east, to wit, the Ho and Lo River tracts and beyond. By this loss the Chinese state they were completely cut off from all communication with Western Asia and with the remains of their possessions in Turkestan, which they now completely lost.

The contemporary Chinese chronicle in the T'ang-shu records—

"When the T'ung-kwan [pass] was lost and Ho and Lo cut off by troops, all the soldiers stationed in Ho, Lang, and Sofang were recalled to settle the difficulties of the State, to accompany the Emperor in his flight. Thus, at this time, all the old camps and border cities were left

¹ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 439. ² Ibid., p. 475. ³ Ibid., p. 475.
ungarrisoned, and from the period Chien-yuan (758-9) the T'u-Tan [Tibetans], taking advantage of our difficulties, daily encroached on the borders, and the citizens were either carried off and massacred or wandered about to die in ditches, till after the lapse of some years all the country west of Feng shiang and to the north of Pinehau belonged to the Fan barbarians, and several tens of chous [principalities] were lost."

T'ung-kwan was, moreover, the recognized key to Central China, as it existed in ancient and even mediaeval times. The vital importance of this pass, strategically, to China is owing to its closing the passage between the Yellow River and the mountains. Its fortress was, says Yule,¹ "constantly the turning point of the Mongol campaigns against that dynasty (the Kin), and held a prominent place in the dying instructions of Chinghiz for the prosecution of the conquest of Cathay [China]."

The possession of T'ung-kwan at a point commanding the River Wei, on which higher up and only a few days' march distant stood the imperial capital of Ch'angan, placed the latter completely at the mercy of the Tibetans, who it appears from the edict were paid an annual subsidy to leave the capital unmolested. And it was the stoppage of this annual "tribute" some years later which the edict tells us was the cause of the Tibetan sack of the imperial capital in 763 A.D.

The capture of the T'ung-kwan was manifestly the first great campaign of Lu-koû referred to in the edict as the expedition to K'ar-chan. This latter is clearly the Cachan of Marco Polo, which he places as the chief city and fortress in this locality, though the name apparently cannot be traced in the native Chinese account.² It is therefore interesting to recover the name through the Tibetan.

Kachan, "the noble city of Cachan-fu" of Marco Polo, was found by the Venetian traveller in the latter end of the thirteenth century, i.e. five centuries after our edict, to be "a city of great trade and of work in gold tissues of

¹ *Marco Polo*, by H. Yule, 1st ed., ii, p. 16.

² Ibid., p. 16.
many sorts.” It is identified by Colonel Yule, following Klaproth, as P’uchau-fu, close to the great elbow of the Yellow River. But this is on the eastern bank of the great river, whereas Polo places its city and fortress two days’ march to the west of the river, and after crossing the latter in his journey westwards to Ch’angan. Here in the exact position indicated by Polo, and only eight days’ journey from Ch’angan, as stated by him, is the fu or capital city of Tung-chow, on the mouth of the Lo River and on the high road from Mongolia to Ch’angan. This, then, I would tentatively identify with Kachan, the Karchan of the edict.

The battle-field here is called in the edict Byar-mo-tăn, or “the Meadow of Char-mo”, or Char-ō as it is pronounced. At the junction of the Ho or Lo here, a few miles to the east of Tungchow (= ?Karchan) and above the Pass of T’ung-kwan, is a site named in the modern maps “Chaoyi”; which possibly preserves the name of this ancient battle-ground. The Tong-k’a to which some fugitives escaped is probably the T’ung-kwan Pass.

The army which Lu-kon collected to compass this conquest would appear from the edict to have been assisted by mercenary troops; and we find in the Chinese account of the campaign of a few years later against Ch’angan that the Tibetans were actually assisted by great hordes of the Turkish tribes of Tu’kahun (Drugü) and Uighur (Tiuho), as well as mercenary Chinese, who are stigmatized as “rebels” and “traitors”.

The occupation and sack of the imperial capital in 763 A.D. was the greatest of all the Tibetan military achievements, as recorded in the edict.

Ch’angan, the modern Singan or Sian-fu, was the metropolis of China since 220 B.C. for over a thousand years, and it still is the second capital of China on

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1 Yule, op. cit., p. 13. 2 Ibid., p. 15. 3 See p. 1259, n. 1. 4 Bushell, loc. cit., p. 479.
emergencies. It was to it that the late Emperor and the Empress-Dowager fled in 1900 during the Boxer rising. As Yule truly says,\(^1\) "it was probably the most celebrated city in Chinese history and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties." It was the metropolis of Shi Hoang-ti of the Tsin dynasty (which gave the country the name of China),\(^2\) the great emperor whose conquests almost intersected with those of his contemporary Ptolemy Euergetes. It was certainly the Khumdan of the early Mohammedans, and the site of flourishing Christian churches in the seventh century, as well as of the remarkable monument\(^3\) of these Nestorian Christian missionaries, the discovery of which a thousand years later disclosed their forgotten existence. King-chao-fu formerly was the name the city bore when the Mongol invasion brought China into communication with the west, and Klaproth supposes that this was modified by the Mongols into Kenjan-fu (the name used by Marco Polo). The same name is traceable in the Kansan of [friar] Odoric, which he called "the second best province in the world and the best populated".

It stands on the south or right bank of the Wei River, and is glowingly described by the mediaeval traveller Martini.\(^4\) He speaks of the splendour of the city as regards both its public edifices and its site, sloping gradually up from the banks of the River Wei so as to exhibit its walls and palaces at one view like the interior of an amphitheatre. West of the city was a sort of water park, enclosed by a wall 30 \textit{li} (= about 6 miles) in circumference, full of lakes, tanks, and canals from the Wei, with which were seven fine palaces and a variety of theatres and other places for public diversion. To the

\(^{1}\) Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 16.  
\(^{2}\) As is usually stated.  
\(^{3}\) A stele in Chinese, reproduced by Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 17, and translated by others.  
\(^{4}\) Yule, op. cit., ii, p. 16.
south-east of the city was an artificial lake with palaces, gardens, park, etc., originally formed by the Emperor Hiaowu (B.C. 100), and to the south of the city was another considerable lake called Fan (= ? Tibetan). It was visited and described during the present year by Dr. G. E. Morrison.

The Tibetan form of the name in the eighth century was Tse-ngan, which shows a softening almost identical with the modern name Singan. The second syllable of the name means in Tibetan "accursed", and it shows the bitter temper of the Tibetans as well as a sense of punning that in two out of the three instances in the edicts in which this place is mentioned in the text, the first syllable is dropped, so that "the Ch'angan road" reads "the accursed road". After the hardships they must have suffered on it, the toll of thousands of lives which it had cost them, and the weary miles of it (nearly a thousand miles from Lhasa) which nearly every able-bodied Tibetan must for several generations have trodden, they were doubtless as heartily sick of it, as the edict tells us, their king actually was.

The Keng-shi of the edict is perhaps the King-chao, which Klaproth has shown was the name of this fu or capital, and which Polo calls Kenjan in his quaint description of Ch'angan. "A very great and fine city it is, and the capital of the Kingdom of Kenjan-fu which in old times was a noble, rich, and powerful realm, and had many great and wealthy and puissant kings." ¹ In the edict, however, Keng-shi seems more particularly to be used as the title of the palace of the emperor.

Chiu-chi, where the great battle was fought, "on the bank of the ford," is clearly Chou-chih,² that very ancient town on the south bank of the Wei River, about 40 miles to the west of Ch'angan, on the high road to Tibet.

² Or Chen-chè(t) Professor Parker tells me it is called.
Professor E. H. Parker informs me that the Ta'ng-shu records that Chou-chih was taken by the Tibetans in this invasion of 763, and that a general Lu Jih-tsiang was defeated there.

Sheng-chiü, to which the emperor fled, is certainly Shang-chou, one hundred miles to the south-east of Ch'angan, on the only road of retreat open to him. The Chinese annals themselves record that it was to this place the Son of Heaven fled.

The Chinese chronicles of this invasion state—

"In the 1st year of Kwangtê (763), the 9th month, the Tu'fan (Tibetans) attacked and took Chingchou, the governor of which, Kao Hui, surrendered to them. In the 10th month they invaded Pinchou and took Feng't'ienhuen [or Fengt'ien and Wu-kung]. Kuo Tsüyi was sent to the west to oppose the Tu'fan, but an army of over 200,000 T'ukuhun and Tanghsiang had penetrated from Lungkuang to the east, and Kuo Tsüyi led back his troops. The imperial chariot was driven to Shangchou, and the capital was left unguarded. The traitor general Kao Hui led the Tu'fan into the imperial capital, and in concert with the Tu'fan generalissimo Machungying set up the son of the late Prince of Pin, Chénghung, the Prince of Kuangwu, as Emperor, who chose Tashé as the title of his reign, and appointed the various officers of state. The Tu'fan after occupying the city fifteen days retired."

With this account the Tibetan version in the edict is in remarkable agreement.

Kwong T'eng Wang is the Emperor Kwang Téh, who had only ascended the throne that year, whilst Heü-di Wang-te, who paid the tribute in 757, is obviously intended for Che-Téh, the reigning title of Su Tsung in 756–8. The new emperor set up by the Tibetans, given as Che-chung in the edict, is the Cheng-hung of the Celestial version. The Chinese name for the Tibetan general, namely Machungying, cannot be reconciled to either Lu-kon or his assistant-general, for whose surname of mChims it is not likely to be intended. More probably

1 Bushell, loc. cit., p. 476.
2 Professor Parker, who has kindly referred again to the Ta'ng-shu, writes to me that "Bushell's 'Feng-t'ien-huen' ought to be 'Feng-t'ien and Wu-king', I think".
it is a corruption of the word for the title of "junior general" or "Mag-chung".

In the light of this edict we now see that the joint treaty-edict with the Emperor Té-Tsung twenty years later in fixing the eastern boundary of Tibet must have specified a line about 600 miles to the west of Koko Nor, and that the mutilated word there in question cannot be restored as "the Great Lake".

IV. POTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION C, circa 842 A.D.

This proclamation, two generations later, reveals the enormous change that had overtaken Tibet in the interval of about eighty years which has elapsed between this edict and the previous one (Inscription B) on this pillar.

In that one, the king was in the height of his power and was spoken of with respect, as was only proper in his own proclamation in which he recorded the prowess of Tibetan arms under his great general, Lu-koṅ, while China was still prostrate at his feet.

Now, however, all that is changed. In this edict, the last of the series on the Potala pillar, the monarchy has evidently been overthrown by a revolution. We find the king apparently deposed and the rule in the hands of the descendants of the militant Lu-koṅ. The whole family, en bloc, seems to have usurped the power, and is ruling by a sort of confedérate dictatorship, and the edict is a manifesto of this revolutionary party.

The epoch of this edict appears to fall at the beginning of the civil war, which we know from the Chinese records and the indigenous history ensued on the downfall and extinction of the dynasty in the person of Darma, a grandson of K'ri Sron-lde-btsan. A few particulars in regard to this event are mentioned in the contemporary Chinese history, which enables us to fix the date with certainty at 842 A.D.1

1 Bushell, loc. cit., p. 439.
This revolution in the later Tibetan histories, compiled by Buddhist priests in relatively modern times, is ascribed to the feud between the rival religions. The adherents of the old Bon religion, we are there told, revolted against the Buddhist faith which had been actively patronized by the kings for two generations, and especially so by Ral-pa-chan, a grandson of K'ri Sron-lde-btsan. Ral-pa-chan was assassinated by his brother Darma, who embraced the Bon faith, but he too in his turn was soon assassinated by the Buddhists, and with him the dynasty became extinct and civil war ensued.

The edict seems to be a manifesto of this period. It is issued by the family of descendants of the minister Lu-kon, after they have usurped the power, and it evidently is intended to appease the people and to justify their own high-handed action in monopolizing the control of the government and in helping themselves to the property of the State. In it they pose as patriots of their country, and recite in rhapsody fashion the heroic deeds of their ancestors, on which they base their claims to the government.

Its references to the kings are disrespectful. King K'ri Sron-lde-btsan is stigmatized as being of unsound mind—a condition regarding which there never has been the slightest hint in the national histories—and the rule of the kings generally is declared to have caused a cycle of misfortunes to the country. Even the spelling of the word for "king" appears to be intentionally disrespectful. Instead of the form gyal-po or "the potent one", we find here usually gyal-p'o or "the powerful father", in which the element p'o is the common generic word for father as applied to the lower animals as well as human beings, and never found in polite language with regard to persons even in those early days. It is possible, no doubt, that this may have been the primitive form of the title of the tribal chief in the patriarchal stage of society, and that
it may have been reintroduced by the reactionary revolutionary party.

Its text indicates a period of internal disorder and dissension in which the ex-minister nobles are helping themselves to large estates and royal honours and titles. It is quite in keeping with the contemporary Chinese history, which in 835 A.D. recorded that in the reign of Ral-pa-chan "the government [of Tibet] was in the hands of the chief ministers", and it is added, with a feeling of evident relief and satisfaction, "consequently they [the Tibetans] were unable to rival China, and the frontier guards were left in peace."\(^1\)

The language is Tibetan of the pre-classic period, although it dated from about sixty years after the initiation of the classical period. This apparent anomaly is to my mind easily explained, however, by the fact that the text was composed by the reactionary patriotic party, who were reverting to the ancient customs of their country and who were openly hostile to the Buddhist party who had originated the classical standard of Tibetan literature.

The style of its composition is verbose and somewhat conversational, and it wants the stately dignity of the earlier records by the kings. Its translation presents many difficulties from its elementary construction.

For the text of this inscription see p. 1280.

**Translation.**

*(Curved and square brackets as formerly.)*

"[To] the minister sTag-sgra-kLu-k'on ..............

........ [?honour be] given.

"The king's father's\(^2\) father, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan of old,

\(^1\) Bushell, loc. cit., p. 522.

\(^2\) Instead of the usual title of king, btsan-po, we find here btsan-p'o or "the mighty father", and this word recurs in line 12 of text. Although p'o is not nowadays a respectful form of name but merely the generic term for "father", applicable even to the
was sick [with his] head, and the family descendants \(^1\) of sTag-sgra-kLu-k'oṅ directed . . . [the government]. On them \(^2\) shall be bestowed a large silver title \(^3\) to command under the Sacred Cross [of the Bon]; \(^4\) the enjoyment [of which distinction] to descend hereditarily.

"Moreover, the king’s \(^5\) grandson having died, \(^6\) to the family descendants of Zla-goṅ, as a moderate reminder for their collective work in sitting above the inner circle [[of the government], there shall be bestowed Tshal-Z'ar \(^7\) as a residence for ever.

"Amongst all the capable descendants of Zla-goṅ, who so capable, fearless, and esteemed as rJe-blas \( [= Jel-a] \)? Let him be praised! May the descendants of Zla-goṅ [exhibit] a mighty spirit as of old. \(^8\) If [they are] not suddenly uprising in emergencies what other eyes can see to faults properly? Their name will descend as long as the dominion lasts! \(^9\) In the knotty points \(^10\) of quarrels and orders \(^11\) to whom more than to these descendants lower animals, yet in ancient times, in the primitive social state when the king was regarded as a patriarch, it was probably, I think, used to denote also the king himself, as we find it surviving in the word for the king’s palace, namely, p'o-bran, literally "the father’s residence".

\(^1\) Literally "the increased line of the family".

\(^2\) I have treated EntityManager as standing for the family collectively. The word which follows EntityManager if correctly transcribed may be a proper name, but I have read the second element in its usual sense.

\(^3\)EntityManager literally "a letter"; also a symbol and document.

\(^4\)EntityManager EntityManager gyuṅ-drang. See p. 1275 for explanation.

\(^5\) Here again btsan-p'o, as in n. 2, p. 1269.

\(^6\) Literally "the life having sunk" (EntityManager). My transcription hasEntityManager, which is manifestly a mistake for EntityManager take, probably in copying.

\(^7\) These are two districts to the west of Lhasa.

\(^8\) Or may read "with the king’s disposition as of old may they [be present]", with ll. 60-1.

\(^9\) Literally "throughout the life of the dominion".

\(^10\) Literally the "knots of strings".

\(^11\) Or possibly "conferences" if the second element in EntityManager may have been copied in mistake for.EntityManager, which is unlikely.
[can we go]? In quarrels and orders, after having been reviled, they effect a settlement. If there be any break or curtailment in the line of the sons of Zla-goñ, land or wealth cannot be again offered. Endowments therefore are bestowed on the elder and younger brothers and [all] male relatives whatsoever, on the condition that if one of the race of the minister *Tag-sgra-kLu-k'on* be taken holding a letter of the rebel king¹ in his hand, he shall be bound and chastised and the succession be broken and no silver title [-banner?] be offered again.

"Unto the descendants of the minister *Tag-sgra-kLu-k'on* and Zla-goñ, whatever the relationship, unto each is bestowed a large silver title [?-banner], to command unto the Sacred Cross [of the Bon].

"Unto all the descendants of Zla-goñ, the father of the minister *Tag-sgra-kLu-k'on*, whatever their relationship, is bestowed the title of 'Uncle-minister' (*Z'ar-blon*)² and 'The Withstander and Turner aside of Three Armies'.³

"As commander of the thousand men of the P'an country⁴ of the Secret Presence⁵ [of the Bon deity], who else amongst men could be appointed more [fitly] than a descendant of the glorious ancestors⁶ of the minister *Tag-sgra-kLu-k'on*? What one as leader of the populace⁷ is so capable? Let [him] be appointed to command under the Sacred Cross⁸ as commander of the thousand men of

¹ Or "intriguing king", *ধর্মবংশ*.
² On this title see p. 1274.
³ The text here is not quite clear as to the title; it may read "to the descendants of the withstander and turner aside of three armies is given the title", etc.
⁴ A district to the north of Lhasa now spelt 'P'an; it contains a celebrated shrine of the Bon deity.
⁵ This obviously refers to the Bon deity, and cannot be intended merely for "guardian of the king's body", as the final 娣 in Sruûs recurs each time this word is met with in the text.
⁶ Or literally the "ancestors who have attained brightness", which possibly may be a euphemism for "died".
⁷ The word used *Zhosa* means ordinarily "the mob".
⁸ See p. 1275.
the 8Pan country of the Secret Presence! Let the succeeding appointments to the Secret Presence be from amongst the steadfast¹ class of the descendants of "The clearer of the road to [Tsé] ngan²! Let the title³ of "Lifter of Misery from the Tents"⁴ be given, [and] may it never be changed!

"Rather than the descendants of Zla-goñ be uprooted from residence⁵ at Ts'al may all⁶ the power be united in their hands! No one else shall take it back or reduce it. The helmet-crest⁷ of these honourable ones, who bring happiness near and far and are impartial, shall not be taken away!

"If anyone bear the descendants of Zla-goñ any grudge in hand, as to state business or do dishonour to them, let the highest power [in the land] compel their obedience! If the descendants of Zla-goñ are not suddenly uprising in emergencies let no one seek to blame them or listen to slander, [or they] will be punished! If the descendants of [this] family be inside [the government], then let troubles⁸ come what may!

"With the king's mental disposition, as of old, in further uprisings and emergencies what happiness can there be? What a cycle of misfortunes! What painful quarrels and disorder! By the instruction of [these] elder and younger brothers and fathers men become wise in the business of life and of the State. May [they] descend more abundantly.

¹ Literally "stamped", in sense of stereotyped, undeviating, unvarying.
² The capital of China (see note, p. 1265).
³ This implies a widespread nomadic habit.
⁴ The construction is intricate.
⁵ This is a form of (~). Cf. Jaeschke, Dict., pp. 142, 460.
⁶ Literally "discord", (~).
"In short, may the descendants of Zla-gon, the father of the minister sTag-sgra kLu-k'on increase and live in happiness... [like] the most exalted one [i.e. ? the emperor of China]."

The date of this inscription is fixed conclusively by its reference, in line 5, to the "king's father" or "father's father" as being K'ri Sron-lde-btsan; and by its reference, in line 12, to "the king's grandson having died", coming immediately after the reference to K'ri Sron-lde-btsan. Ral-pa-chan, the grandson of this latter king, died, according to the trustworthy Chinese accounts, in 838 A.D., and his younger brother Darma, who assassinated him, was in his turn assassinated in 842 A.D., when civil war, we are told by both Chinese history and native tradition, ensued. Of Ral-pa-chan the Chinese chronicles record—"The tsan-p'u [i.e. the king] during his reign of about thirty years was sick and unable to attend to business, and the government was in the hands of the chief ministers. After his death, his younger brother Tamo succeeded to the throne. Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious, so that the troubles of the State increased. In the 2nd year of Hiuch'ang (842) the tsanp'u [Darma] died. He had no sons, and Ch'iliku, a son of Shangyenli, the elder brother of his wife, whose name was Lin, was made tsanp'u... Within three years the people, in consequence of the illegal election of the tsanp'u, were in a state of revolt."

This clearly was the epoch of the present proclamation, which thus would date to 842-4 A.D. The people are addressed in it as if they were without a king, the

1 Bushell, loc. cit., p. 439.
2 Ibid., pp. 439, 523.
3 My Buddhism of Tibet, p. 34.
4 Bushell, loc. cit., p. 522.
5 Ibid., p. 523.
advantages of being without a king are insisted on, and the reference in line 32 to a "rebél" king is probably to a royalist claimant of collateral descent. The disrespectful word which is generally used here for "king" has already been remarked upon. The proper and usual term for "king" occurs only twice, namely, in reference to the "rebél" above mentioned, and in line 61 when disparaging the kings as being the cause of the nation's misfortune.

The family of ministers who have usurped the government seek by this proclamation to justify their action in keeping the government in their own hands and within their own family as a despotic nepotism. They base their claims on the patriotic achievements and services rendered to the State not only by Lu-kon but also by his brother, thus showing that some of the party were descendants on the brother's side. No personal names are mentioned here, but the native histories give the name of sBas-stag-ma as that of the minister who assisted Darma in his support of the old Bon religion against the Buddhists.¹

The title of z'au-n-blon (pronounced zhang-lon) or "Uncle-minister", a sort of privy councillor, to which they freely helped themselves, had previously been borne apparently only by the highest ministers, some or most of whom were of the blood-royal. And in the concluding word of the text which is decipherable, they appear to have arrogated to themselves the titular privileges of "emperor" by using the same word which designates the Emperor of China, namely, "The most high" or "The most exalted one".

Their active patronage of the ancient pagan religion of Tibet, the Bon, is evidenced throughout the edict, and is in keeping with Tibetan tradition, which records the ascendancy of the Bon over the Buddhist religion at this

¹ My Buddhism of Tibet, p. 34.
period. The frequently recurring expression “according to the mystic cross” (the reversed svāstika, T. yuṅ-druṅ) is the epithet usually employed to denote the Bon religion and customs at the present day. And whilst there is no reference to anything Buddhistic, the guardianship of one of the most sacred places of the Bon deities is expressly provided for, and is called “the place of The Secret Presence”.

Linguistically, beyond the light shed on many other points these edicts yield us indisputably conclusive material for fixing within relatively precise limits an initial date for the origin of the classic period of literature. In the Inscription B of K’ri Sroṅ-ldes-btsan of the year 764 A.D. circa we find the archaic pre-classic style, whilst in the inscription of the same king for the year 783 A.D. (see Part I of my article, pp. 944, etc.) we find the fully-fledged classic style. This manifestly fixes the origin of the classic period at a date between 764 and 783 A.D.

The remaining inscriptions on the Lhasa treaty-pillar will be described in a subsequent article.

1 My Buddhism of Tibet, pp. 34, etc. Rockhill’s Life of Buddha, p. 226.
2 Yuṅ-druṅ ’k’yil, or “the twisted cross”, has been used as an equivalent of “king’s palace”.
TEXT OF THE POTALA PILLAR EDICTS

Note.—In this copy the distinction between the long and short i has not been recorded. The length of the line is as in the original. The number of the line is prefixed by me for reference.

INSCRIPTION A (East)

1. རོ་བང་ཛུས་པ་
2. འཇིག་ཨིསས།
3. འོན་ | འོན་ཨིསས།
4. 
5. སྡུད།
6. རྡུས་ཞིན།
7. རུལ།
8. གོ་
9. གཞི་བུ་མོ་བོ།
10. འོ་ཐུ་བུ་མོ་བོ།
11. འོ་ཐུ་བུ་མོ་བོ།
12. འོ་ཐུ་བུ་མོ་བོ།

INSCRIPTION B (South)

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. གཞི་བུ་མོ་བོ་སྲུང་སྦྱོར་
5. འྲེལ་པོ་ཚ་སྒང་།
6. རྡུ་མོ་བུ་མོ་བོ། རྡུ་མོ་བུ་མོ་བོ།
7. འྲེལ་པོ་ཚ་སྒང་། རྡུ་མོ་བུ་མོ་བོ།

1 There may have been one line above this which has been erased
2 This phrase recurs in l. 28 of Inscription B.
8. སྣ ༡ རོ་རིང་ཤེས་པ་ིས་
9. སྣ་འཇིག་ཤེས་པ་དང་ནི།
10. སྣང་དང་ནི།
11. རོ་རིང་ཤེས་པ་ིས་
12. རྒྱལ་མཁྱེན་དང་ནི།
13. སྣང་དང་ནི།
14. སྣང་དང་ནི། ཤིལ་ཤེས་(ཡིད་)མོ་(མ)
15. སྣང་དང་ནི།
16. སྣང་དང་ནི། རོ་རིང་ཤེས་པ་ིས་
17. སྣང་དང་ནི།
18. སྣང་དང་ནི། རོ་རིང་ཤེས་པ་ིས་
19. སྣང་དང་ནི།
20. སྣང་དང་ནི། རོ་རིང་ཤེས་པ་ིས་
21. སྣང་དང་ནི།
22. སྣང་དང་ནི།
23. སྣང་དང་ནི།
24. སྣང་དང་ནི།
25. སྣང་དང་ནི།
26. སྣང་དང་ནི།
27. སྣང་དང་ནི།
28. སྣང་དང་ནི།
29. སྣང་དང་ནི།
30. སྣང་དང་ནི།
31. སྣང་དང་ནི།

1 Or possibly སྣང་
2 This phrase is similar to that in L. 1 of Inscription A; but here I translate སྣང་ as the adverb "like".
32. ཨོོ་ལེགས་ལ་ཁ་སྡེ་ཚོར་ལ། འིབ།
33. གཉིས་མ་དོན་ལེན།
34. དེ་རིང་ལེ་གཞི།
35. དབུ་དམིགས་བྲེ་བུ་གཏོང་།
36. སོགས་དབང་། འིབ།
37. སོགས་དབང་། འིབ།
38. སོགས་དབང་།
39. གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་གཅིག(?) ཡི།
40. གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་གཅིག(?) ཡི།
41. སྲུང་། འདོད།
42. སྲུང་། འདོད།
43. ལྟོན་གྱི་རྒན་བཤད་སྒྲིབ།
44. རྒྱུད་དེ་སོན་གྲུབ་ཐལ་ཐལ་པོ་མི་ཤིང་།
45. སོགས་སྡེ་ཚོར་ལེ་གཞི། འདོད་མ་བཤད།
46. སོགས་སྡེ་ཚོར་ལེ་གཞི། འདོད་མ་བཤད།
47. གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་གཅིག(?) ཡི།
48. གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་གཅིག(?) ཡི།
49. སྲུང་། འདོད།
50. སྲུང་། འདོད།
51. སྲུང་། འདོད།
52. སྲུང་། འདོད།
53. སྲུང་། འདོད།
54. སྲུང་། འདོད།

1 This possibly might read ཟེ་.
2 Or possibly ཁེ་.
3 Possibly ཁེ་ or ཁེ་.
55. སི་མོ་སེང་ཐོན་ཏི་མོང་སོགས་རིགས་སྤྲོད།
56. སྐད་ཌུད་དུ་སྐབས་རྒྱུས་སོགས་རིགས་སྤྲོད།
57. འདྲ་བཞི་མོ་སྐུ་དྲུང་རྔོན་མཆོག་ལྡེ་བཞི།
58. གཞི་སྤྱོད་བཤེས་འུ་གཞུང་མཐུན་པོ།
59. སེམས་དཔའ་དབང་། རིན་ཆོག་སྐ་བཞི།
60. སྐྱེབས་ཐུབ་མཛོད་ལོ་ཕྱིན། དབང་བུ་བུ།
61. འཁོར་སྐོར། མ་སྐྱར་རུབ་སྦྱོང་། རིན་ཞུང་ ཟླ་མོ་
62. ནེ་ནེའི་ཕྲིན་ཏུ་བོ་ལྡན་པ་སྗེས་དུ་ཕྱིན།
63. རྡོ་རྗོད་ིས་སྤྱོད། སེམས་དཔའ་ཇི་ཤེས་དུ་ལྡེ།
64. སྤྱིན་བིང་བོ་གི་མ་མཆོག་མི་འན་ལྡེ་གླེ།
65.
66. 
67. ངྲེ་བོ་བ་
68. རང་སྟེ།
69. ཤུགས་གུང་།
70. སྟེ་དོན།
71. ཕྱབས་སྟིན་ངོ་
72. སྲིད་བུལ་(ན)་དྭ།
73. སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་རྒྱུ།
74. མདུན་འི་བུས་ཉིད་(ད) · · · འབྲུགས་པ་(ན) · ·
75. སྤེན་པ་དབང་སྐྱེ་།

1) Probably རི་
2) Might also read རི་
Inscription C (North)

1. རོང་དུ་བོ་བོད་
2. ⋅⋅⋅⋅⋅⋅⋅ ལཱ་ན་
3. ⋅⋅⋅⋅⋅⋅
4. ⋅⋅⋅⋅
5. རབ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཨེི་ཐུབ
6. དོན་འོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད་བཤད་
7. རྡོ་རྗེ་ཨེ་ཐུབ
8. ལུང་འིར་བན
9. ལྟར་གྲུབ་པེ་ཆེ་དུ་བན
10. འོ་བོ་གྲང་བའི་བ་
11. དོན་འོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད་བཤད
12. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་ཤེས་བཤད
13. བོད་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད་བཤད
14. རྡོ་རྗེ་ཨེ་ཐུབ
15. རྡོ་རྗེ་ཨེ་ཐུབ
16. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད
17. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད
18. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད
19. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད
20. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད
21. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད
22. སྡུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད

1 Possibly སྐྱེ་ or སྐུཏ;
2 Or མི་.
23. དུས་མི་འི་བཟུང་པོ་དང་། འིད།
24. དུས་མི་འི་བཟུང་པོ་དང་། ཁམས་ཤི་
25. མཐོ་སོ་བཟུང་པོ་དང་། ཁམས་ཤི་
26. ཟགས་ཤི་མི་སྤྱན་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བ།
27. མདོར་དེ། མོ་ལེགས་པོ་འཛིན་ལ་བར་བས།
28. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་ས་དཔག་ཅན་བས།
29. མཐོ་སོ་བཟུང་པོ་དང་། ཤུགས་བཟུང་པོ་དང་།
30. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
31. ང་མོ་དོན། རྡུས་ཤི་མི་སྤྱན་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བ།
32. བཟུང་པོ་དང་། མི་འི་བཟུང་པོ་
33. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
34. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
35. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
36. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
37. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
38. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
39. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
40. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
41. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
42. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
43. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
44. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
45. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
46. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་
47. སྤེན་པོ་ཅི་སྤྱིན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པོ་

This is evidently a mistake in copying for སིབས་པ་.  See note 1.
48. རྣ་ན་ལུགས་པ། རུབ་དབང་འབྲེལ།
49. རྫོ་གཤེིས་བརྙན་པོ། ནི་ཞིག་ཡུལ་སྒྲིག་མི་
50. རྫོ་དྲོད་དོན། རྗེ་ཞིང་སྣང་།
51. རྫོ་གཤེིས་གྲོལ་བྱས་བརྙན་པོ། བཞི་དྲིག་མི་
52. དབང་བསྟན་ཤུག་མེད། རྗེ་ཞིང་སྣང་།
53. རྣལ་བུ་ཐོ་སྨོན་བཅོམ་བཟང་དཔོན།
54. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
55. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
56. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
57. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
58. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
59. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
60. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
61. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
62. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
63. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
64. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
65. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
66. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
67. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།
68. སྟེ་ཞིག་གིས་ཨོཨུ་ཐོབ་མེད་བྱ།

1 Or རྡོ་རྗེ་བཙོ་མ་.
XXXI

THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF EASTERN TURKESTAN

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

IN the July number of this Journal, p. 836, I promised to publish the text of the Aparimitāyuh Sūtra. As I have not yet received the Cambridge manuscripts of that Sūtra, I must defer the fulfilment of my promise to a later issue of the Journal. In the meantime I have compared the Sanskrit text of the Vajracchedikā, in Max Müller's edition, with the "unknown language" text in Dr. Stein's manuscript; and I may now present two extended "bilingual" extracts from the two texts. So far as I am able to judge at present, the East-Turkestani text does not appear to be a translation, throughout, of the Sanskrit text, as published by Max Müller. It is so, however, quite clearly in certain portions; and it is some of these portions that I am now presenting as a preliminary contribution. I may add that I have compared the East-Turkestani text of Dr. Stein's manuscript also with the Sanskrit text preserved in the manuscript of Dr. Stein's first collection (1900–1), of which I gave a short notice in this Journal for 1903, p. 364. That manuscript is incomplete, and the second extract, given below, is not found in it, having stood on its fol. 12, now missing. A portion of the first extract occurs in it, but its Sanskrit text is rather shorter than the Sanskrit text printed in Max Müller's edition, and, to that extent, differs also from the East-Turkestani text.

I take this opportunity also to reprint corrected versions of the extracts from the Vajracchedikā and the Aparimitāyuh Sūtra, given on pp. 837–8 of my previous communication. Not having had the originals to refer to
when I wrote from Wiesbaden, certain letters had been wrongly transcribed.

The Sanskrit text is printed in italics, interlinearly and verbatim, under the lines (in roman) of the “unknown language” text. In either case the words of the text are printed in the exact sequence (with two or three exceptions, duly indicated by numerals) of the originals. Where the East-Turkestani text differs, or is not intelligible, the syllables (aṅśara) are printed discretely.

VAJRACCHEDIKĀ: FIRST EXTRACT.

Stein MS., fol. 3biii = M.M. ed., p. 9, § 1.

Nta-nta1 mammā pyūṣṭā śe snych (śe snye 2) tā gyaṣṭānā
evaṁ mayā śrūtāṃ | ekasmin samaye —

gyaṣṭā-īvāyaṃ Śrāvāṇa-kṣirā āstā-vyā 4 Jīvārispurābāṣa
bhagavān Śrāvastīyaṃ viharatī-sama Jētavane
Anā[4a1] tāpiṇḍi-hārū saṃkhyerma mistāna 5 bil-sāgāna 6
Anāṭhapiṇḍasya ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena
hamtva | dvās-pañjāṃśa iśau āṣīryaujisa — —
sārdham arāha-trayodāsabhīr bhikṣu -śataiḥ samba
— — — — nī — — gyaṣṭānā
hulaiś ca bodhisattvair mahāsattvaḥ | atha khalu

gyaṣṭa-īvāyaṃ brū-hadvāṇa 7 — — vāṣye ūṃ pāntāra-
bhagavān pūrv-āhṇa -kāla-samaye niṃvaṣa pātra-
civara pananāṭi Śrāvasta mistā-kīthā pindaṭa trāmda
civaram adāya Śrāvastīṁ mahā-nagarīṁ pindaṭā prāvīkṣat|

1 Lit. Skt. evam etad; see fol. 7a11.
2 Wrongly repeated; śe is loc. sg. of śau = Skt. ekā; see fol. 5b11.
3 See Remark 11, below.
4 Apparently lit. Skt. viharan abhūt; see vya in fol. 33a11.
5 Cf. Skt. mahāṣṭha = mistā, of which mistāna is the instr. case.
6 Sāgā = Skt. saṃgha with disaspirated gh, as in darma = Skt. dharma.
7 Hadāna, loc. sg. of hadā, Skt. ahan; see below, in Remarks 7 and 13.
inti — gyasta-ḥaysa (nti gyasta-ḥaysa) kū Śrāvastā
atha khalu bhaṭavān Śrāvastim
māstā-kitha pindā [4b1] vatsuta-hamyeye2 tā kū
mahā-nagarim pindāya carīvā —
khāysta-kirā-yuṇā - yuđe hvadh khāysā3 kū "scetā-
hakta — kṛta - kṛtyah paścād bhakta-
parīya-hamyey pāntara - cīvarā pājsi byi-pāha
pratikrāntah pātra - cīvaram pratisāmya pādaun
ysnātā — iii prāṇavyi — āysam vira ṇastā5 bastā
prakṣalya yasaḥdāt projaṇpata eva āsane
palaṅgā (ra-stā nta raṁ da4 ra na vi snā tā
parṇāṃkam (ābhujya rju kāyam prāṇidhāya
pyam tsā ntu śā nte tā byā ta jā va e vyeta 1)6
pratimukhiṃ smṛtim upasthāpya l)6
Nti tā [5a1] pharāka āśīrya7 kaṁma hālai
Athā khalu sambahulā bhikṣavo yena —
gyastāṇāgyasta-ḥaysā vyeta8 hāstä tsuāṁdā4 kū
bhagavān — (tena) upasamikraman —
vara-hamyā gyastāṇāgyasta-ḥaysā pā ntirājṣa
(upasamikramya)9 bhagavatāḥ pādaun śirobhir
namasyā10dā gyasta-ḥaysā drai teira-hvaram10-cai-ṇa-
abhivandyā bhagavantāṁ triṣ pradakṣiṇi - kṛtya
tvānā tsuāmā11 u sau-hālyāi12 ṇastā
— ek - ānte yasaḥdān ||

1 The bracketed phrase is wrongly repeated.
2 Apparently lit. Skt. caran bhūtvā, pratikrāman bhūtvā.
3 Probably wrong for khāysta.
4 Apparently Skt. decau pādaun.
5 ṇastā = Skt. yasaḥdāt is transplaced; see fols. 5a1*, b.
6 Apparently in the bracketed portion the two texts differ.
7 Apparently āśīrya sg., āśīrya pl. = Skt. bhikṣuḥ, bhikṣavah.
8 Apparently vyeta = Skt. abhūt or some similar word; cf. fol. 4b2; ante foot-note 4, infra foot-note 22.
9 The bracketed equations are doubtful.
10 Hvaram = Skt. daksinavah; cf. fol. 5b11.
11 Repeated from above.
12 Hálmim, loc. sg. of hālā, "locality" = Skt. anta = sthāna; cf. fol. 5a1, hālai.
Ntye (scera vā-tcā)₁ —— āśiri Subhūta vara ²
tena (khalu punah)₁ samayena āyuṣmān Subhūtis ——
tīṇa parśāna [5b₁] haṃgrī vyaṭā³ u⁴ ṇasta
tasyām parṣadī samnipatito bhūt — samnīṣānṇaḥ
tī — āśiri Subhūta āyaṃ napatata ṣau-sve
atha khalu āyuṣmān Subhūtir āsanād utthāya ek-āṁsaṃ
civarā prahausti⁵ u⁴ hvārāṃ dai ysāṃnu———
uttarāsangam kṛtvā dakṣīṇam — jānu-mandalam
śaḍya pārau⁶nti kāmma hālai⁶ gyasta-ḥaṃsaḥ
prthivyāṃ pratīṣṭāpya yena — bhagavān
āṣṭā⁷ hāṣṭā ajamāla⁸ dastā⁹ yudai⁹ u gyasta-ḥaṃsaḥ
— (tena) amjāliṃ pranayam — bhagavantamb
nta hve sā¹⁰-duskarā midāmnā gyasta-ḥaṃsa [6a¹]
etad avocat — aścaryan —— bhagavan
—— cu ntīra gyastaṅā gyasta-
(param-āścaryam Sugata)¹¹ yāvad eva
bayṣāna ntāhirauvāṅkāṇā (pa-jṣa-³māṇa a śā ṃna ra-
tathāgatena (arhatā samyak-
ṣṭā bi-sā hā là bi ysā dá a hu jṣa)¹² baulīdhisatva
sambuddhena)¹²

₁ The two texts differ; the E. Turk. may mean Skt. pīṇḍapātaka cārito; cf. fols. 4aᵣ, bᵢ, ii.
² See fol. 5aᵣ, vara-hamya; Sanskrit equivalent unknown.
³ Apparently vyita = vyeta, fol. 5aᵣ, foot-note 15.
⁴ Here, and elsewhere, u = Skt. ca, resolving Skt. conj. participles into
finite verbs.
⁵ Probably sau-sve civarā prahausti lit. = Skt. ekānāc cīvaram apaniya,
having withdrawn the robe from one shoulder.
⁶ Hālamī, loc. sg. of hāla, “locality” = Skt. anta = sthāna; cf. fol. 5aᵣ,
hālai.
⁷ Perhaps Skt. abhūt or āśīt; cf. āstā-vya, fol. 3bᵣ, and āstā,
fol. 32aᵣ.
⁸ Probably wrong for amjāla.
⁹ Apparently lit. Skt. hastānājāliṃ kṛtvā; cf. yudā-yudē, fol. 4bᵢ, and
dastā = hastā. Regarding the whole passage, see Professor Leumann’s
remarks in JGOS., lxii, p. 107.
¹⁰ Perhaps sā = Skt. parama.
¹¹ Bracketed phrase omitted in E. Turk. text.
¹² The equivalence of the two bracketed texts is not intelligible.
mistā-ḥaysum ṇavuysāḥ ḍhamdādana biṣāpirmāntamyē mahā - sattvāḥ anugrhitāḥ paramena
hamdārajṣa cu ntarā gyasta-ḥaysāna anugrahena ṣcaryam bhagavan yāvad eva
ntāharātsukana [6b¹] (tkhai śi nāṁ nā sā nāṁ nā tvī śi tathāgatena)
(arhatā ya nā-kā-na sa mna bi-śāṁ nā hi rāṁ nā iva ma sā-
samyak-sambuddhena)³
ka-na u hu jṣa² baudhisatvā mistā-ḥaysum ṇavuysāḥ
bodhisattvā maha-sattvāḥ
ysilii niyahaudi biṣāpirmāntamyē ysi niyahaurāṁmeja
parīnditāḥ paramayā parīndanayā|
nta khuvaś miḍāṁna gyasta-ḥaysā ḍaysu⁴ ṇavuysaina
tat kathāṁ bhagavan
baudhisatva-yāṁna- [7a¹] haṁjsadainā mara⁵
bodhisattva-yāna-
samprasthitaṇa kulaputreṇa vā
mahāyāṁṇā viṣṭāṇa u khvai
kuladuḥitrā vā sthātavyam kathāṁ pratipattavyam – kathām
aysmu baysamjaṁṇa
cittāṁ pragrahitavyam ||

"Ntye hvaye-hvaṁai gyastāṇā gyastā-ḥaysā āṣīri
Evam ukte bhagavan āyuśmantam"
Subhūta ii nta hve śīrā śīrā Subhūta nta nta śi-hārā
Subhūtim etad avocat sādhu sādhu Subhūte evam etad——
Subhūta———hamādā ivgyasta-ḥaysāna
Subhūte evam etad yathā vādasi| anugṛhitās tathāgatena
budhisatva———ḥaysūṁ ṇāvuyṣaina
bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ
biṣāpirmāntamyey [7b]1 hamdārajsa
paramēna anugraheṇa

1 cu ntirā gyasta-ḥaysāṇa ntāhirautsukana tsai śi nām nā sā nām nā tvi śā ya nā-kā na sa mna ba-sāṁ na hi rāṁ iii nā va ma sā-ka-na u hu jsa budhisatva mistā-ḥaysūṁ ṇāvuyṣai
ivna ysiniyāhauḍā biṣāpirmāntamyey ysiniyāhaurāṁmejṣa [8a]1 nta khuvā midāmāṇa gyasta-ḥaysā ḍaysu ṇāvuyṣaia
buddhisatva-yaṁ ii na-hamsadaina mara mahāyāṁṇa viṣṭaṇa u khuai aysmu nāii-sāṇā 4 ntye hwayne-hvaṇai gyasta-ḥaysa aśi Śubhūta nta hve iv śīrā śīrā Subhūta nta nta śi-hirā Subhūta hamdāda ḍaysana 5 baub[8b1]dhisatvā biṣāpirmāntamā hamdārajsa

tyṣiṇīhauḍā 6 gyasta-ḥaysāṇa bauii dhisatva——
parinditās tathāgatena bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ
biṣāpirmāntamā tyṣiṇīhaurāṁmejṣa ta ntina Subhūta pyū
paramayā parindanayā hi tena Subhūte śṛṇu
iii śirī — subīji — aysmayaṁ asye hvāṇī mā khu
sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi kuru | bhāṣīye aham yathā
ḥaysu 7 ṇāvuyivysaīn bauḥdhisatva-yaṁṇa-ḥadaṇa

1 Apparently śi-hārā = Skt. tasya, gen. of śi or śā, Skt. saḥ, demonstrative pron., corresponding to ci-hārā = Skt. kasya, interrog. pron., fols. 10a4, b3, 31b5, 32a7, 37a4; the rel. pron. is cu = Skt. yaḥ, nom. sg., fols. 9b2, ii, iii, 32a5, b3, 1v, 33a1, ii.
2 See n. 1, p. 1287.
3 Mye, or ma, is an inflectional suffix, like mī in hālaimī, fol. 5a4.
4 Apparently by the copyist’s carelessness this paragraph has been repeated from fol. 6a1, the only point of difference being nāsāṇā = Skt. pravgrihitasyam for baysahījāṁṇa, introduced from fol. 9a1.
5 Read gyasta-ḥaysāṇa, as above, fol. 7a4.
6 Apparently wrong for ysiniyāhauḍā; see fol. 6b3ii.
7 Probably wrong for ḍaysu.
mara₁ mahāyāmna — viśṭāṇā u khui [9a₁] mara₂
sthātavyam yathā pratipattavyam — yathā
aysmu nāsāṇā nta nta śīrā₃ gyasta-ḥaysa —
cittam pragrāhaitavyam | evam — — bhagavān iti
ntuṃnājaśā āśi'ṛi Subhūta gyasta-ḥaysāna pṛyūṣe
—— aṣyamān Subhūtir bhagavataḥ pratyārauṣit ||
Gyasta-ḥaysi nta hve mara iii Subhūta ḍaysu⁴
Bhagavān etad avocat | iha Subhūte —
navuysaïna⁵ bauḥhisatva-yāmna-haṃjsaṃdai⁶nə nta
—— bodhisattva-yāna-samprasthitena evam
(nta⁶) aysmu upevāmna cu-burā — satva —
—— cittam utpādayitavyam yāvantah Subhūte sattvāh sattva- —
satvām-nāsāmejṣa háṃ₇[9b₁]khiṣaysāya — u āhyā-
dhātou sattva-samgrahena sāvgyṛhītā — anda-
ysāta va purāmnā-ysāta cu⁸ ganiṣṭā-ysā⁹ta — uvāvā
jā vā jārayu-Jā vā saṃsveda-Jā vā upapādukā
cu⁸ háṃtṛa-rūvina⁹ (rūvina¹₀) — anau-rūvāna¹¹ cu⁸
vā rūpino vā a-rūpino vā
hamiii tsa-syāmejṣa cu⁸ anau-syāmejṣa cu-vā⁸ nti satva cu
samjñino vā asamjñino vā eva — — — — — —
ni háṃtṛa-syāmejṣa — anau-syāmiṣa — ku-burā
na samjñino na asamjñino vā yaṃ-kaṣcoi
satva-dāta-praṇavāna [10a₁] ma-ta-ṇa-pī-ya nti —
sattva-dhātupraṇāpyamānaḥ praṇāpyate te ca
satva muhuṣa harbiṣā aharina nirvāṇa — —
mayā sarve anupadhiṣeṣe nirvāṇa-dhātou

₁ See n. 5, p. 1287.
₂ Mara, if it is = jāva = yāvat, seems to be here superfluous.
₃ The Śanskrit equivalent of the E. Turk. text would be evam etad sādhu.
₄ Probably wrong for ḍaysumā.
₅ See n. 1, p. 1287.
₆ Apparently nta has been wrongly repeated.
₇ Reading doubtful, folio damaged.
₈ The Sanskrit text has vā, but the E. Turk. cu would rather be = Skt. yaḥ, rel. pron.
₉ Lit. Skt. śūrdhaṃ-rūpiṇaḥ.
₁₀ Lit. Skt. vinā-rūpiṇaḥ.
₁₁ Lit. Skt. vinā-rūpiṇaḥ.
₁₂ Wrongly repeated.
pa²ranirvāṇa| dādirā avamāta satva ku
parinirvāpayitavyāḥ| evam aparimānān satvān api
parinirvāye utam| na haḍa² kāmuḍā śai śau³ satva
parinirvāpya| na — kaścit — sattvaḥ
parinirvāye yuḥmā| nta ci-hārā kiḍṇa — ci Subhūta
parinirvāpto bhavati| tat kasya hetoh| sa cet Subhūte
baudhisatva — samāṇa [10b¹] hāmātā ni śa
bodhisattvasya sattva-samjñā pravarteta na sa
baudhisatvā — hvaṇaśi nta ci-hārā kiḍṇa| ni śi Subhūta
bodhisatva iti vaktavyaḥ| tat kasya hetoh| na sa Subhūte
bodhisattva hvaṇaśi ci satvā-vīra-samāṇa hamātā
bodhisattvo vaktavyo yasya sattva — samjñā pravarteta
wa jvākā-4-vīra-3samāṇa wa pudgalā-vīra-samāṇa —
jīva — samjñā vā pudgala — samjñā vā
hāme
pravarteta |

Here four folios are missing. Nos. 11–14.

SECOND EXTRACT.

Stein MS., fol. 31aiii = M.M. ed., p. 35, l. 18, § 17.

Nti vā aśirī Subhūta gya⁴sta-ḥaysā nta hve
Atha khalu āyusmān Subhūtir bhagavantam etad aevacat|
khuvā miḍāmnā gyaṣṭa-ḥaysā baudhisatvā-yāmni
katham — bhagavan bodhisattva-yāno
marā⁵ [31b¹] mahāyāṇa⁶ —— samprasthitena
sthātavyam katham pratipattavyam
— aysmu biṣamjāmṇā gaṣṭa-ḥaysi nta hve
katham cittam pragrāhaṇṭavyam | bhagavan — aha |

¹ The two texts seem to differ in this passage; dādirā is hardly = Skt. evam, which is nta, and ku parinirvāye hamātī would mean Skt. kaḥ (or katham) parinirvāpitaḥ pravarteta; see fols. 10aiv, b³, 31biv, 32a⁵.
² The colophon of the MS. has haḍa = Skt. ārya, fol. 44b³.
³ Lit. kāmuḍā śai śau = Skt. kaścit sa ekaḥ.
⁴ Perhaps a mere clerical blunder for jīva; see fol. 32a¹.
⁵ See n. 5, p. 1287.
⁶ Read mahāyāṇa; cf. fol. 7a¹.
mara Subhūṭa baubhisa tvb—māsta-
Iha Subhūṭe bodhisattva-yāna-samprasthitena
bhysum ūnavysaia' nta-nta aysmu upevaāna biśā
evam citam utpādayitavyam sarve
satva — ahari"na —— paranirvāyāma 
| sattva mayā anupadhiṣeṇe nirvāna-dhatau parinirvāpayitavyāḥ |
| — — — — — ni hadi" kāmuja satva
| evam ca sattvān parinirvāpya na — kaścit sattvah
| paranirvāna" ivhāma | nta ci-hāra" kiṇa | — ci Subhūṭa
| parinirvāpito bhavati | tat kasya hetoh | sa cet Subhūṭe
| baubhisatsatvā satvā-saṃnā hamati [32a] ni șa
| bodhisattvasya satvā-saṃnā pravarteta na sa
| baubhisatvā — hvanai wa atma-saṃnā wa vā jiva-
| bodhisattva iti vaktavyah | [vā atma-saṃnā] vā — jiva-
| saṃnā — wa pudgalā-saṃnā — "hamati ni și
| saṃnā yāvat vā pudgalā-saṃnā vā pravarteta na sa
| baubhisatvā — hvanai nta ci-hāra kiṇa ni-stā
| bodhisattva iti vaktavyah | tat kasya hetoh nāsti Subhūṭe
| śi dharmā" kāmuja — baubhisatva-yāmā-hamjīsadai āya
| sa dharmah kaścit yo bodhisattva-yāna-saṃprasthitonāma |
| —— aštā nai ś Subhūṭa ——
| Tat kim manasye Subhūṭe asti — sa —— kaścid
| ivdharma cu" gyasta-bhysāna Dipamkarā gyasta-bhysā
dharmo yas tathāgatena Dipamkarasya tathāgatasya
| iṇaka —— biśāpirmāntamā [32b] bhysu-stā
| antikād anuttarāṃ samyak-
sambhūm
| bustā āya ntye hvaye-hvanan āṣiri
| sambuddāhaḥ | [nāma] evam ukte āyusmān
Subhūṭa gyasta-bhysā nta hve
Subhūṭir bhagavantam etad avocat | yathāham

1 Here the two texts do not quite agree; see fols. 64v, etc.
2 The colophon of the MS. has hadi = Skt. ārya, fol. 44b.
3 Read paranirvāyā, as in fol. 10a; for paranirvāna = Skt. parinirvā-
payitavya see fol. 10a.
4 See n. 1, p. 1288.
5 For the Sanskrit version see foot-note 1 on p. 21 of M.M. edition.
sā ni-stā  

bhagavān bhagavato bhāṣītasya artham ājānāmi—nāsti  
māḍāṁna—gyasta-baysā kāṁmujā  

sa bhagavān kaścīd—dharma yas  

gyasta-baysāṁña (  
tathāgatena (Dipamkarasya tathāgatasya arhataḥ  

samya-k-saṁbuddhaśya antikād anuttaraṁ  
biśāpirmāntama2-baysu-stā bustā āya)3 ntye hvaye-hvanai  
samya-k-saṁbodhīṁ saṁbuddhaḥ]2 evam ukte  

gyasta-bāysi Subhūtā nta hve nta nta  
bhagavān āyuṣmantaṁ Subhūtim etad avocat | evam etad  

ḥi-hāra1 Subhūta ni-stā kāṁmujā  

Subhūte evam etad Subhūte nāsti kaścīd sa  
dharma cu1 [33a1] gyasta-baysna Dipamkarā  
dharmo yas  
gyasta-baysana4 (  
tathāgatasya (arhataḥ samya-k-saṁbuddhaśya  

— antikād anuttaraṁ samya-k-saṁbodhīṁ saṁbuddhaḥ ]3 sa  

-ci Subhūta kāmujā  

cet punah Subhūte kaścīd—dharmas—  

gyasta-baysana baysūstābustā vya ni muhu  
tathāgatena abhisambuddho abhaviṣyat na māṁ  

— iii-vaṇṇaḥ hamathu—māṇavā  

Dipamkaras tathāgato vyākariṣyat bhaviṣyati tvam māṇavān  

1 See n. 1, p. 1288.  
2 This represents here Skt. samyak, and in fols. 6a11, b11, 7a14, 8b9,  
Skt. paramena or paramayaḥ; and biśā by itself represents Skt. saṁre (properly viśāḥ) in fol. 31b7; hence biśā-pirmāntama perhaps lit. =  
Skt. saṁre-prakāreṇa, or some similar phrase.  
3 In the bracketed portion the two texts do not agree.  
4 Perhaps wrong for gyasta-baysā, for the form ending in na usually  
stands for the instrumental case.  
5 Vya cu = Skt. abhaviṣyaṇaḥ, missing in the Sanskrit text.
ustamājī śāda Śākyamunī nāma gyaṁsta-bāysā |
āgat eadhvāni Śākyamunir nāma tathāgato

arhaṃ sanyak-sambuddha iti ||

The continuation does not seem to agree in the two texts.

APARIMITĀYUH SŪTRA, fol. 1b.

Saddham nta nta mūhuṃjasa pyūṣṭā śīna¹ beda
Siddham evam — mayā śrutam | ekaṃmin samaye
gyaṣṭa-bāysā Śrāvastī āṣṭa-vye Jīvārīspurābāṣa
bhagavān Śrāvastiyāṃ viharati-smā Jetavane
Anātha²-piṇḍi-hārū samkhyerma — — — —
Anāthaśaṃ pūndasya ārāme mahātata bhikṣu-saṅghena
— dvāsse-paṃjaśa śau āśiryaṃsa — u
sārdham arāha-trayodhāśabhir — bhikṣu - sataiē ca
pharākyau bauḍhisatvau mistyau-bāysu nābhi-ysyaṃsa²
sambhalauḥ bodhisattvair mahā-sattvaiḥ

hatṣa² | Ntiṇa⁴ — bedaṃ gaṭṣā-bāysa Ṭaṃjusri
— Tatra khaḷu — bhagavān Ṭaṃjusriyaṃ
eyesāxam⁵-gurṣte utaipastisa aṣća⁶ Ṭaṃjusryu
kumāra-bhūtām āmaṇtrayate-smā | aṣṭi Ṭaṃjusriḥ
⁴sarbadā-hālai guṇa⁷ Aparaminta-saṃcayā nāmma
uparīṣṭāyām aparimita-guṇa-saṃcayo nāma

lova-dāvara⁸ |
loka-dhātuḥ |

¹ Loc. sg. of śau = Skt. eka.
² Cf. nābhi-sayina in Vajracchedikā, fol. 31b; i.e. nābhi-sayi with instrumental suffix na or jsa.
³ Hatsa = Skt. sārdham, placed earlier after saṃghena.
⁴ Loc. sg. of nta = Skt. tati.
⁵ The consonant (x) of the final syllable is broken off.
⁶ Perhaps an error for aṣṭa; see fol. 32a⁴.
⁷ Guṇa is placed differently in the two texts.
⁸ Dāvara may be a clerical error for dātara, for v and t are not unfrequently confounded, and dāta = Skt. dhātu, see fol. 9b⁴; dātara would seem to be the plural of dāta; see my "Report", JASB., 1901, Extra No. 1, p. 34.
Remarks.

1. The term "E. Turk.", occasionally used in this paper, is not to be taken to prejudge the question of the identity of the "unknown language", but is simply a convenient way of indicating the language as coming to us from Eastern Turkestan.

2. A peculiar diacritical mark occurs in the original manuscript under certain syllables (aksara). It resembles a rough semicircle, opening upwards (see Plate, fol. 3, l. 4, in ḯaysä and bāṣa, and in fol. 32, l. 1, ṣa and l. 2, ṣi). In the transcript it is indicated similarly. The syllables, with which, so far, I have found it, are na (in nastā), ba (in baysa), sa (e.g. in parsā), ha (e.g. in hadaina, fol. 8b\textsuperscript{iv}), and once pā, fol. 5a\textsuperscript{ii}; again, ṣi, fols. 32a\textsuperscript{ii}, ṣhi, and ṣi (e.g. in āṣiri). It will be seen that it usually occurs in syllables containing a short vowel, which, as a rule, is a, though it may be i. The single case of a long vowel is pā. The significance of the mark has, so far as I know, not yet been discovered; nor whether it is concerned with the consonant or the vowel of the syllable. I may, however, draw attention to the curious circumstance attending the spelling of the word which I have transcribed baysā, as possibly throwing light on the phonetic value of the mark. The circumstance I refer to is detailed below in No. 11.

3. Another peculiar diacritical mark, now well known, is the double dot over a syllable containing the short ("inherent") vowel a. I have never found it with any other vowel, save an exceptional ā. Its significance is not exactly known, but it appears to indicate an indistinct, or "neutral", vowel; for some words are found spelled indifferently with ā or i, e.g., mistā or māṣā, hamāti or hamātā, hirā or hārā, ṣi or ṣa; similarly, munā for Skt. muni, rūvāna or rūvāna for Skt. rūpiṇāh. The exceptions of ā are hamāti or hamātā, fol. 10b\textsuperscript{ii}, and hamārajsa, fol. 7b\textsuperscript{i}, or hamārajsa, fol. 8b\textsuperscript{i}. It may be observed that in both these cases the usual ā occurs also in the adjoining syllable.
4. There occur two peculiar consonantal signs. One appears in wa = Skt. vā, fols. 9b¹, 10b¹, ii, 32a¹; the other, as a conjunct, in drai = Skt. tri, and, as a non-conjunct, in raṣṭā = Skt. ābhujya, fol. 4b³ii, etc. The latter I take to represent the cerebral consonant r (as in Hindi). Its form may be seen in ri, in the accompanying Plate, fol. 3, l. 4, aksara 7 from the right.¹ The other was identified by Drs. Sieg and Siegling in Sitzungsberichte, K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, No. xxix of 1908, p. 918, where its form is shown in facsimile. Its form may also be seen in the accompanying Plate, fol. 32, l. 1.²

5. Other peculiarities are an occasional disaspiration in Sanskrit words, such as dāta for Skt. dhātu, fol. 9b⁴v, and sāgā for Skt. samgha, fol. 4a¹; and an occasional suppression of the vowel a, as in baysna (Skt. sattvena) for baysana or baysāna, fol. 33a¹; perhaps also in harbiśā, fol. 10a¹, for hara-biśā, for biśā by itself means Skt. sarva (properly viśva), fol. 31b⁵; and in bilsāgāna, fol. 1a ii, for bila-sāgāna, Skt. bhikṣu-samghena.

6. Mere scribal errors are the repetition of se snye, fol. 3b³ii, of nti gyastā-baysā, fol. 4a⁴v, of rūvana, fol. 9b³, of the long paragraph on fol. 7b, and probably of nta, fol. 9a⁴v; so also probably the misspellings ajamālā for amjalā, fol. 5b³iii, ysinihāudā for ysiniyahauḍā, fol. 8b¹; and perhaps also jvākā for jīvā, fol. 10b³ii.

7. Regarding the inflection of nouns: na or jsa indicate the instrumental case, e.g., gyasta-baysāna = Skt. bhagavatā (or tathāgatena), by the Blessed; mistāna bilsāgāna, Skt. mahātā bhikṣu-samghena, by a great congregation of friars; brū-hadāna = Skt. pūrvāhā, by (or in) the forenoon.

¹ See also No. iv, l. 4, ṛa (formerly read by me cā) of pl. iv in my "Report on Three Further Collections" in the JASB., vol. lxvi, p. 234, 1897.
² See also fig. 4, l. 3, wa (formerly read by me first as kha, afterwards as ṝa), of pl. iii in my "Report on the Weber MSS." in the JASB., vol. lxii, p. 35, 1893, also in the same Journal, vol. lxx, Extra No. 1, Appendix, pp. 1, 15, leaf 33b³ii, 1902.
Again, e.g., sg. muhujśa = Skt. mayā, by me, nāsāmejśa = Skt. saṁgrahena, by the complex, haṁdārājśa = Skt. anugrahaṇena, by the grace; or pl., aśīryaunśa = Skt. bhikṣubhiḥ, by the friars, ntirājśa, Skt. śrōbhīḥ, with the heads. Na indicates also the genitive, in sg. gyasta-baysana = Skt. bhagavataḥ, of the Blessed, and in pl. gyastānā = Skt. devānām, of the gods. The suffixes mye, or mi, or ma, or mā indicate indifferently the locative or instrumental case; e.g., śau-hālaimī = Skt. ekānte, in a solitary place, and biśā-pīrāmāntamye = Skt. paramena (lit. sarva-prakārena), in every way, thoroughly. Hārā (or hirā) or hāra seem to indicate the genitive, as in cihārā = Skt. kasya, of which, Anāthapindīhārū = Skt. Anāthapindasya, of Anāthapiṇḍa.

8. Regarding the inflection of verbs: we have 3rd sg. pres. ind., hāmā = Skt. bhavati, he is, fol. 10aⅣ; 3rd sg. pres. subj., hamāti or hāme = Skt. pravarteta (or bhavet), fols. 31bⅣ, 10bⅢ; 2nd sg. fut. (or perhaps rather the 2nd sg. pres.), hamathu = Skt. bhavisyati, fol. 33aⅢ. To the same series apparently belongs hamye, fol. 4bⅡ. To another auxiliary verb seems to point vya = Skt. abhavisyat, fol. 32aⅢ; in fol. 3bⅣ it seems simply to mark past time, being attached to the part. āstā, he was staying (see below); it would seem to be an abbreviation of vyetā or vyitā = Skt. abhūt, fols. 4bⅣ, 5bⅠ. Again, another is āstā = Skt. asti, fol. 32aⅣ, ni-āstā = Skt. nāsti, fol. 32aⅤ. The suffix of the part. fut. pass. is ńā, or ni; e.g., upevāmnā = Skt. utpādayitavya, fol. 9aⅣ; nāsānā = Skt. pragrāhītavya, fol. 9aⅠ; paranirvānā = Skt. parinirvāpayitavya, fol. 10aⅡ; biyasaṃjāmnā = Skt. pragrāhītavya, fol. 31bⅠ; mahāyāmnā = Skt. sthātavya, fol. 7aⅠ; viśānā = Skt. pratipattavya, fol. 8bⅤ; hvaṇī = Skt. vaktavya, fol. 10bⅠ. To the last-mentioned verb belong the 3rd sg. past, hve = Skt. avocat or āha, fols. 5bⅣ, 31bⅠ, the 1st sg. fut., hvaṇī = Skt. bhāṣisye, fol. 8bⅡ, and the part. past, hvane-hvani = Skt. ukte, fol. 7aⅡ. Forms of the participle, or of the
imperfect, in tā (ta) or dā, seem to be nastā = Skt. niṣāṇṇa or nyāṣidat, fols. 5a₄, b₁; paryeta = Skt. pratikrānta, fol. 4b₁; āstā = Skt. viharan (āsan), fol. 5bᵣ; vātsuta = Skt. ecaran, walking, fol. 4b₁; namasyādā = Skt. abhivandya (lit. namaskṛtya); tsuamādā = Skt. upasāmkraman or upasāmkramya, fol. 5a₁, iii.

9. Regarding pronouns, we have the personal, 1st nom. sg., mā = Skt. aham, fol. 8bᵢii; acc. sg., mhu = Skt. mām, fol. 33aᵢi; instr. sg., māmā, fol. 3bᵢii, or mhujsa, fol. 10aᵢ = Skt. mayā. Again, the demonstrative, nom. sg. masc., sa or śi = Skr. saḥ, fol. 10b₁, or sa, fol. 10aᵢv, and neut., nta = Skt. tat, or etat, fols. 31aᵢii, bᵢi; instr. sg., ntye, fol. 5aᵢv, or ntile, fol. 8bᵢii = Skt. tena; gen. sg., śi-hārā (= Skt. tasya), fol. 7aᵢii; loc. sg. fem., ntiṇa, Skt. tasyām, fol. 5aᵢv, and Ap., fol. 7bᵢii; nom. pl. masc., nti = Skt. te, fol. 10a₁. Again, the relative, nom. sg. masc., cu = Skt. yah, fols. 32aᵢv, bᵢi; instr. sg., kāmma = Skt. yena, fol. 5a₁; gen. sg., ci (perhaps wrong for ci-hārā) = Skt. yasya, fol. 10bᵢi, and quantitatively, nom. pl. masc., cu-burā = Skt. yāvantah, fol. 9aᵢv. Again, the interrogative, gen. sg., ci-hārā = Skt. kasya, fol. 10aᵢv, or adverbially, kuva (kvā ?) = Skt. katham, fol. 6bᵢii. Again, the indefinite, nom. sg. masc., kāmuja = Skt. kacit, fol. 10aᵢii, or quantitatively, ku-burā = Skt. yāvan kacit, fol. 9bᵢv. That both the relative and interrogative pronouns equally show forms with initial c and k appears noteworthy.

10. Of numerals we have śau = Skt. eka, one, fols. 4aᵢi, 5aᵢii, bᵢi; loc. sg., se or śina = Skt. ekasmin; and dvāsipamjsā, fol. 4a₁, which corresponds to Skt. ardha-trayodāśabhiḥ, “with half-thirteen,” but which literally seems to mean “with twelve and half” (Skt. dvādaśa-ardhaiḥ).¹

11. The word baysā has hitherto been transcribed as balsā by myself, as well as by Dr. Sten Konow in a dissertation

¹ See my “Report” in JASB., lxx, Extra No. 1, pp. 34 ff. In Document 5, l. 4, p. 38, occurs trai-se pav-saya, i.e. three hundred (and) half-hundred (350); also l. 5, śau, one; and in Document 8, l. 3, pav-hāro, half-thousand (500). In the list on p. 34, “500” should be “50.”
and transcript of some manuscript fragments in the "unknown language" supplied to me by him in 1906 (see JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 92, foot-note), and as balysä by Professor Leumann (see ibid., p. 107). The fact is that the word is written in two different ways in different texts. In the two texts of the Vajracchedikā and Aparimitāyūḥ Sūtra its first syllable ba is written with the semicircular mark under it, and its second syllable ysā is written with exactly the same conjunct sign as ysa in the word ṇavuysaina. On the other hand, in other texts its first syllable is written ba, without the subscribed semicircle, and its second syllable is written with a conjunct sign which suggests the presence of some l-consonant, and which has been variously read as lsā or lysā. These two signs, lsā (lysa) and ysa, may be seen, in juxtaposition, in the second line of the obv. fol. 8 (D. iii, 1) in plate cx of Dr. Stein’s Ancient Khotan, vol. ii, in the phrase māstābalysā ṇavūyśai, as transcribed by Professor Leumann (see JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 107). Exactly the same phrase occurs in our Vajracchedikā text, fol. 31b2, l. 2 in the accompanying Plate, māstābaysum ṇavuysaina, as transcribed by me in the second extract; but here the identical conjunct sign ys is found in both words baysum and ṇavuysaina. This state of things seems to suggest some connexion between the semicircular mark and the l-sound. Might the mark not signify the cerebral consonant l when it occurs as the second, or lower, part of a conjunct consonant, so that we should have to read the word in question as bḷaysā? The existence, in these "unknown languages" of Eastern Turkestan, of the cerebral l, as a consonant, was first discovered by Professor Leumann; see his paper, “Ueber eine von den Unbekannten Literatur- sprachen Mittelasiens,” in the Transactions of the Russian Imperial Academy, vol. iv, No. 8 (1900), p. 10. Its form, as non-conjunct, may be seen very clearly, e.g., in suksmeļ (formerly read by me wrongly suksmeu), fig. 5, line 2, of
plate iii in my "Report on the Weber MSS." in the JASB., vol. lxii, p. 36, 1893. It resembles closely enough the form of the semicircular mark. Indeed, if it were not for the fact that the mark is occasionally found with syllables containing the vowel i, it might be suggested that it simply indicates the cerebral l as a vowel.

12. As regards the word gyastā, its correspondence to the Skt. deva was first pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow, in the dissertation above referred to, from its occurrence in the standing phrase gyasta-nāga-aysura, etc. = Skt. deva-nāga-asura, etc. But though thus its positional parity is assured, it is not necessarily so with its connotational equivalence. In that respect gyastā might still be = Skt. bhagavat, the well-known Indian epithet of the Divine being. Similarly, it remains to discover the connotational equivalent of āṣiri, which takes the place of both Skt. bhikṣu and āyuṣmat.

13. So far as I can judge at present, the language seems, in the main, to be identical with the language of the "Brāhmi Documents", published by me, in 1902, in my "Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia", in the JASB., Extra No. 1 to vol. lxx, pp. 30 ff. For example, both have hadā, day, hāmā, he is, hāṃṭsa, with, paṃ, half (see foot-note to No. 10), pharāka, many, śi, that, u, and, ciburā, as many, beda, time. On this point I am now disposed to agree with Drs. Sieg and Siegling (see their paper "Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen," in Sitz. Ber., K. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss., xxxix, pp. 915 ff., 1908), and Professor Leumann, who has fully gone into the question in his paper on the "Arische Textsprache" (JGOS., vol. lxii, pp. 83–110, 1908). To the latter scholar, who has been working for some time with great acuteness and success, notwithstanding the absence, hitherto, of any bilingual text, on fragments of "unknown language" texts from my own collection as well as from that of Dr. Stein’s first tour of exploration (1900–1), we may look for the
elucidation of those phrases and passages which, even with the now available Sanskrit version, remain obscure or unintelligible. In my "Report", p. 33, I connected the language with "the so-called Ghalchah dialects of the Pamir". As a fact, the people who spoke it appear to have lived (speaking roughly) in the south of Eastern Turkestan, while the people living in the north spoke the other "unknown language", which Drs. Sieg and Siegling, following herein Dr. F. W. K. Müller (Sitz. Ber. P. Ak. W., liii, p. 960, 1907), call Tokhari ("Tocharisch," l.c., p. 916). The character, common to it and the Ghalchah dialects, appears to be that, while being Indo-European, there is no direct affinity with either the Iranian or the Indo-Aryan class of languages.
MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE LAST WORDS OF ASOKA

I have been, after Professor Bühler, the most strenuous upholder of the view that the number 256 in the final clause of the inscription which we have in various versions at Rûpnâth, Sahasrâm, Brahmagiri, and other places,\(^1\) denotes years: and I have maintained, with him, that the context marks them as the years elapsed from the death of Buddha to the time when Aśoka made the pronouncement which was published in this record. It would, then, be only proper, in the event of its ever being proved that that view is in any way wrong, that I should be one of the first to admit the fact. And it is with pleasure that I compliment Dr. F. W. Thomas on having settled otherwise, in his article “Les Vivâsâh d’Aśoka” published in the *Journal Asiatique*, May–June, 1910, pp. 507–22, the real literal meaning of a passage which has been a subject of so much dispute for more than thirty years.\(^2\) He has shown, from the Sahasrâm text, that the passage in question does not mention the death of Buddha, and that it speaks, not of years, but of “256 nights”, *duve sapamnā-lāti-satā*, i.e., as he has told us, *dvē shatpanchāśe rātri-satē*, during which Aśoka was away from his home. To this explanation I gladly subscribe. And, while we might imagine circumstances in which the meaning would be 256 nights and only nights, still, with Dr. Thomas, I cannot doubt that what was really intended here is “256 nights and days”:

\(^1\) Among the Mysore texts, the important one is that on the Brahmagiri hill; not that at ‘Siddapur’, i.e. Siddāpura, which has suffered much damage.

\(^2\) As regards an appearance of delay on my part, I may say that I first heard of Dr. Thomas’ article on the 3rd September, and saw it a few days later.
as he has said, in the determination of absence from home ‘it is the night that counts.’

Dr. Thomas' case, however, has not stopped there. On that basis, coupled with the point that in a passage near the beginning of the same record mention is made, not of a period of 'six years and somewhat more,' but of 'one year and somewhat more,' he has adopted the view that the record is one of the earliest (instead of being, as I have claimed, the very latest) of the pronouncements of Aśoka. And he has ended his article by saying:—'It is almost superfluous to remark that all the chronological constructions which have been founded on the supposition that the number 256 contains the indication of a date are without substance and without support.'

Now, on the two points together, Dr. Thomas' results do upset three of the details in the chronology from B.C. 235 onwards, the 30th year after the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty, which I laid out in this Journal, 1909. 28: I no longer hold that it was in the 30th year that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism, and that it was in the 33rd year that he formally joined the Buddhist Saṅgha, and that the pronouncement in which we are interested was made by him after spending about a year in religious retirement. But they do not affect in any way the rest of my chronology, which is based on the distinct statements of the Dipavaṃsa, more accredited now than ever, that Aśoka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha and reigned for 37 years. And, while I am now inclined to think, subject to full consideration, that the opening clauses of our record, which refer to the time at which Aśoka became a Buddhist, may allude, and can be translated so as to allude, to an event which occurred at an early period in his career, it is still certain that the record itself does not belong to that period.

My case still is (and I hope to make the soundness of it clear now to everyone) that, after his reign of
thirty-seven years, Aśoka abdicated, and went to spend his remaining days in religious retirement on the hill Suvarṇagiri (Sōnagiri in the Paṭnā District, Behār); and that this record contains his latest pronouncement, his last formal statement if not actually his dying words,—uttered there in his retreat 256 years after the death of Buddha, and reduced to writing and published by the high officers of the province which included the hill,—in which he applied himself to expanding the topic of the last words of Buddha: "Work out your salvation by diligence!" And I will develop my case as follows:—

The 256 days during which Aśoka was away from his home cannot be taken as the sum of detached absences of a day, a few days, or more, at a time: they can only denote a continuous absence of that duration. And I think that I am right in saying that Dr. Thomas himself, whose article now under consideration contains his second treatment of this detail, has still, as on the first occasion, viewed this point in this light; his position being that Aśoka issued this proclamation while he was on a religious tour, as opposed to the hunting-expeditions of his predecessors.

That Aśoka was away from his home for these 256 days is stated in the record by derivatives from the verb vivas, which has been defined by Dr. Thomas, from instances of its use adduced by him, as meaning 'to go away from one's home, to live or dwell somewhere else or apart, to live a retired life or in solitude', but has been applied by

1 For my identification of this hill, and regarding its position, see this Journal, 1909. 998. We can perhaps point to the actual abode, subsequently appropriated by the Jains as a cave-temple, in which Aśoka ended his days; see this Journal, 1908. 498.

2 See this Journal, 1909. 1015 f.

3 I use the word 'day' in its customary sense of the civil day, the entire day composed of the daytime and the night.

4 S'en aller de chez soi, loc. cit., p. 516, line 16: vivre autre part, ibid., line 4 from the bottom: vivre dans l'isolement, ibid., last line: demeurer autre part, p. 517, line 14.
him in this case as meaning 'to be travelling, to make a tour'.

But, even if we should grant that anything in the shape of a royal tour could be continued in India for so long a time as eight and a half months (which is practically impossible), is it the case that the verb vivas could have the meaning in which he has applied it? I think not. The instances adduced by Dr. Thomas to illustrate its actual use distinctly involve the idea, not of moving from place to place, but, in amplification of the meaning of the simple verb vas, 'to dwell', of dwelling away from home at a particular place or in a certain condition. They connote no idea of motion at all; except, of course, in so far as that, in order to dwell away from home, a man must first go away from home. And it is only in contravention of the rule which he has laid down that Dr. Thomas has "taken" for vivas, though he has not "found" it, the meaning 'to travel, to go on tour'. I reject that meaning, and claim that the derivatives from vivas used in this record show that Aśoka had been dwelling away from home for 256 days always, after the journey by which he reached it, in some particular place.

The record does not tell us, in so many words, where Aśoka was residing during these 256 days. But the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura texts have a preamble which introduces Aśoka's address in these terms:—"From Suvannagiri, in the name of the Prince and the High Ministers, the High Ministers at Isila are to be asked whether they are in good health, and are to be thus

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1 Étre en voyage ; s'en aller faire un tour ; p. 518, lines 1, 2.

2 See this Journal, 1908. 819. A continuous period of eight and a half months must include either the hot weather or the rains, or parts of both of them.

3 Loc. cit., p. 515:—'In the present state of our Sanskrit and Pali studies, it seems no longer sufficient to "take" a word in such or such a meaning: what is wanted is to find them used in those meanings.'

4 On the expression vachanena, 'by a speech of, by the words of, in the name of (so-and-so)'; see, fully, this Journal, 1909. 996.
informed: 'Dēvānāmipiya issues an injunction.' This preamble shows, as Dr. Thomas has observed, that Aśoka's pronouncement, contained in this record, was not published from his capital (Pātaliputra, Paṭnā). It shows that it was sent out from the hill Suvarṇagiri. And this indicates, with sufficient clearness, that that is where Aśoka was in residence when he made the pronouncement, and had been residing up to that time. The preamble further shows that the record was framed, as well as published, by the high officers of the province which included Suvarṇagiri. And they or their secretary added the final clause, which says in the Sahāsrām text:—"And this address (was composed or delivered) by him (Dēvānāmipiya) dwelling apart two hundred and fifty-six nights after going apart: (in figures) 200 (and) 50 (and) 6."

Also, the record does not tell us, in so many words, what Aśoka had been doing during his residence of 256 days at the hill Suvarṇagiri. Nor, while it represents him as issuing an injunction to other people that they, likewise, should dwell apart anywhere within the limits of their districts, does it explain to them, in so many words, how they, too, were to occupy themselves in such a life. Something has plainly to be supplied, to supplement the use of vivas here. The Buddhist books, however (and it is always to be borne in mind that this is a Buddhist record), give ample information as to what was to be done by people who, as they put it, had passed from the house-life into the houseless state and were dwelling apart in that state. And, supplying from those

2 The Rūpāṇīth text has kāte, 'made': the Brahmagiri text has sādāpīṭhe, 'caused to be heard'. The Sahāsrām text omits one or the other of these words.
3 The question whether this clause was uttered by Aśoka or was added by the officials, is not of any vital importance. But the absence here and in the other texts of the word mayā, 'by me', points strongly in the direction that the clause is not a part of Aśoka's address.
sources a term which is found used with *vivas* in one of the first instances adduced by Dr. Thomas, I venture to claim that the verb, as employed in any such record as this one, was understood at once, even without having any specific term attached to it, as meaning that the persons in connexion with whom it was used either were to adopt, or had already adopted, the condition of *brahma-charya*, dwelling away from home and engaged solely in the observance of a religious life.\(^1\)

So far, then, we have arrived at the point that Asoka, when he made the pronouncement published in this record, had been residing for 256 days at the hill Suvarnagiri, engaged solely in leading a religious life. But what ancient Indian king could adopt such a course as that, and either keep or recover his sovereignty? Alongside of all this, however, we have the well-established fact, that it was a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian rulers to end their careers by abdicating and withdrawing

\(^1\) We are perhaps accustomed to associate the idea of *brahma-charya* specially with Brāhmaṇ boys or youths, living in the house of a religious teacher, studying the scriptures, and observing chastity. But the Buddhists recognized a *brahma-charya*, practised in solitude, of adult members of their order. The term is found freely in at any rate the Suttanipāta, where Professor Fausboll has translated it sometimes by "juvenile chastity", sometimes by " chastity, a chaste life", but usually by "a religious life". And for a very clear definition of the sense in which it was used by the Buddhists, showing exactly what it connoted to them, I may cite a passage at the end (text, p. 15) of another division of the same work, the Kasibharadvājasutta, quoting the words of Professor Fausboll’s translation in SBE, 10. 14 f.:—“Then the Brāhmaṇa Kasibhāradvāja [a new convert just made by Buddha] received the pabbajjā from Bhagavat, and he received also the upasampadā; and the venerable Bhāradvāja having lately received the upasampadā, leading a solitary, retired, strenuous, ardent, energetic life, lived after having in a short time in this existence by his own understanding ascertained and possessed himself of that highest perfection of a religious life [*brahmachariya-pariyōsīnu*] for the sake of which men of good family rightly wander away from their houses to a houseless state. ‘Birth had been destroyed, a religious life had been led [*vussati brahmachariya*], what was to be done had been done, there was nothing else (to be done) for this existence,’ so he perceived, and the venerable Bhāradvāja became one of the arahats (saints).”
to spend their remaining days in religious retirement: see, for instance, this Journal, 1909. 983 f., where I have cited the historical case of the great Western Gāṅga prince Nālambāntaka-Mārasimha, and the traditional literary instance of Milinda, Menander. And we have also the indication which is given by the existence of the preamble to the Mysore texts of our record. As I have said before now, why do we find this preamble attached to those texts, and not to the texts which we have from Northern India?: and why does it run in the name, not of Aśoka, but of the officials at Suvarṇagiri? Because, in communicating the pronouncement to a foreign power, a formality had to be observed which was not necessary in publishing it in the Maurya territory; and because Aśoka was not the reigning king at the time. In all the circumstances, it is surely clear that Aśoka ended his career by abdicating and passing into religious retirement, and that he was in seclusion, if not already dead, when this address was published.

Finally:—Why was Aśoka's address delivered on a particular night, the 256th?: The answer is plain. He was anointed to the sovereignty about seven months after the end of the year 218 after the death of Buddha. He reigned for 37 years. That takes us on to about seven months after the end of the year 255. Then, apparently having installed and anointed his grandson Daśaratha in his place, he abdicated and passed into religious retirement. And the 256 days during which he lived in

1 For another literary instance, that of the kings of Allakappa and Vēṭhadipa, see Buddhaghōśa in the place mentioned by me in this Journal, 1906. 899, note 2. So also Bhaddiya, a king of the Sakyas in the time of Buddha, renounced the world: Vinayapiṭaka, Chullavagga, 7. 1. 3, 4. From Jain literature we may note the statements about Śaṅjaya and various other rulers: SBE, 45. 85-7. The literary instances are, no doubt, in many cases imaginative: but they help to prove the prevalence of the custom.

2 See my table in this Journal, 1909. 27.

3 See this Journal, 1908. 485, 497.
retirement carry us well on to after the end of the year 256. The agreement in the figures is no accidental coincidence. It is one the possibility of which was foreseen from not long before the time when it might happen, but which could only occur in a certain happy contingency. And we can well realize the eagerness and anxiety with which the event was awaited as the days passed, the time for it drew nigh, and the prospect of its happening increased. The address was delivered by the royal recluse to members of the Order gathered round him in quiet on the 256th night of his withdrawal from the world, because, by living through that night, he was completing in his retirement one day for each complete year that had elapsed since the death of the founder of the faith the permanence of which he sought to ensure.

In short, so far from the position being that the number 256 does not contain even the indication of a date, it expressly dates the record in a most interesting and ingenious manner. My point still stands: practically, though not in actual words, the record is dated 256 years after the death of Buddha. And my case, stated on pp. 1302–3 above, is made good.

J. F. Fleet.

A Third Note on the Rupnath Edict

The *Journal Asiatique* for May–June, 1910, contains an article by Dr. Thomas, on the date portion of the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts of Asoka (pp. 507–22), which solves in a very ingenious and convincing manner the much-debated question of the enigmatical number "256". None of the scholars who hitherto dealt with this problem had recognized, as Dr. Thomas has done now, that the key is supplied by the Sahasrām text. In the expression
duve sapamnālātīsātā used there, he has detected the word lāti = Sanskrit rātri, ‘a night’. He has thus established the point that the Rūpnāth and similar edicts are dated 256 nights—or, which comes practically to the same thing, 256 days—after an event in Aśoka’s own career.

There are two minor points in which I am tempted to differ from Dr. Thomas. If the words vivāsā and vivuthā at the end of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām texts, respectively, are taken as nominatives plural, the word lāti would be redundant and tautological, and it seems preferable to explain them as ablatives singular, and to translate: “after leaving home,” and “after (the king) had left home”. Secondly, the verb pakamati and its derivatives cannot have in the Rūpnāth edict the sense of ‘travelling’. This can be proved by reductio ad absurdum; for, in that case, line 2 f. would mean: “Even a lowly person may attain heaven in travelling.” We must therefore follow Dr. Fleet (this Journal, 1909, p. 993), and consider pakamati as a synonym of the palakamati, ‘to exert oneself, to be zealous’, which was used as its equivalent in the Sahasrām text.

There are a few details in the Rūpnāth text which deserve to be noted in passing. At the end of l. 2 Senart and Bühler have added the two syllables hi ka: I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription. Dr. Fleet (loc. cit., p. 1001 f.) justly cautions editors of inscriptions against making unnecessary corrections. Still, instead of admitting the occurrence of a very unusual verbal derivative, I would rather correct lākhāpetavyaya (l. 5) into lekhāpetaviye, which is required by the context, and assume that the horizontal line of lā is misplaced, and that the i of vi is omitted. The Rūpnāth text certainly exhibits two other mistakes of the first kind, viz. pākā for hakamī, l. 1, and ārodeve for ārādhe[tā*]ve, l. 3, and three of the second,
viz., vayajana for viyangjana, l. 5, and hadha for hidha and vadhisata for vadhisiti, l. 4. Similarly, instead of vivāsetavāya, as Dr. Fleet’s transcript reads (p. 1014), the engraver probably wanted to write vivāsetaviye; compare pi (l. 3) and the first sila (l. 5), which look exactly like pā and sālā respectively.

I subjoin a revised translation of the Rûpnath text, with the hope that no serious modifications of it may be found necessary in the future.

**Translation**

Devānampiya speaks thus—

"Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am a disciple (śrāvaka); but I was not very zealous [the Mysore texts add for one year]. But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have joined the Order (Saṁgha) and have been very zealous. Those [the Mysore texts insert men] who at that time were (considered by me) the true gods of Jambudvipa, are now considered false (by me). For this is the fruit of zeal. And this is not to be reached by (persons of) high rank [the other texts add alone]. Even a lowly person may attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following object (this) address (śrāvana) is composed, (viz.) that both the lowly and the exalted shall be zealous. And let even (my) neighbours know (it). Why this same zeal? In order that (this address) shall be

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1 Instead of sa[va][k(e)] the other texts have upāsake, ‘a lay-worshipper’.
2 See my Second Note, above, p. 145 f.
3 Viz., as shown by M. Senart, the “terrestrial gods” (bhūdēva) or Brāhmaṇas.
4 According to the thirteenth rock-edict these neighbours (antā) would be the Seleucidan king of Syria and other Greek kings in the west, and the Chōjas and Pāṇiyas in the south. In connexion with this I may note that the word Tamhāraputri in the second and thirteenth rock-edicts seems to refer to the river Tāmraparnī in the Tinnevelly District, and not to Ceylon: compare Mr. V. A. Smith, ZDMG., vol. 63, p. 211.
of long duration. For this matter\(^1\) will grow and grow, and will grow considerably; it will grow to at least one and a half. And this matter is to be caused to be engraved\(^2\) on rocks. It is to be caused to be engraved on stone pillars (wherever) there is a stone pillar, elsewhere and here. And with this document (?)\(^3\) (you) have to go abroad\(^4\) everywhere, as far as your district (extends)."

(This) address was composed by (the king) away from home, 256 [the Sahasrām text inserts nights]\(^5\) after leaving home.

E. HULTZSCH.

VASISKA, THE KUSANA

An inscription recently discovered at Īsāpur opposite Mathurā has established a new fact in the Scythian period of Indian history. It proves that Kaniska, the great ruler of the Kuṣana house, was not immediately succeeded by Huviška, but that between these two kings there reigned a sovereign of the name of Vāsiṣṭka.

The discovery of this important inscription is due to Pandit Radha Krishna of Mathurā, who in the course of the last three years has done so much to enrich the local museum to which he is attached in an honorary capacity. The place Īsāpur, where the new record has come to light, is situated on the left bank of the river Jamnā opposite the Viśrānt Ghāṭ of Mathurā City. It was named after Mirzā Īsā Tarkhān, Governor of Mathurā in the beginning of Shāh-Jahān’s reign. The

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\(^1\) i.e. the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka’s address.
\(^2\) Read perhaps lekha-peta\(ve^*\) with Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 22, p. 305.
\(^3\) For *vyājana* see Dr. Thomas, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 22.
\(^4\) Dr. Vogel (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 171) has shown that *vivāseti* has the meaning of the simple verb, while the causative is *vivāsāpeti*.
\(^5\) On the (redundant) word sata see Dr. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 521.
alternative appellation of Hans Gañj, by which the village is usually indicated, is of still more modern origin, for, according to Mr. Growse, it received this name from Hansiyā, a Rāni of Sūraj Mall of Bharatpur: the latter died at Delhi in 1746. “The village,” Mr. Growse says, “is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin; though it comprises some spacious walled gardens crowded with magnificent trees.” The same author notes in this locality a high mound of artificial formation known as the Duvāsā Tilā, with some modern buildings on its summit, enclosed within a bastioned wall, part of which has been restored. “A small nude statue of a female figure was found here, and there are also the remains of a bauli constructed of large blocks of red sandstone fitted together without cement and therefore probably of early date.”¹

The inscription is cut on a pillar, apparently of red sandstone, which, according to the record, has served the purpose of a sacrificial post (Skt. yāpa). Pandit Radha Krishna informs me that it measures 19' 7" in height, 1' 2" in width, and 1' in thickness. The lower portion is square in section up to a height of 8' 7", where the inscription is found, whilst the upper part is octagonal. It is decorated with what appears to be a festoon. The pillar is slightly broken at both ends, but is for the rest well preserved.

The latter is also the case with the inscription, which consists of seven lines of writing. At the ends of these lines a few letters are damaged or lost, apparently not more than one in each case. Otherwise its preservation leaves little to be desired. The aksaras measure from \( \frac{3}{8} \) to 1½ inch. Apart from its historical importance noted above, the epigraph is interesting in that it is Brahmancial and composed in Sanskrit.

Transcript
1 Siddhāṁ || Mahārājasya rā[ā*]jātirājasya deva[pu-]
2 trasya Shāher = Vāsiśkasya rājya-samvatsare [ca-]
3 turvimśe XX IV gr[i]smā-māse caturtthe IV diva[se]
4 trinhśe XXX asyāṁ pūrvvāyāṁ Rudrila-puttreṇa
   Drona-
5 lena brāhmaṇena Bhāradvāja-sagottreṇa mā-
6 na(?)cchandogena iṣṭvā sattreṇa dvādaśaṁ[ā]ttreṇa
7 yūpāh pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ Priyantām-agnaya[h ||]

Translation
"Success! In the reign of the King, the King of kings, His Majesty, Shāhi Vāsiśka, in the twenty-fourth (24th) year, in the fourth (4th) month of summer, on the thirtieth (30th) day,—on this date Drona, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇ belonging to the gotra of Bharadvāja and a . . . . chanter of holy hymns, while performing a sacrifice in a [solemn] session of twelve days (lit. nights), has set up this sacrificial post. May the [three] fires be propitious."

It will be seen that the date of the inscription, expressed both in words and figures, is the year 24. The latest known record dated in the reign of Kaniska is found on the sculptured slab in the British Museum edited by Professor Lüders: it bears the year 10. I am aware that the Manikyāḷa inscription of the year 18 contains the name of Kaniska, but if we adopt the latest reading of this difficult document by Professor Lüders, it would not bear out that it belongs to the reign of that king.

1 The transcript is mainly the work of Pandit Daya Ram Sahai, Assistant Superintendent Archaeological Survey.
2 Possibly an aksara is lost after mā.
4 JRAS, 1909, p. 645 ff.
The earliest certain record of Huviśka is inscribed on a Buddhist image from the Chaubārā Mound near Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, and is dated in the year 33.

We are now in a position to say with certainty that in the year 24 there reigned a king of the name of Vāsiśka, whose authority was acknowledged at Mathurā and perhaps at Sāñchi also. For I feel inclined to read the name Vāsiśka also in the Sāñchi inscription edited by Bühler, and to adopt Dr. Fleet’s first reading of its date as the year 28.\(^1\) If these readings are correct, we should be justified in restoring the name Vāsiśka also in the fragmentary Mathurā inscription from the Jamālpur (or Jail) Mound, now in the Mathurā Museum, dated in the year 28, in which only the last two syllables of the king’s name (in the genitive case) have been preserved as skasya. On the fragment the lower portion of the preceding aksara is still extant, and led Professor Lüders to restore the word as Huskasya. But in the published facsimile it can be seen that the preserved portion of the aksara in question may quite well have belonged to an s, so that we are allowed to restore the word as Vāsiśkasya.

The two doubtful inscriptions of the year 29 I must leave out of discussion. Likewise I do not attempt to explain the difficulty offered by the Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Ara, which is dated in the year 41 and in the reign of one Kaniśka, the son of Vasīspa.\(^2\) We may confidently hope that further epigraphical discoveries at Mathurā will enable us to settle other problems connected with the dark period of Indian history—that of the Kuśana kings.

J. Ph. Vogel.

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 369, plate; and JRAS, 1905, p. 357 f.
2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 58 f., plate i.
REMARKS ON DR. VOGEL'S NOTE

The detail now established is not exactly a "new fact". I pointed out in this Journal, 1903. 325 ff., that between Kanishka and Huvishka there was a king, unrecognized up to that time, whose name was Vāsashka, Vāsishka, or Vāseshka. But I could not actually prove the point: because (1) in the Śānchi inscription, which gives a date for him in the year 28, the first numerical symbol is not very clear in the published lithograph, and no ink-impression or estampage was available for giving a better reproduction; and (2) in the Mathurā inscription from the Jamālpur or Jail Mound, which gives a second date in the same year, the essential part of the king's name is illegible, except that, if anything in the way of a 'straight-edge' is laid so as to cover the upper part of the record down to almost the lower line of writing, the lower part of an s is distinctly recognizable before the shkasya. To Pandit Radha Krishna is due the credit of furnishing the desiderated proof by discovering this new inscription,—unmistakably a record of the Kanishka series,—which gives the king's name as Vāsishka, with a date for him in the year 24 (b.c. 34–33), which is happily stated in words as well as in numerical symbols.

A remark may be made about the manner in which the year is stated. According to literal translation the record says "in the twenty-fourth, 20 (and) 4, year-of-reign of Vāsishka". This, however, does not mean that Vāsishka had been reigning for 24 years: it means "in the reign of Vāsishka, and in the year 24 of the era (which was used)". Compare, for instance, in another inscription at

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1 There was a doubt regarding the vowel of the second syllable.
2 In addition to Dr. Vogel's remarks, I have before me an ink-impression of the record, which he kindly sent, made (I think) by Pandit Radha Krishna.
3 With the Kārttikādi expired year, the details, falling in the hot season, place the record in b.c. 33.
Mathurā: ¹— Huvishkasya rajya-saṁ ² 50; "in the year-of-reign 50 of Huvishka". Compare, still more pointedly, in the inscription at Bilsaḍ: ³— Kumāraguptasya abhi-vardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē shan-ṇavatē; "in the 96th augmenting-victory-and-reign-year of Kumāragupta". This somewhat slack method of stating dates was quite habitual. I have given a comment on it in my Gupta Inscriptions, p. 38, note 5, and have there observed that the text might always be set right if we should alter rājya-saṁvatsarē into rājyē saṁvatsarē. The phrase may have had its origin in an erroneous but easily intelligible substitution of rājya for rājyē: or it may be due to a thoughtless carrying on of the expression rājya-saṁvatsarē used, properly enough, in the case of that king whose regnal years were the opening years of any particular era; e.g., in another Mathurā inscription: ⁴— Kanishkasya rājya-saṁvatsarē navamē.

A particularly interesting feature in this inscription is that its language is entirely Sanskrit, instead of being the mixed dialect which is so familiar to us from the other records of the Kushan kings, and that it gives the earliest known instance of an epigraphic record written wholly in Sanskrit. The reason is found in the point that the record is Brahmanical, not Buddhist or Jain.

In his allusions to the Mānikiāla and Ara inscriptions, Dr. Vogel seems to foreshadow some observations that I shall make when I am able to finish a long-contemplated note on the relative order of Kanishka and the Kadphises kings.

¹ Lüders, List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, Ep. Ind., vol. 10, appendix, No. 51.
² For rājya-saṁ, = rājya-saṁvatsarē. I follow Professor Lüders in reading saṁ, on the assumption that he has an impression or estampage which shows it: but the published lithograph gives sa; and an omission of the anuṇāra would be quite natural.
³ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 43, line 6.
⁴ Lüders, List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, No. 22.
It was decided, by a constant opponent of my results, that there could not be a king Vāsishka (unless he should be placed after Huvishka and be identified with Vāsudēva), because "it is inconceivable either that he should not have struck coins, or that coins struck by him should not have been found and recognized." That decision is disposed of by this newly-discovered inscription. For the rest, it may be the case that, for some reason not yet apparent, Vāsishka did not issue any coins. But we may at least consider now, in earnest, whether his coins cannot be traced. As I have said on a previous occasion, I suspect that some of them may be found in coins, at present attributed to Huvishka, showing more or less illegible or imperfect legends in which a cursive lunar sigma, standing next before the ēta, has been misread as omikron.

J. F. Fleet.

PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF ITI

The discussion of iti as possibly having the sense "et cetera" must be considered as having been finally decided against Bühler by the investigations of Knauer and Böhtlingk. There remains, however, a point which seems to be hardly satisfactorily dealt with by Böhtlingk.

In his note in the Berichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften on the use of the particle in the Dharmasūtras, Böhtlingk lays down that in Baudhāyana, ii, 10, 17, 37, there must be read kamanḍaluh in place of the accusative in the sentence: yastayah śikaṁ jalapavitram kamanḍaluh pātram ity etat samādāya. He notes that Govindaśvāmin, the commentator, takes the word yastayah as accusative (dvitiyārthe prathama), but this fact he attributes to his

1 VOJ., i, 16.
3 ZDMG., xxxix, 484 ; xl, 145 ; xli, 516 seq.
4 1892, pp. 195-8.
ignorance of the rule that, where the pronoun is used, the words specified by the iti always stand in the nominative, despite the case of the pronoun.

Now the correction is an easy one, and one does not care to lay much stress on the change of an Anusvāra to Visarga. Yet it is just a little remarkable that the text should have kept kamandalum when yasyayah so strongly points to a nominative, and I do not think that Govindasvāmin's view that the words are all accusative is unnatural. Parallels to yasyayah are of course scattered throughout the literature from the Rgveda¹ down to the Epic,² and it is quite impossible to deny that yasyayah may be an accusative.

Most of the passages available no doubt show the nominative, obviously always possible, or are ambiguous, like Gautama, ix, 44, or Aitareya Āranyaka, v, 1, 3: sthūne rajjā vividha ity etat praksālya, where, however, the accusative would seem more natural. But pretty closely to the point is ibid., iii, 2, 1: tasyaitasya trayasyāsthnāṃ majjñāṃ parvanām iti, which is repeated in iii, 2, 2. Again, in the parallel passage, Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, viii, 2, the MSS. read only: tasyaitasyāsthnāṃ majjñāṃ parvanām iti, which gives a still closer parallel, if we do not insert, as I suggested in my version,³ the missing trayasya.

In view of this parallel and of the rule that iti can sum up other cases than the nominative⁴ (a new and good example is Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, ii, 1: prajayaiva tat paśubhiḥ presyair annādyeneti ātmānam upasṛjate), it seems to me pedantic to insist on the correction kamandalukh in Baudhāyana, l.c. I think the idea is merely due to the imperfect recognition extended by the lexicons and grammars to the use of iti as enumerating, when it quite

¹ Lanman, Noun Inflection in the Veda, pp. 385, 394, 410.
² Hopkins, Great Epic of India, p. 264, note; Michelson, JAOS., xxv, 105.
³ Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, p. 51, n. 6.
⁴ See e.g. Böhtlingk, Sāchs. Ber., 1892, p. 196; Chrestomathie⁷, p. 356; Delbrück, Synt. Forsch., v, 533.
naturally has the case of the sentence and not the nominative, though the use of iti in quotation helped the nominative to predominate. The addition of the pronoun can hardly be deemed a substantial ground for further distinction.

In this connexion I may imitate Böhtlingk by discussing the use of yathā and iti in such cases as Māitrīyānī Samhitā, ii, 2, 7: sā rtām abravid yathā sārvāvsv eva samāvad vāsānīti. Böhtlingk holds that in such cases the yathā is adverbial, and he therefore insists on omitting the accent on vāsānī. In the parallel passage, Taittirīya Samhitā, ii, 3, 5, 1, só 'bravid rtām amiśva yathā samāvacchā upaisyāmy átha te pūnar dāsyāmīti, he explains the accent as due to the fact that upaisyāmi in effect stands to dāsyāmi as protasis to apodosis. ¹ This may be correct, but surely it is simpler in the first case to think that we have, as Delbrück ² thought, a mixture of two constructions, the one dependent with yathā, the other with iti. Later, of course, such a use is clearly a mixture (e.g. Rāmāyana, ii, 59, 3: ásayā yadi mām Rāmaḥ punah sabdāpayed iti), and there is the natural objection that we would expect tāthā, not the relative. ³ There is also the analogy of the Greek usage, e.g. Xenophon, Anabasis, v, 4, 10: eβρον ὦτι ἵκανος ἑγιεῖ, which gives a precise parallel for the Taittirīya passage, and relieves us from the difficulties felt by Böhtlingk as to the omission of iti after upaisyāmi. His suggestion is that it was felt awkward to insert another iti before the end of the speech attributed to Prajāpati, but this explanation is not very cogent.

Moreover, in other cases the explanation of yathā as adverbial is still more unnatural. For example, in Aitareya Āranyaka, v, 3, 2, a passage of no great

¹ Delbrück (op. cit., v, 213, note) is uneasy as to this passage, and hints at emendation. In the Kāthaka Samhitā, xi, 3, there is no yathā.
² Ibid., p. 533.
³ Cf. a similar argument in Monro, Homeric Grammar, p. 239.
antiquity, occurring in a quasi-sūtra passage, there is: 
\[ \text{athaitam preñkhāṃ pratyāṇcam avabādhantī yathā} \]
\[ \text{sāṃsitāram bhāṣayisyantām nopahanisyasīti.} \]
One feels here that \text{nopahanisyati} \footnote{Cf. Delbrück, op. cit., p. 596, for fut. with yathā.} was natural, but it has been converted into the direct form. The only alternative is to assume that the actual words of the address to the swing are repeated, but there is no trace of the words as a Mantra in the Śāṅkhāyana texts; the form \text{(na with future)} would be strange, and in Bloomfield's \text{Vedic Concordance} no note is taken of such a Mantra. But there is, if possible, a more convincing case in the Maitrāyani Śamhitā, iv, 1, 9: \text{tē vāi devās tām nāvindaṃ yāśmin yajñāśya krūrāṃ mārṣyāmahā iti,} where no effort of imagination can transfer \text{yāśmin} into a demonstrative, and where the accentuation again shows the dependence of the verb. Such cases with relatives and real dependent clauses are not rare, cf. e.g. Aitareya Āranyaka, ii, 4, 2, \text{āyatanam naḥ praśāniḥ yāśmin pratiṣṭhitā annam adāmeti,} \footnote{Here the \text{iti} is that following the whole sentence.} and the use of a particle rather than a pronominal form makes no difference in principle.

At the same time it seems worth noting that there are traces of the development with \text{iti} into a dependent clause proper. There are only traces, for this construction was unluckily not destined to develop. These are Maitrāyani Śamhitā, ii, 1, 11: \text{āgneyām aśtākāpālam nirvaped yō rāstrē spārdheta yō vā kāmāyetānādāḥ syād iti,} where von Schroeder suggests \text{ṣyām iti,} and Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, viii, 11: \text{yō 'tra vicikītset sanakāram eva brūyād ēte nakāram iti,} where the parallel passage, Aitareya Āranyaka, iii, 2, 6, has \text{bravānī.} In the latter case I doubt if we can fairly alter the text. The former passage seems to have escaped Delbrück's notice; possibly
he regarded the correction as certain, and the lack of accent may possibly be considered to favour this view. On the other hand there are quasi-parallels in the use of the conditional as a past form of the future in oratio obliqua. We may compare also such a passage as Brhadāranyaka Upanisad, i, 4, 8: sa yo nyam ātmanah priyam bruvānam bruyāt priyam rotsyatitīsyaro ha tathaiva syāt, which Hopkins\(^1\) renders, probably correctly, as "he may be sure of it who says 'he will lose what is dear' to one who declares another than the self (to be) dear", for in such cases the second person is overwhelmingly more common; see e.g. Aitareya Āranyaka, iii, 1, 3; 4; Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, vii, 8–10.

A. Berriedale Keith.

**Archaisms in the Ramayana**

In his interesting and valuable paper on Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyana\(^2\) Dr. Michelson disputes the view of Böhtlingk and Jacobi, which has won general acceptance, that the Rāmāyana, like the Mahābhārata, contains no genuine archaisms.\(^3\) The subject is of importance, and worth a little consideration of the evidence in favour of his view adduced by Dr. Michelson.

The following, in his opinion, are true Vedic archaisms found in both Epics: (1) double Sandhi, very frequent in the Kashmere recension of the Atharvaveda and in the Kaṇṣīka Sūtra; (2) nom. pl. neut. of the a declension

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1. JAOS., xxviii, 404. If the sense is "says of one", the construction is regular, but the probabilities are strongly in favour of Hopkins' version. In some cases, however, "say of" is certain, e.g. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii, 4, 3, 8. Cf. also my Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka, p. xv.
2. JAOS., xxv, 89 sqq.
3. See e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm., i, p. xliii, n. 2; Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 310.

**JRAS. 1910.**
in ā which is found a few times in Mbh. and once or possibly twice in R.; (3) imperative in tāt, found once each in Mbh. and R.; (4) mā with augmented tenses; (5) sporadic absence of reduplication in the perfect; (6) perfect middle participle found once in R. and in Mbh. To these he adds a number of verbal forms found in Vedic but not in classical Sanskrit.

In discussing this list there is a certain difficulty in understanding precisely what Dr. Michelson means by a true Vedic archaism, but presumably by that phrase it is intended to denote that the use in question is an inheritance from the Vedic period, and stands in contrast with the normal usage of the Epic as old and obsolescent. This description—and the phrase has on any other theory of its significance very little, if any, meaning—will hardly suit, we think, any of the classes of facts to which it is applied by Dr. Michelson. (1) Double Sandhi is by no means merely Vedic. It grows in importance in the Vedic period, and is parallel with the increasing tendency in that period to avoid hiatus, and its frequent occurrence in all classes of literature save the strictly classical shows that it was (as might be expected) a popular—not an archaic—feature. It is significant that it is especially frequent with iti following, which reminds us of Pāli, and condemns the commentator’s view of ikāralopa as ārṣa. Similarly, in antardadhe ‘tmānam, R., vi, 73, 26, the simple explanation is not a reference to the Vedic tman, but a reference to the Pāli shortening of vowels before a double consonant, a tendency the effect of which may be illustrated from the Kathāsaritsaṅgara, in which, as Speijer has recently shown, Somadeva regularly omits the augment in verbs beginning with a and two consonants. Again, in sarasīva, R., vi, 97, 1, the commentator is not, I think, right in

1 Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., pp. 315 seq.
2 JAOS., xxv, 100.
3 Studies about the Kathāsaritsaṅgara, p. 90.
remarking that the Sandhi is Vedic, when we remember
the Pāli va.¹

(2) The acc. pl. neut. in ā would be an archaism of
a pronounced type, but it is excessively improbable that
the only case alleged by Dr. Michelson is a genuine
instance. It occurs in R., vi, 79, 26, kṛtapratikṛtān-
yonyam, and while the metre shows it is sound, for
the obvious variant kṛtaprakṛtāny anyonyam is an
improbable line, yet it is quite unnecessary either to
assume it as an archaism or as an attempt at the
avoidance of an unusual repetition of similar syllables,
as in irādhyai, RV., i, 134, 2. It is simply a piece of
grammatical absurdity for the sake of metre: the writer
had to get in anyonyam (cf. Pāda one of the verse,
viddham anyonyagātresu), and his regard for form was
no greater than that of the writer of iii, 47, 11, who
has varsāṇi ganyate for metrical effect, or the creator of
the future imperatives like gamisyadhvam or indicatives
like rakṣye or future desideratives like didhaksyāmi,
which I agree with Dr. Michelson in considering not at
all impossible in the Rāmāyana.² These are popular,
not archaic, forms, and it is very significant that the use
of the pl. neut. in ā in the Mbh. is confined to the phrase
bhuvanāni visvā found in the curious hymn to the
Aśvins (i, 3, 57) and also in the pseudo-Epic,³ not an
archaism in the true sense, but a mere appropriation of
a phrase from the sacred writings.⁴

(3) The imperative in tāt is no evidence either way.

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, p. 317. It is quite probable that in the Rgveda
such cases are real contractions (Oldenberg, ZDMG., lxi, 830 seq.), but
that does not affect the cause of their use in the Epic.
² JAOS., xxv, 142. On the other hand, s and sy are constantly
interchanged in MSS.; cf. my Aitareya Āranyaka, pp. 245, 246; JAOS.,
xxvii, 430.
³ xiii, 102, 55, and vii, 201, 77, cited in JAOS., xxv, 104, and see
Hopkins, JAOS., xvii, 25, note.
⁴ A similar "archaism" is the Mbh. Indrāviṣṇu, a mere repeated
phrase.
It occurs only once in either Epic, in the R. its use is only in a variant half-line, and in both cases it may be a precursor of the frequent use of ātē in later books. In both cases its use is optative, not imperative.\(^1\)

(4) The use of mā with augmented tenses is not early Vedic, the overwhelming use being with unaugmented tenses, but it is a sign of the confusion of augmented and unaugmented tenses which grew throughout the language, and which shows itself in the frequent use of augmented tenses with mā in Pāli, to which Dr. Michelson himself refers.\(^2\) This case therefore tells directly against the theory.

(5) Sporadic absence of reduplication in the perfect is no true archaism: it is merely the Epic carelessness of diction, all the more natural in that the most common perfect vid had no reduplication.

(6) The solitary \textit{saṃparipuptuvānam} of R., vi, 73, 3, with the possible \textit{didvisāna} of the Mbh., is too isolated to help any conclusion. Probably it is an incorrect reading.

As regards the verb lists, nothing need be said. Classical Sanskrit probably contains in its less explored works many, if not all, those cited as specially Epic, but even if not, there is nothing to mark the form cited as archaic. If druh is a common classical verb, can it seriously be argued that the occurrence of the aorist \textit{adruham} in the Epic is archaic? Or that sphaṭati is archaic?

Other "archaism" are referred to by Dr. Michelson as peculiar to one or other of the Epics, but they are still less important. The acc. pl. \textit{vṛṣṭyas} is merely a transfer to the \(i\) declension with the common irregular accusative, which is not by any means archaic; \textit{jayyāt} is a monstrosity found

\(^1\) For a possible meaning of the grammarian’s rule as to the use of \textit{tāt}, which is questioned by Whitney, \textit{Sanskrit Grammar}, p. 214, see my \textit{Aitareya Aranyakā}, p. 275.

\(^2\) \textit{JAOS.}, xxv, 125. I am quite at a loss to understand how this of all usages is treated as an archaism. It is a neoterism of the most pronounced description.
only in the late and badly preserved Jāminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa in Vedic times unless, indeed, we are to find it in Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka, xii, 11; the nom. pl. fem. of derivative ī stems in īs is merely the careless mixing of accusative and nominative which is characteristic of all save rigid classical Sanskrit, and is popular. Other instances are merely bad readings like prabhaviṣṇavo in R., vii, 5, 14, or ababhramat in R., i, 43, 9 (Bombay ed.). The latter absurdity is removed by the abibhramat of Peterson's ed. i, 44, 12, and no sane criticism can cling to ababhramat in the face of this fact. But even if we do cling to it, the explanation is not a unique pluperfect, but a piece of bad Sanskrit, and the Sanskrit of the Rāmāyana is, unhappily, at times pretty bad (e.g. kurmi, bibhyase, abhanat, dadmi, etc.).

Another archaism 2 is the use of the "improper subjunctive" in i, 9, 6, tasyaivaṃ vartamānasya kālaḥ samabhīvartata, where the commentator blandly says bhavisyati laṅ aḍabhāvaś cārṣaḥ. The comparison with the RV., i, 32, 1, prā vocam, is quite impossible. Either the use is a mere sign that the tenses were losing all definite sense (just as the moods 3 were being confused), or it is a false reading, and the texts of Schlegel, Gorresio, and Peterson have in point of fact at i, 8, 10, samabhīvartsyati, which points to samabhīvartate, a prophetic 4 present, which is, I think, almost certainly the correct reading 5.

1 Read bhavīṣṇavo with Böhtlingk.
2 JAOS., xxv, 123, 124.
3 e.g. optative for indicative, and vice versa. Cf. Hopkins, Great Epic of India, p. 264.
4 For this use of the present cf. Goodwin, Greek Moods and Tenses, p. 11; Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 278; Speyer, Vedishcbe uud Sanskrit Syntax, p. 51. There are many instructive variants in parallel passages in Vedic texts, cf. e.g. Atharvaveda, viii, 21, with Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka, xii, 12, and see Bloomfield, JAOS., xxix, 294, 295.
5 The ordinary unaugmented tenses used in a past sense are not specially Vedic. They occur throughout all but very correct Sanskrit, and are found in Pāli and Prākrit (Pischel, Prākrit Grammar, p. 360).
The commentator again finds a Vedic usage in v, 67, 13, where we have
\[ \text{sa tvam pradiptam cikṣepa durbham tam vayasam prati} \]
Professor Hopkins\(^1\) suggests here a Pāli parallel in babhāve, papace = babhūvas and papacas respectively. This is possible, but more probable perhaps is that for once sa exercises its 3rd person effect and takes a 3rd person, just as inversely bhavant now and then has a 2nd person. In any case, as Dr. Michelson recognizes, the use is in no sense Vedic.

A. Berriedale Keith.

A Note on Narayana-Parivrata

1. A work known as the Tirumudi-adaivu or Hierarchic Pedigree of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, South India, makes mention of a Śrīman Nārāyaṇa-Jiyyar. Leaving out the honorific Śrīman, and translating Jiyyar by the word parivrāṭ, we get Nārāyaṇa-Parivrāṭ.

2. From the same work a table may be constructed thus:—

(1) Nālūr Āccān Pillai

(2) Tirunārāyaṇa-purattu Āyi

(3) Maṇavāla-mā-muni \(a\) (1370 A.C.)

(4) Rāmānuja-Ayyan

(5) Jiyyar-Nayanār

(6) Keśavācārya

(7) Garudācārya

(8) Śrīnivāsācārya

(9) Ādi-van Śaṭhagopa Svāmin

(10) Nārāyaṇa-Parivrāṭ alias Śrīman Nārāyaṇa-Jiyyar.

Nārāyaṇa-Parivrāṭ may thus be assigned to the fifteenth century or thereabouts.

\(^1\) JAOS., xxv, 123. Cf. also bhaveḥ cited in Great Epic of India, p. 473.

\(^a\) See No. 39 in the Hierarchic Table in our Lives of Āzhvārs or the Drāvīḍa Saints, and No. 20 in the Succession List in our Life of Rāmānuja. Our thanks are due to our confrère M. T. Narasimhācārya for helping us in constructing this tree.
3. The same work (named above) gives the following particulars about him:—

(1) The Ācārya of Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar is (Ādi-)vān Śaṭha-gōpa-Jiyar.
(2) His house-worship deity was Azhaśingar (= Nṛśimha).
(3) The works composed by him are Nārāyaṇa-carita, Puruṣārtha-sudhānīdhi, Śaṣṭi-prabandha, Rahasya-jīvātu, Sanskrit Tattva-traya, Sanskrit Rahasya-traya, Commentary to Yāmunācārya’s (= Ālavandār) Stotra-ratnā, Smṛti-ratnākara, and (Nitya or) Tiruvvārādhana-krama (or Mode of Worship).

4. In a commentary on Sandhyā and on Gāyatrī (the Prayers of the Hindus, morn, noon, and eve), by a Nārāyaṇa, the invocatory verse runs thus:—

 Śaṣṭi-prabandha-nirmātā Śaṭhagōpa-muniśūtuh |
 Dāsō Nārāyaṇa-muniḥ nitya-matrān udāścayat ||

from which it is clear that the Nārāyaṇa of the commentary on the Sandhyā is the same as the author of the works enumerated in par. 3 (3), as two of these works, viz. Šaṣṭi-prabandha and Nitya, are mentioned in the verse, and he is said therein also to be the disciple of Śaṭhagōpa-muni, i.e. (Ādi-vān) Śaṭhagōpa Svāmin, No. 9 of Table, par. 2 (supra).

5. The enumeration, therefore, in par. 3 (3) is incomplete, because it omits the Sandhyā commentary; and inasmuch as Nārāyaṇa is the author of the Sanskrit versions of Lokācārya’s two works, Tattva-traya and Rahasya-traya, mentioned in the enumeration, and inasmuch as the list of Tirumuṇḍi-adāivu does not profess to be exhaustive, the authorship of the Sanskrit of Artha-pañcaka may be fairly assigned to this Nārāyaṇa. This position, however, is tentative till fresh light may come and displace it.

6. The said work gives the invocation for this sage as—

 Śaṭhagōpa-munindrā-āghri- śaraṇāṃ karunālayam |
 Śrīman-Nārāyaṇa-Munin śrīmantaṃ śaraṇaṃ bhaje ||

A. GOVINDACARYA SVĀMIN.
SUGGESTIONS REGARDING RIG-VEDA, X, 102

This hymn is a very difficult one, and has been discussed by not a few Vedic scholars, and in particular by Professor Bloomfield in the ZDMG., vol. xlviii, p. 541.\(^1\) It is not my intention to venture on any criticism of what those scholars have written, but, as Professor Bloomfield has remarked (loc. cit., p. 563)—"We may safely assert that this hymn will figure in the final irresolvable remnant of the Veda, unless a new accession of materials should enrich our present apparatus for its reconstruction," I venture to bring forward certain new information which is contained in the Purāṇas, which certainly appears to throw fresh light on the hymn and which may therefore be of some service to Vedic scholars. I shall confine myself to setting out the new matter and offering some remarks and suggestions based on it.

The hymn is attributed to Mudgala Bhārmyaśva, that is, Bhārmyaśva's son.\(^2\) Bhārmyaśva and Mudgala were two kings of the North Pañcāla dynasty according to the genealogy of that dynasty, and the genealogy contains particulars which supply points of connexion with the hymn. Mudgala is mentioned in the hymn (vv. 5 and 9), but not his patronymic; that is supplied only by the commentators.\(^3\) In it is also mentioned Mudgalānī (vv. 2 and 6), and two words occur in it which receive elucidation from the genealogy, namely, Indrasenā (v. 2) and vadkhi (v. 12).

In order to show what new light the genealogy throws on these words, it will be convenient to set out that part of it which deals with persons of these names, as stated

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\(^1\) Previous discussions are cited there. I have to thank Professor Maedonell for the references. Mr. Keith notices them in JRAS., 1900, p. 207.

\(^2\) Nirukta, ix, 3, 2-3; Sārvasūkramāṇि; Sāyaṇa gives Bhārmyaśva. See p. 28 ante.

\(^3\) See note 2 above.
by the Purānas which give it. These authorities are not equally full, yet it is quite easy to combine them, and the correct genealogy stands thus—

Bṛhmaṇāśva

Mudgala, Srūjaya, Vṛhādiṣu, Yavīnara, Kāmpilya

Brahmiṣṭha = Indrasena

Vadhryāśva = Menakā

Divodāsa

Mudgala and his four brothers were called the Pañcālas, which name originated in consequence of their father’s jocular boast as mentioned briefly in p. 48 ante. The name adhered to them, and was continued to their

1 Agni, 277, 19–22; Bhāgavata, ix, 21, 31–4, and 22, 3; Brahma, 13, 93–7; Garuḍa, i, 140, 17–20; Matsya, 50, 1–7; Vāyu (Calc. ed.), ii, 37, 189–96; (Ānandāśīr. ed.), 99, 196–200; Viṣṇu, iv, 19, 15–16; and Harivamsa, 32, 1777–84.

2 All confuse this name. The Bhāgav. reads Bhrāmyāśva and shortly Bhārmya; Matsya, Bhadrāśva; Brahma, Bāhyāśva; Agni and Hariv., Vāhyāśva; and Garuḍa and Viṣṇu, Haryaśva. The Vāyu omits. The correct form is certainly Bhrāmyāśva.

3 So all, except the Agni and Garuḍa, which read Mukula.

4 So all, except that the Bhāgav. reads Saṅjaya and Matsya Jaya.

5 So all, except the Garuḍa, which reads Vṛhadbhānu.

6 So all, except that the Matsya reads Jāvinara; Vāyu, Yaviyat; and Viṣṇu, Pravīra.

7 So the Bhāgav., Vāyu (Ānand. ed.), and Viṣṇu; but the Vāyu (Calc. ed.) reads Kāmpilya; Garuḍa, Kāmpilla; Matsya, Kapila; Agni, Kṛmilā; and Brahma and Hariv., Kṛmilāśva.

8 So the Matsya and Vāyu. The Brahma and Hariv. read the patronymic Maudgalya, and the latter gives to Maudgalya a son Brahmarṣi who married Indrasena. The Agni, Bhāgav., and Garuḍa omit.

9 So the Brahma, Vāyu, and Hariv. The Matsya gives to Brahmiṣṭha a son named Indrasena instead, who was father of Vadhryāśva. The others omit.

10 All confuse this name. The Hariv. reads Vadhrasva; Brahma, Vadhrīya; Vāyu, Bṛdhyaśva; Viṣṇu, Vṛddhashva; Matsya, Vindhyāśva; and Agni, Cauḍāśva. The others omit. The correct form is clearly Vadhryāśva.

11 So the Matsya, Vāyu, and Hariv. The others omit.

12 So all, except the Brahma, which omits.
descendants. Mudgala's sons and descendants were the Maudgalyas, and were or became brahmans, as stated expressly in the Agni, Bhāgavata, Matsya, Vāyu, and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and in the Harivamśa.¹

It is clear from a comparison of these passages that the Vāyu has the right reading, except that Kānṭha should be Kāṇva. Its first three lines are corroborated by the Matsya, and receive support from the Agni, Bhāgavata, and Viṣṇu. The Brahma omits the first two of these lines about the Maudgalyas and confines itself to the last two lines of the passages, reading, however, Maudgalya instead of Brahmīṣṭha. The Harivamśa begins the passage like the Brahma in the first line, and then diverges to complete its account by following the version which the Vāyu and Matsya give, but in doing so has blundered. This is

¹ Agni, 277, 21—
Mukulasya tu Maukulyāḥ kṣetropetā dvijaṭayaḥ,
where read Mudgalaśya, Maudgalyāḥ, and kṣatropetā.

Bhāgav., ix, 21, 33—
Mudgalād brahma-nirvṛttatam gotram Maudgalya-saṁjñūtām.

Matsya, 50, 5–6—
Mudgaḷasyaśāpi Maudgalyāḥ kṣatropetā dvijaṭayaḥ
Ete hy Aṅgirasaḥ pakṣam saṁśrītāh Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ
Mudgalasya suto jājñe Brahmīṣṭhāh su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenaḥ sutas tasya Vindhyāśvas tasya cātmajāḥ.

Mudgalasyaśāpi Maudgalyāḥ kṣā(ā)tropeta-dvijaṭayaḥ
Ete hy Aṅgirasaḥ pakṣe saṁśrītāḥ Kanṭh(v)a-Mudgalāḥ
Mudgalasya suto jyeṣṭho Brahmīṣṭhāh su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenaḥ yato garbham Badhyaśvam pratyapadyata.

Viṣṇu, iv, 19, 16, in prose—
Mudgalac ca Maudgalyāḥ kṣatropetā dvijaṭayo babhūvah.

Hariv., 32, 1781–3—
Mudgalasya tu dāyado Maudgalyaḥ su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Sarva ete mahātmāṇaḥ kṣatropetā dvijaṭayaḥ
Ete hy Aṅgirasaḥ pakṣam saṁśrītāḥ Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ
Mudgalasya suto jyeṣṭho Brahmaṁśiḥ su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenaḥ yato garbham Vadhrasvam pratyapadyata.

To which may be added here the Brahma, 13, 97—
Mudgalasya tu dāyado Maudgalyaḥ su-mahā-yaśāḥ
Indrasenaḥ yato garbham Vadhrayaṁ ca pratyapadyata.

For Vadhrayaṁ ca one MS. reads Vadhvāśram.
proved by the words sarva ete muhātmānah, which plainly suppose that the word Maudgalyāh should occur in the first line instead of Maudgalyah. In its following lines it has evidently become confused about Maudgalya and Brahmiśṭha, and solves the difficulty by treating these two names as distinct instead of identical, so that it makes Maudgalya father of Brahmarshi (that is, Brahmiśṭha). The errors of the Harivamśa therefore support the version of the Vāyu and Matsya. With regard to the last line, the Vāyu, Brahma, and Harivamśa agree, and their reading is right for two reasons—(1) their testimony preponderates, and (2) queens are seldom mentioned by name in the genealogies, so that the tendency, if a text becomes modified, would be to change a woman’s name into a man’s name. Indrasenā therefore was Brahmiśṭha’s wife, and Indrasena is probably a corruption.

Mudgala was a rājā of the North Pañcāla dynasty, and yet might also be regarded as a rishi (which is what the Nirukta and Śāyaṇa style him), because he was the reputed author of this hymn, and because he was the father of a family of brahmans. The Maudgalyas, in fact, combined the positions of both kṣatriyas and brahmans, for they bore arms and were military brahmans, as stated expressly in the passages cited.

Mudgalānī is not mentioned in the genealogy, but was obviously Mudgala’s wife, as is generally agreed.

As regards Indrasenā, which Śāyaṇa does not treat as a proper name, the genealogy states that Mudgala’s daughter-in-law was Indrasenā. There is no good reason to doubt its genuineness. It was an ordinary feminine name. If Śāyaṇa had taken it so, one might suspect that it had been inserted in the genealogy to accord with the traditional interpretation of the hymn, but the hymn and the genealogy had become so absolutely sundered that (1) only one Purāṇa, the Bhāgavata, has preserved Bhṛmyaśva’s name with any approach to accuracy; (2) the
interpreters of the hymn had no idea that Mudgala was a rājā, the Nirukta and Sāyana styling him a rishi; (3) the genealogy makes no mention of Mudgalāni; and (4) the interpreters knew nothing of Indrasenā, who was herself a rājñī. The genealogy and the interpreters have nothing therefore in common except the name Mudgala, and that was an ordinary name, which suggested no relation between them. As far as I know, the hymn and the genealogy have not been connected before. Indrasenā, moreover, is not the only queen mentioned in the genealogy; it also gives the name of her son Vadhryaśva’s wife Menakā. He and his son Divodāsa are mentioned in the Rig-Veda, but not this queen Menakā. Her name therefore was not inserted to serve any ulterior purpose.

The word vadhryinā in v. 12 seems significant when it is noted that Indrasenā’s son was named Vadhryaśva. Sāyana does not take the words vadhryinā yuṭā as agreeing with each other, but may they not be so taken? If so, they would form a play on the name Vadhryaśva, and such plays are common in the hymns.

Some remarks may be offered about the word Keśī (v. 6) in the light of the foregoing suggestions. Sāyana explains it as an epithet. Mudgalāni was a rājñī, and it is not probable she would have driven the chariot (or cart, as Sāyana explains). The rājā Mudgala would naturally have had a chariot and a charioteer, and the charioteer would naturally have driven the chariot. Surely he was Keśin? Keśin was the sārathi. Mudgalāni is called the

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1 There was another Mudgala, a son (or descendant) of Viśvāmitra, MBh., xiii, 4, 250; Brahma, 10, 59; Hariv., 27, 1462 (Maudgalya in 32, 1769); unless his name is an echo of the confusion which derived the Kānyakubja dynasty from Ajamidha; see p. 22 ante.
2 It does not necessarily follow that the vehicle was a cart because a bull was yoked to it. Chariots were sometimes drawn by other animals, as was Ghatottkaca’s chariot, which was drawn neither by horses nor by elephants, but by elephant-like beasts, probably huge buffaloes (MBh., vii, 156, 6785–7). If Mudgala’s horses had been carried off, he would naturally have yoked a powerful bull.
rathī (v. 2). Surely these two words need not necessarily mean the same thing here. May it not be that Kesin drove the chariot, and Mudgalānī simply rode with Mudgala in it? She was no longer a young woman, for she had a daughter-in-law and also (if the suggestion about the word vadhrinā be just) a grandson; and as a middle-aged woman she would have had considerable freedom, and might naturally have taken an eager part in the occurrence, leaning well forward over the front of the chariot (see v. 6). Indrasenā, on the other hand, as a young woman would have been less prominent, and may have viewed the scene from a distance (v. 2).

If these suggestions may be accepted, an explanation may be offered of the word parivṛkta in v. 11, supposing this word to have a personal application. It is generally applied to Mudgalānī; but is there anything in the hymn (apart from this word) to suggest that Mudgala was estranged from Mudgalānī? May it not rather refer to Indrasenā? According to my suggestions Mudgala, Mudgalānī, Indrasenā, and Vadhyrāśva would be all mentioned or alluded to, and the only person in the family who is omitted is Indrasenā's husband. Mudgala's sons were or became brahmans, and her husband's name, Brahmiṣṭha (or Brahmarṣi), suggests that he adopted brahmanhood. May he not have quitted her in order to follow out the observances of brahmanhood? Do not the terms used apply to a young woman such as Indrasenā was, rather than to a middle-aged woman like Mudgalānī?

If these suggestions are reasonable, the hymn and the genealogy fit each other, and that result would show that the commentators are right in ascribing the hymn to the Mudgala who was Bhṛmyāśva's son. And further, on this conclusion, would not Mudgala's bombast in this hymn be quite in keeping with his father's braggadocio which has been mentioned above, and is it not easy to understand the preservation of the hymn? Mudgala's
descendants, the Maudgalyas, would, as a warlike family, have been proud of it, since it describes a successful contest, and their influence as brahmans would have secured its admission into the *Rig-Veda*.

F. E. PARGITER.

**Abhinava-gupta in Modern Kashmir**

Dr. Barnett's article on the *Paramārthasāra* of Abhinava-gupta (ante, pp. 707 ff.) reminds me that the old Śaiva teacher, although belonging to the eleventh century, is still a name to conjure with in Kashmir. In order to show this, I here give an extract from the *Śiva-parinaya* of Kṛṣṇa Rāzdān, who is still alive. It is interesting as containing a legend about Abhinava-gupta, and also as an example of Kāshmirī poetry, written in the *kāvya* style by a Hindū of the present day.

**Śūriy hēth nim sarva-wōpakōrī**

Abinawaguptāṭōrī zan ॥ 1 ॥

Bāh shēth tāṭa hēth suh bāla-brahmatōrī

Śūriy hēth gauv shiwa-lūkas

Yiti dih hēth gauv kus dihadōrī

Abinawaguptāṭōrī zan ॥ 2 ॥

Bākti cyōn kati mahākālan mōrī

Lagayō pōrī Shiwa-rūpas

Pālanā karawani kāla-samhōrī

Abinawaguptāṭōrī zan ॥ 3 ॥

Harmōkha druṣṭi asē sarva-pāph hōrī

Yān āy Nunarakī nōrī-kin

Sēndi-shrāna Shiwa-dyāna shāph nēwōrī

Abinawaguptāṭōrī zan ॥ 4 ॥

Rāmarādana khāṭi Barata-bāla sōrī

Bāla tēy sūty gay pōrī-zān
Baranē-bala musarīth prayēma-baranē tōrī
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 5 ||
Nādabēnda-hamsanāda chukh tōwāpōrī
Nōdītakra-sūty gayē brahmāzān |
Brahmasara sara gōkh tārī Hamsa-dwōrī
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 6 ||
Sōkha-mōkha prayēmukō oshū gauv jyōrī
Nēthanani sani-wōgani wani tatī ākh |
Shiwa-lōla Kōlasara sarva-pāph hōrī
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 7 ||
Kōphura-ranga chukh tēh Gangādōrī
Asē-pēth Ganga-jaṭa jōrī trāv |
Bāktī nana ada bana sarvādikōrī
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 8 ||
Bairawanātha pata pata lōrī-lōriy
Birū-pēth nim Lōriy-kinī |
Gōphi-manz amrēth dim dōrī-dōriy
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 9 ||
Gūjā mē durgath tūjā mē khōrī
Lūjā mē wath Thāji-wōrī-kinī |
Gōphi-manz gājī-gāh karay jaṭadōrī
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 10 ||
Jai jai chuy tē jai Shiwa ōmkōrī
Yīta darshun dīta nīta Krūshnas |
Trāwanōwith sarva-sāmkalpa-bōrī
Abinawaguptāsōrī zan || 11 ||

Translation.

1. O Śiva, who art kindly disposed to all, take me to Thyself with all (those who are mine), like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

2. He was a Brahmacārin from his youth, and took with him twelve hundred disciples. He took all with him
to the Śiva-lōka. What living man has ever gone thither in this world’s body, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya!

3. When were those devoted to Thee ever smitten by Yama! I offer myself as a sacrifice before (this) form of Śiva, the Protector, the Destroyer of Death, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

4. By the sight of (the mountain of) Haramukha all our sins are taken away, directly we arrive at the stream of Nunar. By bathing in the River Sindhu and by meditation upon Śiva, all curses are warded off, as in the case of Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

5. Near Rāmarādān we all ascended the hill of Baruth. O Kindly One, by Thee alone do we gain complete knowledge. At Barañē-bal did we open the bolts of the door of Thy love, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

6. Thou art surrounded on all four sides by the mystic circle and the dot, and by the mystic haṁsa-call. By

1 The legend runs that Abhinava-gupta took twelve hundred disciples into a cave, and ascended with them thence, in his own bodily form, to Śiva-lōka. The cave is still shown near Birū, the ancient Bahurūpa, about 13 miles to the south-west of Śrinagar.

2 Here, and in the following verses, there is an elaborate series of double meanings. Harmōkh (Haramukha) is a well-known mountain in Kashmir, sacred to Śiva, and the goal of a famous pilgrimage. The word also means “the totality of all things”. Nunar is a village on the pilgrim route to Haramukha, and also means “the carotid artery” (sūmāṇā-nāḍi), through which the soul passes on its exit at the time of death. The Sindhu is a large river of Kashmir, which has to be crossed en route to Haramukha. Hence the alternative rendering is “The sight of (Śiva, who is) the totality of all things, takes away sin when a man is at the point of death, even while he is yet alive; and meditation on Him, like bathing in the Sindhu, wards off the effects of every curse”.

3 At the village of Rāmarādān (Rāmarādhanā) pilgrims commence the ascent of Haramukha, going over the spur of Baruth (Bharatagarī). See Stein, Rājatarangini, Trans. i, 114, and ii, 408. At Baruth the ascent first begins to be trying, and here pilgrims sometimes fall sick, owing to the rarified atmosphere or to exhaustion, see H. Knowles, Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs, 233. Barañē-bal is the name of some bathing-place on the route, which I have not identified. The verse also means, “Having worshipped Rāma and Bharata, knowledge of whom is obtained through Thee, we opened the bolts, consisting of the maṇipūra (barañē-bal), or mystic circle round the navel, of the door of thy love.”
practising the nāḍī-cakra yōga exercise, we have attained to knowledge of Brahmā. At Brahmāsara Thou becamest comprehended, and we descended by the Hamsadwār mountain, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.¹

7. An involuntary tear of love pours (from our eyes). O Thou Naked One (Digambara), in (telling of) the hills and valleys, it is Thou who hast been described. In the Kōlasar lake of Śiva's love are all our sins taken away, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

8. O Thou who bearest the Ganges on Thine head, Thy body is white (with ashes, as though) with camphor. Pour Thou forth the Ganges of Thy matted locks upon us. I will proclaim myself as Thy devoted one, and then will I become possessed of all power, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

9. O Bhairavanātha, lead Thou me, ever running after Thee, to Bīrū, at the entrance of Lār.² In the cave give Thou me the water of life in streams and streams, as Thou didst to Abhinava-gupta, the Ācārya.

10. My wretched plight is melted away, departed are my troubles. I have found the path of Thājīwōr.⁴

¹ The Nādabēnd (nāda-bindu) is the mystic form of Śiva indicated by the half-circle and dot of the sign anunāsika, and represented by the anusvāra of the syllable ōṁ. The haṁsa-nāda, or soul-cry, is another name for the ajapa, or voiceless, mantra. The nāḍī-cakra is one of the mystic yōga symbols. The curious in such matters will find full particulars regarding it on p. 2825 of the Vācaspatya. We should expect these words to signify also certain localities on the pilgrim route, but I have not succeeded in identifying them. Brahmāsara is a lake and Hamsadwār a spur passed on the same route. Brahmāsara also means the brahma-randhra, or suture in the crown of the head, through which the soul escapes at death. With this interpretation haṁsadwār would mean the doorway of the soul.

² Evidently the name of one of the many sacred lakes passed on the pilgrim route.

³ The name of the pargana in which the Bīrū cave is situated.

⁴ Thājīwōr, a site passed on the pilgrimage, is the ancient Thālyōraka (cf. Stein, op. cit., ii, 54, n., who doubtfully, and apparently incorrectly, identifies it with the modern Thyūr). The word also means "the highest place" (paramapada), i.e. Śiva's heaven.

Jnas. 1910.
O Thou with matted locks, I will fan\(^1\) Thee in the cave, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ácārya.

11. Victory, victory, to Thee, O Śiva, incarnate as the syllable ōm! Come Thou, reveal Thyself, and take Thou Kṛṣṇa (the author of the poem) to Thyself, when Thou hast released him from the burden of his volitions, like Abhinava-gupta, the Ácārya.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
July 20, 1910.

**Exegetical Notes on the Paramarthasāra**

Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar has kindly sent me some remarks on the edition and translation of the Paramārthasāra published at p. 707 ff. above, from which I extract the following.

"v. 3. Ādhārakārikāḥ: the book referred to is the Spanda-Kārikāḥ, composed by Vasugupta, the founder of the Kashmir Śaiva school, or his immediate disciple, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa.

"v. 10. Karāṇa is not 'organism', but kriyā-sakti, the power of action.

"v. 17. Anor antarāngam means the essential nature of the anu.

"v. 19. This śloka names the following tattvas: (1) the three Guṇas, (2) Prakṛti, (3) Buddhī, (4) Manas, (5) Ahamkāra. I would translate it as follows: 'The three Guṇas) consisting purely of pleasure, pain, and ignorance, and of certain knowledge, change of cognition, and egoism; prakṛti; then the inner organ, in the order of buddhi, manas, and ahamkṛti.' Niścaya, etc., belong as much to the inner organ as to its parent, the traiguṇya.

\(^1\) Gaj-gāh, in Hindi, is a tasselled string made up of the tail-hairs of the Bos grunniens, and suspended from an elephant's neck. Here gaj-gāh is used for the cāmark, or fly-whisk, made of the same materials, the employment of which indicates worship.
"v. 32. The introduction to the Śiva-sūtra-bhāṣya refers to the Cārvākas, Vaidikas, Yogācāras, and Mādhyamikas as teaching the identity of the ātmā with deha, prāṇa, buddhi, and śunya respectively.

"v. 44. Śaktitisāla: I think this means the ‘trident’ of Ichchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā Śaktis, described in the previous verse.

"v. 73, second half. I think this consists of two sentences: ‘will he rejoice in praise and the like? hence he is said to be called,’ etc.

"v. 78. The kundalini is of the shape of a serpent, extending from the kanda to below the pudendum, i.e. the perineum. The kanda is like a tuber behind the navel. Susumnā is a tube through which the prāṇa circulates. The brahma-randhra is at the top of the head, where the anterior fontanelle is in the child; through this the soul enters. What is between the brows is the ājñā-cakra, which is the sixth of the stations of the awakened kundalini. The brahma-randhra is the seventh.

"vv. 79–80. The khatvāṅga is a tiny drum. Śiva stands in the ‘graveyard’ with this in one hand and a skullful of liquor in the other. To the Yogi the universe is the graveyard, his body is the drum, the skull is finite cognition, and the essence of the universe, i.e. the light of Parā Śakti, is the liquor."

L. D. Barnett.

The Cilician Cities of Anchialae and Illubri

In the newly discovered account of Sennacherib's campaigns, published by Mr. L. W. King, about which Dr. Pinches has contributed an interesting article to the Journal of this Society (April, 1910), the Assyrian king states that Kirua, the governor of Illubri, had raised a revolt against his authority in Cilicia and induced "the inhabitants of the cities of Ingirâ and Tarzi" to join him.
They seized the military road which ran along the coast through the land of Que and so "blocked" the way to the Assyrians. Sennacherib thereupon sent an army against the rebels, who were soon overthrown. Ingirâ and Tarzi were captured, and Illubri, which is called "the city of Khilakki" or Cilicia, was taken by storm. Kirua and his followers were carried to Nineveh, where the leader of the rebellion was flayed alive. Illubri was then rebuilt and colonized with captives from other lands, and the spear of Assur was set up in it, together with a slab of alabaster on which Sennacherib recorded his name and victories.

Tarzi, first mentioned by Shalmaneser II on the Black Obelisk, is Tarsus. Now we learn from a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb., Armen. Chr., xlii) that Sennacherib, on hearing that "the Greeks had made a hostile descent upon Cilicia, marched against them and fought with them a pitched battle, in which, though he himself suffered great loss, he defeated them, and erected on the spot a statue of himself as a monument of his victory, and ordered his victory to be recorded upon it in the Chaldaean characters, so that the memory of it might be handed down to posterity. He then rebuilt the city of Tarsus, after the likeness of Babylon.".

Ingirâ, which is coupled with Tarzi by Sennacherib, must consequently be the Anchialê of the Greek writer. And, in fact, the two names are phonetically one and the same. The Greek ἄγκυλος takes the place of the Cilician ἀ, as in Olba for Urwa, which, as Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown, was the native name of the town that stood westward of Tarsus. Assimilation to ἄγκυλος has effected the rest of the change from Ingilâ to Anchialê, where the Ionic ə represents, as usual, an earlier ā.

Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v.) represents Anchialê as on the sea-coast between Tarsus and Zephyrion, and states on the authority of Athenodorus that it was founded by
Anchialê, the daughter of the Cilician god Iapetos, on the banks of the River Anchialeus. Anchialê, it was further alleged, was the mother of Kydnus, the river on which Tarsus stood, and the name of which, according to Solinus (xlix), signified "fair". Kydnus, again, had a son Parthenius, from whom Tarsus derived its original name of Parthenia. The usual account, however, was that both Anchialê and Tarsus had been built by the Assyrian king Sardanapalus in a day, and that a statue of Sardanapalus stood at Anchialê representing the monarch snapping his fingers, while on the slab below him was the famous inscription in "Assyrian letters": "Eat, drink, and be merry: all the rest is worth nothing." At the beginning of the inscription Sardanapalus was said to have described himself as "son of Anakyndaraxês", which is also given as Kyndaraxês and Anabaxarês (Strabo, p. 672; Athenæus, xii, p. 529).

The attitude ascribed to the figure is clearly that of adoration, as represented on several Assyrian monuments as well as in the Cilician rock-sculptures at Ivriz. Oppert conjectured that the name of the king’s father was a corruption of the Assyrian anaku sar Assuri, "I am the king of Assyria"; but it would more probably be the beginning of an Aramaic text: ana (TAR)kundaraus Kāsi ("I am Tarkundaraus the Kasian"), or something similar. The Greek settlers at Tarsus made Perseus the founder of that city, and saw in the Alēian plain the place where he fell to the earth from the back of Pegasus (Il., vi, 200–2). Solinus, however, who tells us that Tarsus was "the mother of cities", ascribes its foundation to Kilix, who sprang from the earth long before Zeus existed (De Mir. Mundi, xlix).

The local legends recorded by the Cilician writer Athenodoros indicate that Tarsus was really a colony of

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1 Arrian, however, says that the hands were pressed together (Exped. Âlex., ii, 5, p. 91).
Anchialê; hence, possibly, the reason why Sennacherib names the latter first. The position of "city of Cilicia", assigned by Sennacherib to Illubri, is transferred by Solinus to Tarsus, probably because Tarsus had superseded Illubri in the Greek era. Iapetos, the Biblical Japhet, was one of the seven Cilician gods—Adanos, Ostasos, Andês (for Sandês), Kronos, Rhea (probably Rhô), Iapetos, and Olymbros—who were all children of the primeval Hittite deities, the Earth (Amma) and the Sky (Steph. Byz., s.v. "Ašava"). As the city—or rather the State—was deified among the Hittites, the earth whereon it stood being divine, the fact that Adanos (Adana), Ostasos, and Olymbros were gods is easily intelligible.

Olymbros is evidently the Illubri of Sennacherib. As it is associated with Iapetos, the father of Anchialê, it must have been near that city, while since it comes last in the list which begins with Adanos we must conclude that it was situated to the west of that city. Here, then, between Adana on the east and Olymbros or Illubri on the west will have been the Khilakku of the Assyrians, the original land of Cilicia.¹ Eastward of it was the Alasiya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the Elishah of Gen. x, 4. The name survived in the "Aeolian" plain of the Greeks, since the Ionic Αληία presupposes an original Αλασγία. Here Bellerophon was thrown to the ground by the winged horse

¹ In the time of Shalmaneser II, however, Tarzi formed part of the domains of Katê, king of Quê (Black Obelisk, 132–40). Kirri, the brother of Katê, seems to have the same name as Kirua, king of Illubri. To the east of Tarzi, according to Shalmaneser, were the towns of Lamena or Lawena and Tanakun. The name of Tanakun is evidently connected with that of Thanake, the wife of Sandakos who came from Syria to Cilicia and there founded the city of Kelenderis (Apollole. iii, 14, 3, 1). She was the mother of Kinyras and daughter of King Megessaros. Quê is written Qauê by Shalmaneser; hence we may connect the name with that of Ikonion which appears as Καουαί (i.e. Kau-van-ya) in a Phrygian inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Castle-mound at Konia. Professor W. Max Müller has pointed out that the name of the Quê survived in that of the fortress Kyinda described by Strabo as being "above Anchialê".
Pegasos. The winged horse is pictured on a Hittite seal (Messerschmidt, Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticae, II, pl. xliii, 8), and the story claims relationship to the Babylonian legends of Etana and Gilgamos, who were similarly thrown to the ground from the back of the eagle whereon they were endeavouring to mount to heaven. In the Assyrian period Alasiya was known as Quê.

As Tarsus was founded by the grandson, Kydnus, or the great-grandson, Parthenius, of Iapetos, so, according to Gen. x, 4, Tarshish was the grandson of Japhet and the brother of Elishah, as well as of Kittim or Cyprus and Rodanim or Rhodes. His father Yavan, “the Ionian,” bears an Asianic name with the distinctively Anatolian suffix van, and it is therefore interesting to learn that the city on whose site Antioch was built had been called Iônê, and that the name of Ionia had once been given to the Cilician coast.¹ Ion, the Ionian Greek, moreover, was not the brother, but the nephew, of Dorus and Æolus. Like Achæus, the Achæan, his father was Xuthus, the “tawny-skinned” Syrian, who was thus distinguished from the Leuco-Syri or “White-skinned Syrians” of Cappadocia.

A. H. Sayce.

Austin of Bordeaux

Having now completed a translation of Heinrich von Poser's book, to which I originally called the attention of Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Foster (Asiatic Quarterly Review, January, 1910, p. 96, and this Journal for 1910, p. 494), I put on record here all that the traveller says about Austin of Bordeaux. Von Poser reached Agra from Lahor on December 22, 1621. On the morning of the 25th he received a visit from “Mr. Augustinus Hiriart from Bordeaux in Gascony, engineer to the Great Mogul,

¹ The Periplus Maritimus places Ionia at the mouth of the Pyramus.
and he offered me an opportunity of seeing the King [Jahāngīr]”. On the 28th Von Poser began his journey with Mr. Augustin, their first night’s halt being at Sikandrah. Having passed Sirhind, they turned off the road to Lahor, and on January 13, 1622, joined the emperor’s army, putting up in the camp of Āṣaf Khān. On the 15th Von Poser saw Jahāngīr at a small window, and on the 16th Augustin took him to visit Mir Mirān (son of Mir KhalīfūlLah, Yazdí, and married to Āṣaf Khān’s daughter), and on the same day they visited Āṣaf Khān. On the 18th there was a march to Nūrpur.

In the evening of January 19 they went to Court on an elephant. Prince Shahryār spoke to them on the way. As soon as they sent in their names the doors were opened to them. “At once there appeared a royal servant who conducted us to the king, whom we found at that moment in the barber’s hands. He inspected the throne, made of gold and about a foot high, constructed after Mr. Augustin’s designs; and through Issuph Chan [Āṣaf Khān] asked what countryman I was, and why I had come there, what I had learnt, and whether I had with me anything rare and special in the nature of firearms. The king gave us this interview in his inmost chamber, from which he could pass direct into the apartments of his wives. This fact I inferred from the women’s music, which I listened to with great delight. The king lay on a handsome bedstead made from mother-of-pearl.” Other details follow. Having decided to go on to Lahor, Von Poser left the camp and reached that city on January 25, 1622, Augustin being apparently still in his company. Finally, our traveller writes: “On the 28th May [1622] I said goodbye to Lahor and the quasi-paternal house of my Mr. Augustin, including therewith all my good friends. O Lord! Give to my benefactor and his dearest ones a sign, that it may be well with them in this world and to all eternity.” Excepting a mention of
writing to him on June 3, 1622, this is all that Von Poser tells us of Augustin Hiriart of Bordeaux.

I have tried without success to verify from Portuguese sources Tavernier's statement (Ball’s ed., i, 108) that Shāhjahān sent Augustin to Goa as a negotiator, and that he was poisoned at Cochin by the Portuguese.

William Irvine.

September 21, 1910.
NOTICES OF BOOKS


(Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band XII, Nro. 2.)

(Continued from p. 976.)

To begin ab ovo, I must profess myself still unconvinced that the word tantra is in itself an equivalent of nīti (Hertel, introd. to trans., pp. 6–8 and reff.). I have previously pointed out (JRAS., 1907, xxxix, p. 732) that the word is applied to the authoritative book in any science, for example in logic. That in a suitable context tantra can be employed per ellipsis in the sense of nītiśāstra is therefore quite natural; and the title Tantrākhyāyika will accordingly have been rightly interpreted by Dr. Hertel as nītiśāstra-ākhyāyikā. It seems also to have been clearly made out that tantra may have the somewhat different meaning of rāstracintā, i.e. the art or business of government, and that this meaning appears in the word tantradhāra, "chief minister" (introd. to trans., pp. 6–7 and reff.). Perhaps both senses are to be found in Cāṇakya's Arthasastra.
For the last chapter of that treatise is devoted to a definition of a number of terms, such as adhikarana, padartha, atidesa, upamana, vakyaeesa, with examples taken from the treatise itself. Now these terms are given as names of the yuktis of the arthaasatra, and the chapter itself is named Tantrayukti, which accordingly must mean "definition of the literary expediency employed in [as distinguished from the subject-matter of] the Sutra", these literary expediency being, in fact, common to all sastras. Here tantra cannot denote anything but the science itself in book form. On the other hand, we have in the same chapter the following passage:

"Vyakhyana is exposition of superlativeness, as in viii, 3 (p. 328, ll. 13–15), "and especially in associations and royal families, which have the character of associations, division arises from gaming, and, as a result of that, destruction, and so encouragement of the bad, the most baneful of vices through the consequent weakness of administration."

Here (and again in the same chapter viii, 3, p. 327, ll. 19) the word certainly seems to mean "administration", rashtracinti. Accordingly we may understand tantra to denote either the science or the art of government; and, when we find the chapters in the Tantrakhyayika called tantras, we may interpret the word as denoting a branch either of the science or of the art. Dr. Hertel's interpretation amounts to much the same, but the rendering "Klugheitsfall" gives to the word a turn which we do not find acceptable.

Text.

Page 3, line 10. तथानुशूर्यतेः: similarly Buddhist sättras begin एवं मध्य ज्ञातं, and the Harśacarita एवमनुशूर्यते. With reference to the variant ततवचानुः, we may compare Milindapañha ततवचानुमूयते.
p. 4, ll. 11-12 (v. 4). ṣaṃkṛti kṣaṃbhāya: misprint for ṣaṃkṛti kṣaṃbhyā.

p. 11, l. 7 (v. 29). चेन चेन हि राजनं: the reading राजनं, "take pleasure in," seems superior in authority and sense.

p. 13, l. 4 (v. 41). पायाणभारसहस्र: the metre seems to demand ṭभरो.

p. 25, l. 6. आरोहता: why not retain the आरोहता of aṣṭa?

p. 49, ll. 12-13. मा खलबलू कन्हिसन धारयतु: but वम धारयतु gives a poor sense, if any, whereas धनं धारयतु, "let no one owe money," agrees excellently with what follows.


p. 61, l. 14 (v. 177). पूतरा: error for कातराः, as is read in this verse Subhāṣītāvalī 3468? Or is पूतरा a stronger equivalent?

p. 68, l. 2. उपधाविन्य: against the proposal to read उपधाविन्य we may quote Harṣacarita (Bombay, 1892), p. 153, l. 1, उपधाविन्य: परीचितो.

p. 69, ll. 21-2. We seem to have the remains of a faulty śloka——

परसर्व विहम्बापि चन्द्रकान्तस्तुम्भन भचन्ति ।
परम्परापरापादमहये।धरमीरतो ॥

and possibly an Āryā verse followed.

p. 70, ll. 4-5 (v. 25). The verse would give better sense if it read——

श्रवणसमपि स संद्रहातुक्षिणानां संविधना ।
आत्मसमपि पानोत्तमये श्रमये।विवाक्षय ॥

"Even with an enemy he should ally himself, even in intimate alliance. Water, though heated, puts out fire."

The heated water is the angry person with whom the
agreement is made, extinguishing the flame of war. The long आ in आत्स्न explains the reading मुत्स्न, as students of Brāhmi writing will recognize. As regards the sentiment, we may compare Arthasastra, vii, 2 (p. 267, ll. 5–6), नात्स्न लोहेन लोहेन संघाते.

p. 71, l. 22 (v. 36). I find it hard to doubt that the author wrote न भव्न्नमहाब्रह्मान्न, as some MSS. of the Southern Pañcatantra (ii, 26) read.

p. 73, ll. 4 seq. (vv. 39–42). Here we have eight lines of the narrative in slokas. This is a noticeable fact, suggesting that the whole (of this narrative) had a versified original.

p. 84, l. 9 (v. 74). विवशां: विवशां θ seems preferable, because (1) विर विलायतित is a rather strained construction, and (2) a मेठ of a भेज can scarcely be said to be विशां. A thing is विशां when it is beyond its own control.

p. 84, l. 16 (v. 76). यिषिठाः: should this be यिठरा?

Bhartrhari, iii, 22, and Shbh. 3196 read यिषिठाः.

p. 88, l. 21 (v. 100). सदा: read महा, with SP. ii, 62?

p. 89, l. 7 (v. 103). ऋष्यद्वाः: what is the objection to ऋष्यद्वाः? aβ = ऋष्यद्वाः?

p. 98, l. 14 (v. 143). नैकव च विन्दाधिक: in the Mahābhārata, where the verse occurs (iii, 2815 = iii, 72. 8), the reading is नैकव परिनिलग्निक.

p. 99, l. 5 (v. 146). दिवसवरे: read दिवसवरे?

p. 105 (v. 164). Why not keep the old reading स्वृष्टाड्वर: (Das Südliche Pañcatantra, ii, 81), which is so common a truism in Indian writing?

p. 107, margin. PS: read SP.

p. 116, ll. 5–6. असंख्यं: does this form (for अश्यं) exist?

p. 117, l. 9. जीवविवक: the usual form is जीवविवक.

p. 149, l. 28 (v. 5). नियोजनमत्तर: read "वत्तल: with SP. iv, 2?
p. 150, l. 4. असमो विकार: read असमोपकार:?
p. 150, l. 20 (v. 10). मिचि वा: this Āryā line is imperfect. Read नैवातिनिपण्य with Sbhv. 2893?
p. 153, ll. 10–11. Read "सुपरिभाषेना?
p. 157, l. 10. "वापण: why not retain "वापण (causative)?
p. 161, l. 14. निवर्तित्वत्तराम: the imperative with the termination तराम is very remarkable. Usually we find only the indicative (3rd pers. sing.).

TRANSLATION.

p. 23, ll. 7–8 (text, p. 23, ll. 13–14). Gerade daher, woher Gefahr droht: but यतो ... वपण: यूयते would more exactly mean "whence danger is (proverbially) said to come ".
p. 23, l. 26 (text, p. 24, l. 7). Getötet hat dieser Bösewicht mit List diese Fische: read अप्रभापूर्वेक, "through their want of sense"? See the following words.
p. 31, l. 23 (text, p. 23, l. 10). Diese Worte: rather, "his words," तद्वचन.
p. 67, v. 33 (text, p. 71). Durch Vereinigung gleicher Interessen ["Interessengemeinschaft"]: but B. & R. translate सामथ्ययोगात by "je nach den Umständen" (योगात = "in virtue of "), and it might mean "according to their powers or suitability ". The phrase occurs in the Arthaśāstra, i, 8, p. 20, l. 15.
p. 68, ll. 14–15 (text, p. 72, ll. 14–15). In einer
Liebe, wie sie in der Welt [sonst] nicht zu finden ist: but नोकासीत means merely “miraculous”, “marvellous”.

p. 69, l. 4 (text, p. 73, l. 7). Die mit ihr, ihrer grössten Feindin, Freundschaft geschlossen hatte: does not एकारिमिरता तेन गतस = “having the same enemies and friends as he”?

p. 69, l. 19 (text, p. 73, l. 14). Gewöhnlicher Überlegung folgend: perhaps सामान्यस्त्रीणात ती यदि means, rather, “through seeing only the genus (crow) and not making out the individual.”

p. 76, v. 61 and n. 5 (text, p. 81). In this interesting passage concerning the form of the letter क, we should note the play on the word प्रमाण, “spirant.” The verse recurs with variants in Bhartrhari (supp. 5).

p. 77, v. 66 (text, p. 82). Die Entfernung des Entsagung . . . die Wiederholung des Sterbens: rather, “an acceptance of Renunciation (cf. वेदाण्ड: परमी गहेशो योगनायमयमय: . . . a paraphrase (पर्याय) of dying.”


p. 78, v. 69 (text, p. 83). Von Hilfe entblässt: but उपचारपरिस्थित = “devoid of courtesy”, and it agrees syntactically with अपशो जन: . . . See B. and R., s.ww. उपचार and अंग + परि; also Ind. Sprüche², 5950, einen groben Geizhals . . . angeht.

p. 79, ll. 17–18 (text, p. 85, l. 3). Ein Zufall fügte: कथयन rather = “how I cannot tell”, laying stress not so much on the accidental character, as on the difficulty, of the escape.

p. 79, l. 22 (text, p. 85, l. 4). Selbst wenn sie schlaflen: स्वभगतानामय = “even seen in a dream”.

p. 80, v. 86 (text, p. 86). Eine hervorragende Stellung: but निकाशा द्रष्वा is the opposite of this.
p. 82, vv. 100–1 (text, p. 88). With these two verses compare Harṣacarita, vii, ad init. (Bombay, 1892, p. 226).

p. 83, n. 4 (text, p. 89). These verses occur in the Mahābhārata as follows: 104 = Mbh. iii, 33. 29; 105 = Mbh. xii, 224. 7; 106 = xii, 181. 16, 322. 16; xiii, 7. 22.

p. 84, v. 111 (text, p. 89). Dr. Hertel’s citation of Sic vos non vobis is most apt.

p. 87, n. 3. This argument would make the Harṣacarita also a Kashmirian production. The twilight is distinguished from nightfall even in Hindustan.

pp. 88–9, v. 129 and n. 1 (text, p. 95). Gesellt sich als viertier nicht der Trug: does not चुनौर्वी नाति चलना mean “there is no fourth kind of deception to compare with these three”? The पुंढल is surely either शूरु(वरी)पुढळ of Arthasāstra, p. 12, ll. 1 and 3, i.e. the six faults, desire, etc.; cf. B. and R., s.v. पुढळ; or, more probably, = the five senses + manas: see B. and R., loc. cit.

p. 89, v. 130 and n. 4 (text, p. 95). This verse is quoted (with variants विनिमित्व and विनिमित्व) from Mahābhārata, v, 1014 (= v, 33. 44). Compare also Buddhacarita, ii, v. 41—

एवं विनिमित्न स जुगोप सम
समृद्ध तथाज ररच पद
प्राप विवेच्युत्त विवेच्ये
वज्र विवेच्ये प्रजाही विवेच्ये

p. 90, v. 140 (text, p. 96). Einige freilich ziehen das Almosen vor: or does दान विवेच्याणि mean “only some (few) understand giving”? The meaning “prefer” seems not evidenced in connexion with vijñā.

p. 92, l. 5 (text, p. 98, l. 5). Vom Schicksal zum Unverstand getrieben: निमित्तमचौदितत्ताक्षण = “mishap being suggested by the occurrence (or by an omen)”.

p. 92, ll. 37–8 (text, p. 99, l. 1). Dein Auge ist die Weisheit: perhaps rather “you have the eye of Wisdom”.

ist krummgängig]: "go bowed down," like a fettered prisoner.

p. 93, l. 27 (text, p. 99, ll. 21–2). Die Augen langsam öffne: अचिवी निमोल्यामि is, however, "I close my eyes" (resignedly, giving up such preferences). Cf. B. and R., s.v. मील् + नि, and Harśacarita (Bombay, 1892), p. 286, ll. 5–6, सर्वंमन्चिणि निमोल्या सोडवममूदेन वर्त्थंधर्मणि.

p. 96, v. 154 (text, p. 103). Kein besseres Samenkorn und keinen besseren Dünger: but in connexion with मन्त्राणि we must assign to बीज and वच्चरण (उच्चरण) their technical senses.

p. 97, v. 156 (text, p. 104). Dem nicht: why not translate कथा as an interrogative, महोत्सवकल्यं: being the predicate?

p. 98, v. 164 and n. 2 (text, p. 105). This verse is from the Mahābhārata, xi, 2. 3; xii, 27. 31, 330. 20; xiv, 44. 19.

p. 102, ll. 4 seq. (text, p. 109, ll. 2 seq.). These officials are named in the same order in the Arthaśāstra, i, 8 (p. 20, ll. 12–14): the functions of the स्विज्ञात्र, "revenue-officer," are described in ii, 23, pp. 57 seq., and those of the समाइत्र, "officer of works," in ii, 24, pp. 59 seq. The ब्राह्मविष्ठ, who was in charge of the guard of the royal apartments, is mentioned p. 41, l. 7, and p. 252, l. 7.

p. 105, v. 13 and n. 1 (text, p. 111). Wer durch seine Siege vereinsamt ist (= Wer Pyrrhussiege erfochten hat): य एकतरात गला जयी = the victor in a contest which has been doubtful and might have inclined to either side (एकतर).

p. 108, ll. 35–36 (text, p. 115, l. 19). Besitzest geistliches und weltliches Wissen: or is ज्ञानविज्ञान = "knowledge and science"?

p. 109, ll. 21–2 (text, p. 116, l. 9). Da sein Leben aus ihm gezogen war: निस्त्रुषायु = "straining his powers to the utmost"?

p. 109, l. 28 (text, p. 116, l. 13). Ganz deutlich merkte: निपुणं साधविल्या = "clearly (or cleverly) inferred"?


p. 115, n. 7 (text, p. 123). Wir Brahmanen: but ye yajämanahe (an oft-quoted phrase) means the yajamāna and his friends.

p. 136, v. 134 (text, p. 144). Viele Erhebungen zuniichte gemacht hat: in regard to the Piśācī (properly = "will o' the wisp", "Irrlicht"), वच्चकार्यविकारिणी will mean "taking various tall shapes".

p. 137, v. 139 (text, p. 145). Verstellung und Würde trägt: गच्छियं = "depth", "concealment of thoughts". The word वच्छिय means very possibly to the jaws of death, often represented with open jaws and large teeth (like Kāli).

p. 140, ll. 7-8 (text, p. 148, l. 4). Valīvadānaka ["Faltengesicht"]: with this very apt name compare Juvenal, x, 193-5, rugas quales... in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.

p. 148, l. 14 (text, p. 156, l. 8). Hocherfreut: more exactly, "with great desire"; cf. text, 68, l. 14, where Dr. Hertel translates, "ersehne ich innigst [wörtlich: "mit vielen Wünschen"]," and 152, l. 7.

p. 149, ll. 4-5 (text, p. 157, l. 4). War bei Tag[esanbruch] aus dem Schlaf erwacht: but read द्वादसमृद्धिवद = द्वादसाप्रस in one word, "awoke from a siesta" (or "nap").

Glossary.

चन्द्रप्रवेश (p. 109, l. 13); cf. चन्द्रविषय (text, p. 11, l. 6, and Harṣacarita, p. 152, l. 4).

चपार्थक (p. 150, l. 11), "schädlich." Rather, "useless," "purposeless" (B. and R., "sinnlos"). So Harṣacarita (Bombay, 1892), p. 268, l. 1.

आत्मचित (pp. 109, ll. 1 and 5, 110, l. 4, 115, l. 7), "Gefahr für das Bestehen des Reiches," and adj. It seems
unnecessary to lay stress upon the idea of danger; the sense of "urgent" (B. and R. "dringend") is sufficient. B. and R.'s "wobei periculum in mora est" is explanation, and for periculum we might substitute incommodum. The word occurs in the Sohgaura Plate inscription (JRAS., 1907, pp. 509 sqq.) and in the Arthaśāstra, p. 29, l. 12, a passage which the Tantrākhyāyika (p. 109, ll. 1 and 5–6) has in view.

आनुयक्षिक (p. 7, l. 15), "sich anschliessend, nachgehend." So also B. and R., but I venture to suggest that the meaning intended is accidental concomitance or consecution, i.e. coincidence. Cf. Harsacarita, p. 31, l. 6, अनुपक्ष: प्रसङ्गः.

आसार (p. 7, l. 1) occurs several times in the Arthaśāstra as denoting a division of an army, e.g. pp. 277, l. 14, 283, l. 11, 362, l. 18, 368, ll. 11–12 (प्रामासार), 404, l. 1 (अनिरासार: सासारे वा), 405, l. 2.

एकपद्ध (p. 109, l. 16), "plötzlich." Read एकपद्ध ?

कारण (p. 152, l. 6), "Unternehmen." Or has the word here only the same sense as in मम कारणी, etc.?

कर्मान्तिक (p. 109, l. 3), "Reichsbaumeister"? Cf. B. and R., s.v. कर्मान्ति, and Arthaśāstra, आकर्षणां मृत्युपर्यन्तन, title of a chapter (i, 30).

परिप्रविष्ट (iii, v. 7) occurs also in the Bālarāmāyana (see the smaller St. Petersburg lexicon) and the Harsacarita, p. 208, l. 4.

पाद्तल (p. 162, l. 5), "Fussboden." But is not पाद्तले = "at his feet"?

पादत्तिव (p. 7, l. 1). For other instances see the Arthaśāstra, pp. 272, l. 1, 299, परिच्छन्ति, title of c. 117 (pp. 299–303); cf. p. 281, l. 11.

पुरातन (p. 131, l. 18), "den früheren Zustand besitzend." But the text is पुरातनमित.

पुष्पक and विन्दु (p. 123, l. 2), "eine Observanz." But the corrupt passage विन्दुपुष्पक contains, no doubt, the word विन्दुपुष्पक, which is known from other sources.
I append a list of the verses which with the aid of Aufrecht's indices I have traced in other works. A large proportion of them recur in the Mahābhārata, and these will have an interest for the history of that work, as well as for that of the Tantrākhyāyika. One verse seems to be found in the Raṃāyaṇa. The remaining citations, from anthologies, etc., of later date than the Tantrākhyāyika, may be helpful in connexion with textual questions.

Among the abbreviations the following may need explanation:

Skm. = Saduktikarnāmṛta (Aufrecht MS.);
Sbhv. = Subhāṣitāvalī;
Śp. = Sārūgadharapaddhati;
S.-Muktāv. = Subhāṣita-muktāvalī (Aufrecht MS.);
S.-Saṃcaya = Subhāṣita-saṃcaya (Aufrecht MS.).

I have marked with * works quoted from MSS., and with † the citations already supplied by Professor Franke and Professor Lanman (Hertel, trans., pp. 146–7).
arthena hi vihinasya, ii, 53 = Rāmāy. vi, 83. 33.
arthebhyo hi pravṛddhebhyas, Anh.i, 57 = Rāmāy. vi, 83. 32.
atyucchrite mantriṇi pārthive, i, 64 = Mudrārākṣasa, 91.
anāgatavidhātā ca, i, 128 = Mbh. xii, 137. 1 and 20.
apy unmattat pralapato, ii, 144 = Mbh. v, 34. 32.
avyavasāyinam alasam, ii, 97 = Sbhv. 2848.
abhitaḥavitacāraśūnyabuddhes, i, 12 = Sbhv. 3444.
ḥatmanas capalo nāsti, ii, 18 = Mbh. xii, 138. 149–50.
āraāhyamāno bahubhiḥ praṇa, i, 93 = Sbhv. 426, 3231.
āśāṃ kālavatiṁ kuryāt, ii, 126 = Mbh. i, 140. 88, xii, 140. 32.
isti vā sukṛtasatopalahito, ii, 27 = Sbhv. 437.
uttisṭha kṣanam ekam, ii, 60 = *Skm. v, 236. Sbhv. 3195.
utsāhasampannam adīrgaṇa, ii, 96 = Sbhv. 315, *S.-
Sāṃcaya. xv, 1.
ṛnāśeṇa agniśeṇa, iii, 114 = Mbh. xii, 140. 58.
ekam hanyān na vā hanyād, iii, 123. Cf. Mbh. v, 33. 43.
ekayā dve vinirjitya, ii, 130 = Mbh. v, 33. 44.
ekasya duḥkhasya na yāvad, ii, 160 = Mahānātaka, iv, 40 (210).
ekākini vanavāsiny, i, 4 = Sbhv. 594.
kadarthitasyāpi hi dhairyavṛtter, i, 31 = Bhartṛ. ii, 75, Sbhv. 316. 528, Sp. 227.
kanakabhūṣanasaṁgañocito, i, 36 = *Skm. iv, 76. Sbhv. 898.
kalpayati yena vṛttim, i, 24 = Sbhv. 2892.
kṛtaśatam asatsu naṣṭam, iv, 17 = Sbhv. 340.
ko 'ṛthān prāpya na garvito, i, 90 = *Skm. v, 176, Sbhv. 3470, Sp. 1534.
ko 'haṃ kau desakālau, iii, 121 = Sp. 1404.
guṇa guṇajñesu guṇibhavanti, i, 100 = Sbhv. 260, Sp. 295, Gaṇar.
guror apy avaliaptasya, i, 121 = Mbh. i, 140. 54, v, 178. 48, xii, 57. 7, 140. 48, Rāmāy. ii, 21. 13.
jivitaṁ ca śāriraṁ ca, ii, 105 = Mbh. xii, 224. 7, cf. xii, 174. 22.
tānindriyāṇy avikalāṇi, ii, 61 = Bhavī. Suppl. 5, Bhojavprabandha.
trāṇi nonmūlayati pra, i, 52 = Sbhv. 261.
tyajanti mitrāṇi dhanair vihinam, ii, 54 = *S.-Muktāv. iv, 13.
tyajed ekaṁ kulasārthe, i, 118 = Mbh. ii, 62. 11, v, 37. 17, 128. 49.
dattvā yācānti puruṣa, ii, 91 = Mbh. iv, 20. 6.
dānād damo viśiṣṭo vai, ii, 140 = Mbh. xiii, 75. 15.
dānena tulo vidhir, ii, 141 = *S.-Muktāv. ix, 49.
dinā dinamukhaṁ yadi, ii, 76 = Bhrtr. iii, 22, Sbhv. 3196.
dūrād uceritapānār ardra, i, 108 = *Skm. v, 177, Sbhv. 342.
ṛdesaṁ balaṁ kālaṁ upāyam, iii, 25 = Sbhv. 2913,
*S.-Muktāv. iv, 1.
dvipyād anyasmād api, ii, 139 = Ratna-vali, 7, quoted Dhvanyāl, p. 114, Daśarūpa. i, 24, iii, 3, Śp. 441, etc.
†dharma eva hato hanti, iii, 60 = Mbh. iii, 313. 128.
na gopradānam na mahipradānam, i, 117 = Vetalap. (Uhle), p. 51.
na mantrabalavīryena, ii, 119 = Mbh. xii, 226. 20.
naṣṭam apātre dānam, i, 104 = Sbhv. 341.
†nāsti jātyā ripur nāma, ii, 33 = Mbh. xii, 138. 139, 140. 51.
nimittam uddiṣya hi yah, i, 94 = Ghaṭakarpāra Nītisāra, 10, Sbhv. 230, Śp. 360.
nirdravyo hriyam eti, ii, 67 = Alamkāratilaka, p. 25.
nṛpaḥ kāmāśakto gaṇayati, i, 83 = Śp. 1390.
prāyeneha kulānvitam, i, 177 = Sbhv. 3468.
phalāṇy amṛtakalpāni, Anh. iv, 19 (only so far) = Rāmāy. iii, 73. 6 and 10.
priyaṃ brūyād akṛpanaś, ii, 128 = Mbh. xii, 70, 4.
balopapanno 'pi hi buddhi?, iii, 67 = Sbhv. 2924.
bahavahāḥ paṇḍītāḥ kṣudrās, i, 116 = Mbh. xii, 111. 63.
†bādhyaṇte na hy aviśvastā, ii, 34 = Mbh. xii, 138. 197.
mantramulaṃ hi vijayaṃ, iii, 36 = Rāmāy. vi, 6. 5.
mitram vā bandhum vā, iv, 10 = Sbhv. 2893.
yaj jīvyate kṣanam api, i, 10 = Ṣp. 1481.
yatnād api kah paśyec, i, 159 = Sbhv. 964, Ṣp. 873.
yathā dhenusahasrēsu, ii, 106 = Mbh. xii, 151. 16, 322. 16, xi, 7. 22.
yathodayagirer dravyaṃ, ii, 153 = Mbh. xii, 293. 4.
yad akāryam akāryam eva, i, 180 = Sbhv. 2903.
yayor eva samam vittam, iii, 87 = Mbh. i, 131. 10.
yasmāc ca yena ca yadā ca, ii, 5 = *S.-Muktāv. viii, 29.
yasyārthas tasya mitrāṇi, ii, 52 = Mbh. xii, 8. 19, Rāmāy. vi, 83. 35.
†yādṛśais sannivasate, ii, 151 = Mbh. v, 36.13, xii, 299. 32.
yo na dadāti na bhūntke, ii, 110 = Ṣp. 387.
rājā ghṛṇi brāhmaṇas, i, 183 = Ṣp. 1541.
rāmapravrajanaṃ baler, iii, 136 = Bhajapr. 23.
rogī cīrapravāsi parānā, o, ii, 72 = Sbhv. 3194, Ṣp. 404.
labdhavyāṇy eva labhate, ii, 120 = Mbh. xii, 226. 22.
lavaṇajalāntā nadyas, i, 169 = Bhartṛ. ii, 71.
lāṅgulacālanam adhaś, i, 8 = Sbhv. 641.
varaṃ yuktaṃ maunam, ii, 70 = Padyasamgraha, 10.
varaṃ ahimukhe krodhāviṣte, ii, 68 = Sbhv. 456, Ṣp. 255.
vīṇāpy arthair prājñas, ii, 99 = Sbhv. 535.
vimānanā duścaritānukirtanam, ii, 44 = Sbhv. 2922.
vymaikāntaracārino, ii, 9 = *Skm. v, 356, *S.-Śameya.
iv, 2, Vetālap. (Uhle), p. 59, Aṣṭaratna, 2, etc.
śāsidivākaror grahapiḍanamu, ii, 8 = Sbhv. 3125,
*S.-Śameya, ii, 5, Sarasvatīk. v, etc.
śūnyam aputrasya grham, ii, 59 = Mṛchakaṭikā, p. 2.
śrutiṇa buddhir vyasanena, iii, 140 = Kavyaprakāśa ad
vii, 9, *S.-Śameya, xv, 4.
saṃgrāme praharaṇaṃsaṃkate, ii, 134 = Sbhv. 3129.
śrūyate hi kapotena, iii, 78 = Rāmāy. vi, 18. 24.
satam matam atikramya, i, 73 = Mbh. v, 124. 26.
saptāpo na khalu nareṇa, ii, 131 = Sbbv. 3128.
sarvathā dharmamūlo 'rtho, ii, 104 = Sbbv. 2813.
sarvas sarvaḥ na jānāti, ii, 143 = Mbh. iii, 72. 8.
sarve kṣayāntā nicayāh, ii, 165 = Mbh. xi, 2. 3, xii, 27. 31,
330. 20, xiv, 44. 19, Rāmāy. ii, 105. 16, vii, 52. 11.
sahāyabandhanāḥ bh arthās, iii, 24 = Mbh. v, 37. 38.
supuspitās syād aphalaḥ, ii, 127 = Mbh. i, 140. 68, v, 34. 24,
xii, 140. 31.
supūrā vai kunadikā, i, 11 = Mbh. v, 133, 9.
suhrd ayam iti durjane 'sti, ii, 26 = Sbbv. 3066.
suhrdām upakārakāraṇād, i, 6 = Sbbv. 2898.
suhrdi nirantaracitte, ii, 158 = *Ś.-Muktāv. ix, 13,
Vetālap. (Uhle), p. 20.
svalpam snāyuvasāvasekamalānām, i, 7 = Bhartr. ii, 23.
hutāsajvālābhe sthitavati, i, 110 = *Skm. iv, 247, Sbbv.
1917.

F. W. Thomas.

DER ältere Vedānta: Geschichte, Kritik und Lehre.
Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

In his previous work, Die philosophische Grundlage
des älteren Buddhismus, Dr. Walleser has shown that
he possesses a scholarly knowledge both of modern
philosophy and of ancient Hindu thought, and that he
can apply the former to the analysis of the latter with
skill and judgment. The present book is distinguished
by the same qualities. It is a welcome addition to the
literature of the Vedānta, and will doubtless be indi-
spensable for the critical study of Vedantic theories.

By the term "der ältere Vedānta," Dr. Walleser
designates the teachings of the Kārikā ascribed to
Gauḍapāda upon the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, which he
expounds in the light of the commentary of Śaṅkara
and the gloss of Ānandajñāna. At the outset he denies the identity of this Gauḍāpāda with the writer of the same name to whom is ascribed the Śāmkhya-kārikā. He believes that the name Gauḍāpāda is a figment, made up from the title of the book Gauḍāpādiya-kārikā, "summary-verse consisting in pādas of the Gauḍā school" (pp. 1, 6, 11). This is of course possible, but the evidence adduced is very inconclusive. Prima facie the name Gauḍāpāda is exactly parallel to Dramiḍā-cārīya; and the word pāda, properly an honorific ending, is often applied to form titles of individuals, e.g. Pūjyapāda. This seems to us to be the natural explanation of the name; and the quotations adduced by Dr. Walleser do not prove his case.

Dr. Walleser's chief conclusions on the text itself are as follows. The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad itself is but little, if at all, older than the Kārikā or Gauḍāpādiya attached to it, which was existent as early as c. 550 A.D., the period to which we may ascribe the beginning of the Vedantic philosophy; "man darf also wohl annehmen, dass die Zusammengehörigkeit von Upaniṣad und Kommentar von vornherein bestand" (pp. 5, 19). The Gauḍāpādiya is the only surviving text of the older Vedānta; no other is mentioned in the earlier Buddhist literature, and everything suggests that the Vedānta was scholastically formulated in it soon after the composition of the specifically Vedantic Upaniṣads, e.g. the Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, and Śvetāśvatara; the Śūtras are later. The Gauḍāpādiya, the anonymous handbook of the schoolmen of Gaur, is in spirit closely connected with the great bhāṣya of Śaṅkara, which is probably the reason for the traditional association of the latter with "Gauḍāpāda" as his spiritual grandson (pp. 22–3).¹

¹ Dr. Walleser, however, doubts the identity of this Śaṅkara with the author of the commentary on the Gauḍāpādiya (p. 55, note).
and we must admire the learning and ingenuity with which they are propounded. But "Bedenken" suggest themselves at once. If "Vedānta" means only the schools of the Gauḍapādiya and Śaṅkara, it is doubtless right to say that the Kārikā is the sole monument of the "earlier Vedānta". But what if, as we believe, it means much more? "Vedānta" is synonymous with "Upaniṣad"; each school believed that its doctrine was the natural interpretation of the Upaniṣads. The Vaiśṇavas and Śaivas in particular are entitled to protest against this arbitrary restriction of the term, and to demand that the study of the earlier Vedānta shall take account of their origins. The Śvetāsvatara is not a "Vedantic" Upaniṣad in Dr. Walleser's sense; it is a forerunner of the Śaiva schools, who are also Vedantic. And, lastly, the conclusion that the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad is hardly, if at all, older than its Kārikā lacks real evidence; more than one Sanskrit text has been incorporated in accretions of much later age.

However, we may provisionally agree to accept Dr. Walleser's restriction of the term "Vedānta"; we have now to see how he accounts for the rise of this particular school. His explanation is as follows. The "Vedānta" is based upon a doctrine of illusion and negativism, which is summed up in its theory of "Māyā". Now the latter is quite foreign to older Upaniṣads, and appears to be derived from Buddhist sources. Notably the fourth book of the Gauḍapādiya attacks the realistic doctrines of both the Śaṅkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas, and asserts its doctrines of monism, illusion, and negativism in language strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist schools (p. 24). In the age of Nāgārjuna (the second–third centuries) Indian logic was still in a rudimentary state. Nāgārjuna developed the dialectical method of prasaṅga for establishing negation, which led in the hands of his school to absolute negativism. This method was followed by Brahman controversialists, the more readily since in
their effort to work out their monistic theory into a consistent system the doctors of the Upaniṣads had long admitted the unreality of the phenomenal world. Hence the Vedānta in its oldest form is an organic combination, in which one side of later Buddhism, its negativistic theory of cognition and logic in general, is assimilated with the traditional Upaniṣadic monism, the doctrine that all is One, Self, Brahma; and this union of ideas first appears in the Gauḍapādiya (p. 33).

In this theory of the origin of the Vedānta there is much that commends itself to consideration. Yet we must confess to doubts on some points. Is the doctrine of Māyā "durchaus fremd" to the older Upaniṣads? True, they have not worked it out in the sense of the "Vedānta," and they do not use the word māyā before the Śvetāśvatara. Yet it is quite possible that from their loose idealistic language some thinkers drew "illusionistic-negativistic" conclusions before the Buddhists appeared. We are still of opinion that the Māyā-theory was derived from the teaching of an Upaniṣadic school, though perhaps this school was not the truest to orthodox tradition. On the other hand, there can be no doubt, especially after Dr. Walleser's studies, that the later representatives of this school were strongly influenced in the negative side of their doctrine by the absolute negativism of Buddhism, while preserving the positive side of their tradition, the belief in the reality of the transcendental subject.

In the second half of his book Dr. Walleser enters upon less debatable ground. Here he analyses and elucidates with great ability the teachings of the second book of the Gauḍapādiya on the cardinal subjects of Vedānta, such as the unreality of phenomenal experience in waking and sleeping, Vedantic epistemology, the Self or absolute Ego in its relation as substrate and cause of phenomenal consciousness, etc. It must suffice here to say that his exposition is sound and scholarly, and his criticism just.
While he shows with perfect fairness the real achievements of the Vedānta, he equally reveals its weakness from the standpoint of modern idealism and its necessary ultimate degeneration into indifferentism.

Among the somewhat numerous printer's errors two especially call for notice. On p. 34, l. 6, v. Chr. should be corrected to n. Chr., and on p. 53, l. 20, parimāṇa should be parināma.

L. D. Barnett.


This book is the twelfth volume published in the E. J. W. Gibb's Memorial Series. It consists of a number of papers which the student of Chinese, Persian, or Mongol history will find interesting. As the title indicates, it is intended to be introductory to the History of the Mongols by Rashid ed-Din, a most valuable and important authority, one of the most noteworthy of the Persian historians. These historians at Tabriz, under the Mongol princes, have given us in their writings accounts of the China of that period, the time of the Yuan, or Mongol, Dynasty. Rashid ed-Din is one of the mediaeval writers who mentions Zaitûn, or Zayton, the port near Amoy, over which discussion has been rife as to whether it was Chwanchow or Changchow.

The translation of the Persian text of this historiographer having already either partly appeared or being about to appear, the present work has taken up that portion which has never been edited, viz., the history of the Mongols in both China and Persia for a period commencing after the death of Chinghis Khan.

The readers of this book will find many accounts of histories and Persian works of various kinds—prose and
poetical—belonging to the literary cycle of the Jami et-Tawarikh of Rashid. A roll of all the writers referred to would make a long chronicle. It is a storehouse of information on works connected with the period, or bearing any relation to Rashid's labours; for this erudite work is full of information on this epoch and subsequent ones, and replete with critical notes and statements, all bearing more or less on the labours and the monumental work of Rashid, and the periods of which he writes. Numerous extracts are given in the notes from Persian sources, accompanied by translations, and every now and then excerpts from Chinese works for the elucidation of some point or other, such as the Yuan Shi and other histories.

By this translation the locked-up treasures of the Persian originals are now thrown open to the student of Mongol events whose knowledge hitherto did not extend further than the Chinese histories. The Persian and the Chinese historians are complementary, the one to the other; the former note the events taking place in Mongolia and amongst the Turks, whilst the latter touch on subjects unknown or but imperfectly known to the Persian, such as the relations of China with the cluster of countries to the south-east. The indebtedness of the Persian to the Chinese historians as well as to other sources is shown. The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, spent some months in Persia, and there are several passages in Rashid ed-Din's histories, as well as Wassáf's, which there is but little doubt were derived from information supplied by him.

The Persian chroniclers are not always reliable. One of their own historians says of them that they have no notion of what passed in China after Timur's reign; and their ignorance was shared pretty well by the people. To this day it appears that not only amongst the mass but even amongst well-educated Persians the idea is
prevalent that descendants of Jenghiz Khan are still occupants of the Chinese throne, so wide-spread across Asia was the power of that great Mongol potentate. M. Blochet exposes the pretensions of some of these Persian, or Mongol, historians, who desire in their accounts to gain credit for some clan as being near akin to the emperors of the mighty empire of China.

Most obscure is the early history of the Mongols. These nomad tribes of Central Asia rise out of the almost unknown. Legend is busy, of course, with their origin. The early progenitors of the Mongols, it is said, were a grizzly wolf, or a blue wolf Ssanang Ssetzen says, and whitish bitch. Anyhow, the wolfish nature of the remote ancestor showed itself in the ferociousness of his descendants in their early days.

M. Blochet tells us that it was not the lust of conquest so much that impelled the hordes of Asiatic nomads on the rich countries of Europe and China, as the fixed idea that, as there was but one God in Heaven, so there was but one sovereign on earth to whom all should submit and acknowledge as suzerain. This principle animated Batu and his successors when they put Russia to fire and sword.

The author has found some further information concerning the life of Rashid ed-Din which was unknown to the indefatigable and learned Quatremère, and which is contained in a Persian work. He also touches on certain points which he believes will help to elucidate the evolution of the Mongol Empire, and to explain its rapid decay in China, for, as is well known, the emperors of the Yuan Dynasty only sat eighty-nine years on the Dragon Throne. The story is told of a series of intrigues which resulted eventually in the downfall and death of Rashid.

The argument that Rashid was at least of Jewish descent is stated, the general opinion in Persia being that
he was a Hebrew, hence the son of Timur had his bones transferred to a Jewish cemetery. This view, however, is quite opposed to the opinion of Quatremère. M. Blochel says: "C'est là une question à peu près insoluble et pour laquel il est facile de trouver des arguments sérieux dans les deux sens."

The author devotes some space to proving that Rashid was a plagiarist, and the sources of the Jami et-Tawarikh are traced. He sums up as follows: "En résumé, on voit maintenant que la Djami el tévarikh, la 'Somme des Chroniques', se compose de quatre ouvrages historiques. "Il n'y a guères à douter qu'Abd Allah el-Kashani fût ... le véritable auteur." In this connection M. Blochel naturally expresses surprise how one man could have the time to acquire such an amount of varied science and find time to write the thousands of pages in folio which his works contain, whether historical, religious, or philosophical, as well as attend to all his duties.

M. Blochel says, "six princes mongol ont porté le titre impérial après Timour," but this statement leaves out of count Yu Chi (Achakpa), Ming Tsung (Hosila), and Ning Tsung (Ile Chepe). This is scarcely "parfaitment exact". Four of the nine issued no coins, to be sure, but all nine had the nien hao, or titles of reign, assigned to them. Doubtless the three omitted have been considered by the Persians as negligible quantities, for Yu Chi and Ning Tsung were but boys. Only a year each is given to them in the Chinese dynastic tables, and Ming Tsung died in a month's time.

M. Blochel enlarges upon the diplomatic relations that existed between the extremes of the Mongol Empire in Eastern and Western Asia. Kublai Khan was the suzerain lord, and a Persian monarch waited for his confirmation before assuming the full regal position. From Houlagu to Arghun-Khan all Persian rulers were in the position of the great Khan's Lieutenant-Governors. Down to the
last hour the Mongol emperors of China looked upon Persia as a part of their immense dominions. The Ming emperor, even in the time of Shah Rukh, considered himself as the suzerain lord of these distant parts of the world.

Constant embassages travelled between China and Persia, and this accounts for the Chinese influence exercised on Persian paintings (and doubtless also, we should think, on Persian ceramics), but the Persian historians with one exception have ignored the dispatch of their tribute-bearers to the Son of Heaven—naturally enough, as the humiliation of it was great.

J. DYER BALL.

DESCRIPTION OF CHINESE POTTERY AND PORCELAIN.

The late Dr. Bushell was an authority on Chinese art, curios, coins, and porcelain. Stationed for many years, some thirty, at the British Legation in Peking, he made a good use of the opportunities which presented themselves for acquiring an extensive knowledge on these interesting subjects.

It is much to be regretted that he never published a work on Chinese numismatics, though short articles, notes, or answers to queries on the subject by him may be found scattered through the pages of the China Review and other magazines, etc.

It was otherwise with porcelain. A good use was made of his acquaintance with Chinese ceramics in different articles and books written by him. We may mention amongst them an article on "Chinese Porcelain before the Present Dynasty", also the chapter on "Pottery and Porcelain" in the two volume book entitled Chinese Art,
which is freely illustrated with examples from the South Kensington Museum, while another noteworthy production is the letterpress in a volume on *Oriental Ceramic Art*. This last was produced in America at a cost of £50,000, it is said: the price was £100 a copy, and the edition was limited to 500 copies. It took about seven years to produce, and some of the plates which illustrated it passed forty-four times through the press.

The present work is a translation of a Chinese book, considered by Chinese connoisseurs to be the chief authority on Chinese ceramics. This work, originally published in A.D. 1774, filled a gap in Chinese literature, as it was the first special book written on the subject. The author was an official who carried on a personal investigation of the processes employed in the manufacture of porcelain at the famous Imperial factories at Ching-tê chên, as well as at the other private potteries there, making up the number of the "three thousand furnaces" which the poet tells us

``
Glow
Incessantly, and fill the air
With smoke uprising, gyre on gyre,
And painted by the lurid glare
Of jets and flashes of red fire''.

The Chinese author's book consists of a running commentary on a series of extracts made from other books. Some idea of his diligence in thus culling excerpts may be gathered from the number of volumes that have been referred to by him; for Dr. Bushell has given a bibliographical list which contains 105 of them, but is limited to the principal ones only. The introduction prepared by the English translator adds much to the interest of the book, as also do the two long valuable letters by the Jesuit missionary, Père d'Entrecolles, written in 1712 and 1722. These dissipated the absurd notion prevalent in Europe as to the process employed in the manufacture
of porcelain, for they contained detailed accounts of it in the K'ang-hsi period at Ching-tê chên, which place the worthy father often visited. There are no Chinese characters given in the English translation, which is rather a drawback, though, of course, printed in England the inclusion of these would have added seriously to the cost of publication.

The want of an index to the book, though to be regretted, is perhaps of less moment as the Chinese work is divided into books and sections. The first book, "Description of Modern Ware," is almost entirely taken up with a description of the illustrations; these unfortunately do not appear in the English translation. This drawback is remedied to a certain extent in a note referring readers to other books on Chinese porcelain containing illustrations similar in style. The second book is entitled "Description of Ancient Ware", the third "Description of Ming Ware", while the remaining three books are headed "Description of Specimens".

Chinese authors are strong on prefaces, and the present volume has no less than four, each, more Sinico, written by a different hand.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the Chinese were the inventors of porcelain. No one disputes this, though some other inventions, at one time accredited to them, have been proved to have had other sources of origin.

The Chinese have never been above taking from other nations things that were indubitably of utility to them, and thus we find that a few of the designs used in the decoration of porcelain in China were derived from the West, and the Chinese were indebted to the Arabs for cobalt blue. They repaid any slight borrowings of the sort with interest, as their beautiful ware has been widespread not only in the modern world but also in mediaeval times. It went to India, Persia, and other countries on the south-west of Asia, Egypt, and the east of Africa.
It was from Egypt that Chinese porcelain seems to have reached Europe. Marco Polo said of it that it was "exported all over the world".

The bronze age, if one may so style it, of Chinese decorative art has supplied many of the beautiful and unique forms and shapes now seen in Chinese porcelain, and "porcelain enamelled in colours was painted in imitation of brocaded silks".

The invention of pottery, according to the Chinese, was in the time of Hwang-ti (B.C. 2698), or, perhaps with more certainty, in the third millennium B.C. The imperceptible gradation of Chinese pottery or faience into porcelain renders it difficult to determine with certainty, the date of the invention of the last. The first mention of it in Chinese official records is in A.D. 621. Dr. Bushell also gives an earlier date, that of 583. Julien's placing of it "entre les années 185 avant et 87 après J.C." is a mistake due to Hsin-p'ing being mentioned in a Chinese work as the place of its invention. There were two places bearing the same name, hence the error.

The definition of what is porcelain is different in China from what it is in England. "A clear resonant note on percussion" is the practical test in the land of its origin. Dr. Bushell was of opinion that there was transparent porcelain as early as the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–905), though some European writers doubt it. He is confirmed in this by the accounts of an Arab traveller in the ninth century.

Another error of Julien's requires correction, and that is his rendering of the Chinese word ch'ing by blue in order to be consistent. Anyone familiar with Chinese is aware that this people apply the word to the colour of nature as seen in the green of the foliage and grass on the earth's surface, or blue as visible in the depths of the sky, and when applied to ceramics it covers more
than one shade of colour. It then represents "all shades of clear greens and blues from the olive-green and grass-green of ancient Lung-ch’uăn ware to the sapphire blue of more modern monochromes, and the brilliant blue of the blue and white of the hawthorn vases of the reign of K‘ang-hsi". What seems like a curious mistake in the book under review, due to a misapprehension of the tones, is on p. 115, where the Chinese for "frogs" is given as "sky chickens". It should be "field chickens".

The Chinese are nothing if not religious, and each trade and calling, sooner or later, has set up a god or a saint for its craft or profession. "The Genius of Fire and Blast" is the god of the potters. The baking of large dragon fish-bowls having failed year after year, the eunuchs in charge inflicted most severe punishments. Doubtless brooding over this trouble the future god leaped into the burning furnace with, of course, the result that the dragon-bowls came out quite perfect.

J. Dyer Ball.


The above-mentioned book fittingly continues the series of excellent publications issued under the auspices of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. It comprises two large octavo volumes, the first containing the text and smaller illustrations, the second being a case for the numerous plans and larger illustrations of the architectural monuments described in the first. Taken together they form a very complete record of Cham architecture and sculpture. M. Parmentier has done his work in a most conscientious and minute manner, and with a thorough appreciation of the nature of his task.

The book is really one for experts rather than the general reader, though the latter will find much in it to
interest him. Cham art, as depicted in these pages, is typically Indian in its sources, but has been considerably affected by local conditions, and has developed peculiar characteristics of its own. Its subjects are mainly Sivaite, but local kings and queens, and probably also local divinities, more or less definitely grafted on to the Hindu pantheon, play a considerable part in it. The sculpture, though not as a rule in the first rank of artistic excellence, is often executed with much spirit and deserves more detailed study than I am in a position to give it. The architecture, though inferior to that of Camboja, has a certain solid and rather gloomy magnificence of its own. Both are curious as modifications of Indian types. They have also a somewhat pathetic interest as belonging entirely to a dead past. For an alien race and a different form of civilization now occupy the land, and Cham art has neither a present nor a future. It is only represented by ruins or (worse still) by buildings that have passed into the hands of strangers and have been adapted by them to foreign uses.

But for the researches of French scholars the Cham race would have disappeared at no distant date without leaving any substantial trace of its former grandeur. The civilized world owes a great debt to the painstaking explorers and students who have succeeded, often amidst great difficulties, in rescuing for posterity the relics that remain to remind us of the great past of this interesting people. It would be the height of rashness to attempt to anticipate the verdict of the historical philosopher who, taking the whole world for his province, may some day endeavour to weigh rival civilizations in his balance and estimate their respective values in the development of the human race. Yet to such a synthetic student, if ever he appears (and reads, as he certainly should do, the back numbers of this Journal), I venture to recommend the study of the Cham people as a leading case of one form of civilization
prevailing over another. Their country was formerly, so far as its culture was concerned, a part of India; it is now, from the same point of view, a part of China.

I do not venture to draw any conclusions from this great fact, nor am I competent to enter into a technical criticism of the specimens of art described and illustrated in these pages. I can only recommend the book to all students of Indian art and archaeology. They will find many things in it that will interest them.

C. O. Blagden.


In the volume before us Mr. William Foster carries one stage farther the valuable series of early records on which he has been so long engaged. It presents all the well-known merits of its predecessors; Mr. Foster's great care and his knowledge of the period make him an editor whom it would be hard to equal and impossible to surpass.

The English continue to find themselves threatened at sea by the Portuguese, whose redoubttable admiral, Ruy Freire de Andrada, is still to the fore. On land, however, a sharp lesson was taught by the English to these haughty rivals. On October 14, 1630, a small body of English sailors drove a superior number of Portuguese into the sea at Surat, and slaughtered many of them without losing more than one man, and he died from heat apoplexy.

The volume contains much interesting matter on the course of trade, the nature and prices of the goods exported, with their curious, uncouth names, and the various inland marts to which the agents were sent, extending as far as Patna in one direction and Samâna (in the Punjab) in the other. The trade on the Coromandel coast began to prosper through careful nursing at Armagon and Masulipatam. In 1633 initial efforts were made to open up the Bengal trade
by way of Balasore, but at this stage it was far from promising to assume the preponderance it afterwards attained. As usual, the Company was troubled by the dissensions of its own servants; while its unceasing efforts to suppress private trading were crowned with little success. Unkindest cut of all, their monopoly was threatened by an interloper sailing under King Charles’ auspices. The manners and customs of the Company’s servants at Sūrat have a lurid light thrown on them by the protest of a certain Richard Boothby, but it may be permitted us to take cum grano the angry comments of a malcontent. In those early days the Mogul governors of Sūrat and their subordinates were a constant source of trouble, and as we know, this evil continued until the day when, as much from this cause as any other, the trade of Sūrat was killed, and Bombay rose upon its ruins. It was during these years that the East India Company’s servants at Sūrat altered their style from “Agents” to that of “President in Council”.

As was the case in previous volumes, many valuable sidelights are thrown on the general history of the country. The new emperor (i.e. Shāhjahān, s. 1627) had “cut off all the blood royall” to secure himself, and had begun to depress and keep in order the great nobles. We have glimpses of Shāhjahān’s campaign in the Dakhin, of which the objects were solidifying his conquest of the Ahmadnagar State and obtaining cessions from Gulkanda and Bijāpur. There is a graphic reference on p. 159 to the heroic death of Khān Jahān, Lodī, after his rebellion and flight. Prominent above everything else are the references to the famine, which recur again and again; the distress seems to have been very severe, lasting for three years, and extending across India from Ahmadābād to Masulipatam.

A few miscellaneous observations may be added in conclusion. I should like to know more of the Mir Jumlah.
mentioned under the year 1633 (p. xxxv). I presume he is not identical with the Mir Jumlah who in 1657 deserted the Gulkanda service and went over to the Moguls. I fancy the Antonio de Andrade, provincial of the Goa Jesuits in 1631 (pp. viii and xxxvi), must be the Jesuit of the same name who went to Tibet twice, first in 1624 and again in 1625, and was thus one of the earliest missionaries in that country. On pp. 87 and 92 instead of "Khwajah Ali Razzâq" I am inclined to read "Khojah" (eunuch) "Ali Rizâ". "Razzâq" seems to require "'Abd-ul" and not "Ali". You have as proper names either "'Ali Rizâ" or "'Abd-ul-razzâq". As for "Rizack", the original spelling, that need be no obstacle, as I have found, for instance, Rajah constantly spelt Rajack. There was a eunuch at the Gulkanda Court called Rizâ Quli, who conquered for that State part of the Karnâtik in 1662, and ruled there until his death in April, 1672, when he was about 76 years of age. Perhaps this "Ali Rizack" is the same man. I see that Mr. Foster favours the spelling "Damân" for the Portuguese town north of Bombay, but from my inquiries I came to the conclusion that the second a is short, and that we ought to write "Daman". The nasalized n at the end is of Portuguese introduction.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

LE T'AI CHAN: ESSAY DE MONOGRAPHIE D'UN CULTE CHINOIS. Par E. CHAVANNES. Paris: E. LEROUX.

There are many Chinese books devoted to an account of the sacred mountain, T'ai Shan, but the only one in a European language is in German, Der T'ai Schan und seine Kulstalten, by Tschepe, and it does not quite fill the position which the present exhaustive monograph does. M. Chavannes has the reputation of being a sound sinologue and one of the most industrious. This volume is only another instance of the two qualities which he possesses in such an eminent degree.
The mountain of which the book under review is a study is the most celebrated of the five especially sacred mountains of the Chinese. The part which mountains play in their religion, the rôle assigned to this particular one, the reason for its veneration, and why it occupies such a pre-eminent position, both in nature-worship and in history—all these aspects of the subject are entered into at great length, and the evolutionary process shown by which the worship has developed from high antiquity.

Not only do their solitudes offer suitable retreats for Taoist hermits, their romantic glens present delightful sites for temples and monasteries beside their purling streams, their rugged heights furnish fitting abodes for genii and gods, but the mountains themselves are divine in China. We are indebted to M. Chavannes for putting clearly before us the part which the mountain is believed by the Chinese to play in the economy of the world and its supernatural character. Dominating the plains by their majestic grandeur, the everlasting hills seem emblematic of stability.

Reasoning thus from their massive shape on the earth, they have attributed to them the power of ensuring firmness, preventing earthquakes and floods and the overflowing of rivers. The clouds which gather round the mountain-top are supposed to be under the command of the deity of the mountain, and he has thus in his power the hastening of the harvest. Prayers to this divinity therefore naturally divide themselves under the two headings for security from earthquake and flood and the securing of an early and prosperous harvest. Thanksgivings and petitions are presented for transmission to the Supreme Deity through the agency of the god of the mountain as an intermediary between man and high Heaven.

The East is the source of life, and so T'ai Shan, the easternmost of the five sacred heights, presides in the
east over life. Life is again supposed to be rendered up in the same place, so here the souls of men have their rendezvous when they cast off their mortal coil. The yang principle in the dualistic philosophy of the Chinese, which takes within its range almost everything that can be thought of, is believed to be concentrated on this sacred height.

A curious custom is practised among some Buddhists of gilding the bodies of certain deceased monks after applying a coat of lacquer, and thus preserving them for future worship or reverence. Some fifteen cases have been discovered lately by a naval medical officer in China. If our memory serves us right, Sven Hedin mentions it as occurring in Tibet in his last book on that country. A similar practice is in vogue in Siam, though there it is employed simply for a temporary preservation of the corpse till preparations have been made, lasting perhaps a year, for the eventual cremation of the body.

The present writer heard of an instance in the south of China where it was proposed that the body of a deceased Taoist should be preserved for worship by the country people, as he was looked on as almost a saint who had ascended to Heaven, but prudential motives prevented the carrying out of the plan.

M. Chavannes mentions an instance that he came across on T'ai Shan, where, according to the accounts given to him, nature acted as a preservative at first, after which the marvel was preserved in a somewhat similar manner to those described above. What makes it interesting is that this monk was a Taoist, not a Buddhist. One could wish that we had a fuller account of the affair, and that our author had investigated the whole subject as fully as possible. What does he mean by saying "ses tibias et ses mains"? Has he trusted to his memory in writing this account, and should he have said "bras" instead of "tibias"?
The author, with the caution which an intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese entails, speaks of the stones inscribed with the magic formula in which the name T'ai Shan appears, as often seen by the traveller in North China; but such stones are to be seen constantly, let into the walls in the streets, in South China as well. Again, in speaking of dendrolatry the same caution is observed in instancing its occurrence in the north. Doubtless both are widespread through all parts of China, though with regard to tree-worship the form it assumes is somewhat different in the south of China as the present writer has seen it. As regards the stones, other sources for this charm, this demon-frightening inscription, have been assigned, though we believe the potency of T'ai Shan is the real origin. At the same time it does not mean that the stone itself has come from the celebrated mountain, which one naturally would think was the inference to be drawn from the inscription itself.

It is difficult to render happily titles from a language like Chinese, and perhaps improvement might be made in some that are given. The inscription over the chief of the Taoist gods under the trinity of the Three Pure Ones is translated as “Image du grand dieu sovereign de jade, Empereur d’en haut”. The word “image” does not appear in the Chinese. The application of the epithet t'ien tsun to Taoist deities is only another of the numerous cases, we believe, of imitation of Buddhism by Taoists. It is applied by Buddhists in China to the twenty-four Dèva Aryas, and has been well rendered as Heaven’s Revered. There is the analogous title of shih tsun, which means the World’s Honoured or Revered, so this might be put as the Heaven’s Honoured or Revered, instead of ta t’ien tsun being translated as “grand dieu”, which is not a translation at all.

In one of the numerous temples on T'ai Shan the sage Confucius is represented by an image instead of the usual
tablet. This is uncommon at the present day, though not so at one time. We ourselves have seen one or two instances of it in the Canton province.

A complete topographical guide to T'ai Shan is an interesting part of the book.

Texts are given (and their translations) which refer to the sacrifices by the Emperors of China on this mountain during the Han, T'ang, and Sung dynasties. Would not one translation of the fong and chan ceremonies have been enough, after which any little additions or changes in subsequent celebrations could have been noticed and commented on? An interesting episode is that of an Empress asking to be allowed to make the offerings to the female deities and to the earth. This was conceded in A.D. 666 and carried on for some time, for even in China woman will at times assert her rights. Eventually, however, the irregularity, as it was considered, was rectified. The prayers specially prepared for the worship, and the most celebrated or the most characteristic inscriptions on T'ai Shan, are translated.

An Appendix gives us an account of the God of the Earth in ancient China, who is the original of the present T'u-ti kung whose image is to be seen at every street corner in the towns and villages. One could have wished that the modern popular ideas of this god had been more fully entered into, for there is but a passing allusion to him in this aspect, and that the goddess, his wife, who sits beside him, had her origin given as well.

The book is illustrated with sixty-one photographs, besides being well provided with an Index and List of Errata; a few mistakes occur which are not noticed. The book is nicely got up typographically, but the binding in paper is evidently only meant to be a temporary one.

J. Dyer Ball.

Of all the artistic remains of the nations of antiquity in Western Asia, there are probably none which are of greater interest, and which give us more information, than the engraved stone cylinder-seals and gems which their artists, from about 4000 years B.C., produced. In addition to the many public collections of these objects, in London, Paris, New York, Berlin, Constantinople, etc., the subject has attracted such private collectors as the late M. Louis de Clercq, the late Earl of Southesk, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. W. Harding Smith, and others, whilst a few are to be found in the collection of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, and many are scattered in private hands throughout Europe.

For many years the study of cylinder-seals has formed Dr. Hayes Ward's speciality, and he amassed a goodly number of these little monuments, which he has described as being embryo rotary presses, himself. It is probably in this that the collector finds a special charm, as their cylindrical form furnishes him with the greatest amount of material in the smallest space.

The present work is one of considerable extent, running, as it does, to more than 400 quarto pages, with no less than seventy-one chapters, and 1315 figures. And this is only a series of selections of typical subject. It will easily be understood that this wealth of illustration gives the book special value, though most will admit that good half-tone blocks would have been more satisfactory than the hand-drawn pictures of which the illustrations consist. Most of these objects lend themselves excellently to reproduction by such means, for the subjects engraved upon them do not need to be pieced together like the impressions found on clay tablets, which seldom occur in their entirety.
Perhaps, if a second edition be issued, this improvement could be introduced.

The thoroughness of the descriptive work, however, as well as the selection of the subjects to illustrate it, are beyond all praise. It is, in fact, a book that will be daily consulted by those interesting themselves in the subject of ancient Oriental intaglio engraving. No fewer than twenty-five royal cylinders, or cylinders of royal scribes, are described and figured, and to these must be added fourteen reproductions of cylinders impressed on clay tablets, and bearing the names of kings and their scribes or agents. All this will be useful for reference, notwithstanding that additions thereto will have to be made, probably in the near future.¹

How far these objects go back is at present a matter of conjecture, but 4000 years B.C. is probably a moderate estimate. It would be interesting to know to whom, and in what way, the idea of these primitive "rotary presses" first occurred. Was it that some prehistoric seal-engraver chanced to cover a pebble or an artificially rounded stone with designs, and then, in a moment of relaxation, amused himself by making continuous impressions in clay, without at first realizing the value of his invention? This we shall probably never know, and everyone will have his own opinion as to the origin of these objects.

And very wonderful are these memorials of the dead

¹ It is interesting to note that Dr. Hayes Ward's No. 11 on p. 27, from a tablet in his own possession, has the same cylinder-seal as in Amherst Tablets, vol. i, pp. 76-8. In Dr. Ward's specimen the design (the ordinary one of the owner of the cylinder led into the presence of his god) is the more perfect, but apparently the inscription of the Amherst example is the better preserved. The text reads: "Dungi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four regions, En-šinibzu, his servant." Another, on tablet No. 61 of the Hoffman Collection, referred to in Radan's Early Babylonian History, p. 251, has likewise the design of the owner led into the presence of his god, and the bird with outspread wings in the field above. The inscription, which may be completed from other tablets, is as follows: "Dungi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four regions, Sur-Lama, the judge, his servant."
civilizations of Western Asia. From the early period of the two seated deities drinking through tubes, and looking somewhat like Orientals smoking strange-shaped nargilehs, to the beautiful specimen of the priest before Ištar (the Assyrian cylinder figured on p. 248), we have a wealth of material upon the art, manners, customs, religion, rites, and ceremonies of the Babylonians and Assyrians, with their neighbours—the nations which came under their influence. We have all our old friends over again, and many new ones. The naked man and the bull-man struggling with lions and bulls—an exceedingly ancient design—and its variant, the ringleted man, tight-clad, kneeling on one knee, and holding a lion by its mane and tail above his head; Etanna and the Eagle, with the landscape visible to that hero when mounted on the bird’s back; and many others. One of the most interesting subjects treated by Dr. Hayes Ward, and regarded by him as illustrating this myth, shows a man drawing water by means of the shadouf (p. 147), indicating that this apparatus was known to the Babylonians 2000 years B.C. If the Babylonians knew of it, then the Assyrians must have been accustomed to the use of it too, and Sennacherib can hardly be regarded as the one who introduced this means of raising water¹—which, in fact, he does not claim. Referring to the Kassite cylinders in Babylonia, one of these, the author points out, shows figures holding musical instruments—a lute and a cithern. Many of the cylinders of this period have a representation of a cross, which is stated, with great probability, to be a modification of the pictures of the sun’s disc. Much might be said with regard to this, as it would then not only be the emblem of Šamaš and Merodach, but also connected with the winged disc emblematic of Assur—a common emblem on Assyrian monuments of later days. With regard to the “Syro-Hittite deity in a Chariot” (ch. liii)—a four-horsed

¹ See JRAS. for April, 1910, p. 403.
and four-wheeled vehicle—it is noteworthy that this is shown on a Cappadocian case-tablet of about 2000 B.C., belonging to the Liverpool Institute of Archæology. The literature of this district (Kaisarieh in Asia Minor) seems to have been produced by an Assyrian colony.

For the monumental work noticed here, Dr. Hayes Ward will have the thanks of all interested in these specimens of ancient and often exceedingly primitive art, which he has discussed with such rare knowledge and acumen. It is a book which no writer upon the art and the mythology of the ancient nations of the nearer East can afford to neglect.

T. G. PINCHES.

CYLINDERS AND OTHER ANCIENT ORIENTAL SEALS IN THE LIBRARY OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN. Catalogued by WILLIAM HAYES WARD. New York: privately printed. MCMIX.

From a description of the seal-cylinders of Western Asia as a whole, we come to a detailed catalogue of a very interesting collection, this time illustrated by photographic reproductions of plaster impressions of the objects. These range from the archaic to the Sassanian period, and including the cones and seals, number 323 specimens. Among the most interesting may be mentioned the seal with the lion-headed eagle of Lagaš, with outspread wings, supporting itself on the rumps of two ibexes back to back, and bending the fore-knee, possibly in adoration before the divine names in the inscription, which informs us that it belonged to Lugal-Gusilim, scribe and šabrū (seer or the like) of some personage whose name seems to be Ludingira (No. 13). Another noteworthy design is a very early representation of a four-wheeled chariot, drawn by a single horse (or ass) (No. 14). The royal cylinder of Ibe-Sin (about 2750 B.C.), with the inscription, "Ibe-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, (S)ur-Sakkut and seed, his servant" (No. 61), is also of interest. It has the usual
design of the owner being led into the presence of his god. Yet another cylinder shows a seated deity, and two figures introduced by the "bifrons". The first of the two figures carries, suspended behind from a crooked stick, a bunch of dates, and the other bears similarly the "bird-man", hanging head downwards from a kind of mace on his shoulder (No. 60). In the section dealing with the pictures of the Tree of Life, Dr. Hayes Ward says that it "is guarded by a beneficent winged genius who plucks off the fruit and gathers it in a basket to bestow on the possessor of the seal". In confirmation of this he refers to No. 160, where an eagle-headed figure is represented in the act of plucking the fruit. This is a very noteworthy specimen, as is also No. 165, which shows winged figures, human and animal, hovering over a tree, and a dove perched on the top.

A more natural representation of a tree—whether sacred or not may be questioned—is No. 280. It has a rounded leafy top, and a wavy trunk, and making obeisance to it (simply leaping, according to the author) is a spotted stag. This is one of the prettiest and best designs figured.

Though much smaller than the Seal-cylinders, noticed above, this is a very important volume, whose value is enhanced by the many photographic reproductions. Both Mr. Pierpont Morgan and the author are to be congratulated on the excellence and value of the work.

T. G. PINCHES.


In this work of 380 boldly printed pages we have a conspectus of the history of a very important—perhaps
the most important—nation of the ancient East during the fourth and third millennia before Christ. We all know the prominent place assigned in the Old Testament to "the land of Shinar", and the renown attained among the nations of antiquity by the wonders of its later capital, Babylon; and it may justly be said that we do not know, even now, how far we are indebted to them for many an archaic myth or legend, and possibly, also, for some of the requirements of every-day life, passed on to us either through one of the ancient Semitic nations or by the intermediary of Greece and Rome.

Notwithstanding all that has been discovered concerning this ancient tract, we are even now in doubt as to the date of the entry of the non-Semitic and the Semitic inhabitants respectively into the country. Apparently from the earliest period of which we have any documents, they inhabited the land side by side, as is shown by the Semitic words borrowed by the Sumerians and used in their inscriptions. To all appearance, however, it was the Sumerians who, by their superior civilization, were the masters of the country; and it is they who ruled in the earliest period of its history. That there were two races, and that their types were distinct, is not only clear from the early sculptures, but also by the fact that the Sumerians shaved the head as well as the beard, whilst the Semites allowed both to grow. That their deities are represented with hair and long beards is probably due to Semitic influence upon the Sumerian religion, which was possibly, in its origin, purely animistic, whilst the Semites regarded the powers of nature—the sun, moon, wind, etc.—as real deities. But the influence of the Sumerians over the Semites was much greater than that of the Semites over the Sumerians, as is testified by the fact that the kings of the Semitic state of Agadé or Akkad constantly used Sumerian phrases, introduced, seemingly, when their system was adapted to the writing of Semitic Babylonian.
Though this was the earliest Semitic state, it is probable that it was of Sumerian origin, and began its political existence under Sumerian rulers, becoming gradually subjected to the growing Semitic influence. In any case, the other states of Babylonia show a slow transformation of this kind, if we may argue from the names of the kings of the dynasty of Ur. Thus the first two, Sur-Engur and his son Dungi both have Sumerian names, but those of the remaining kings of the dynasty, Bûr-Sin, Gimmil-Sin, and Ibê-Sin, are all Semitic. Another example is that of the Elamite kings of Larsa, in which a change from Elamite to Sumerian and Semitic may be traced. Semitization, therefore, would seem not to have been caused by a conflict or revolution, but by a gradual change, due to the peaceable nature of the people, who were indifferent as to who ruled them as long as their rulers satisfied them.

In Mr. King's book the above questions are treated from a different point of view, but the conclusions are practically the same. A good account of the early cities of Babylonia is likewise given, beginning with Lagaš, that wonderful state of primitive times with a really chequered history. Among these cities Abû-Shahrain, the site of Ėridu, the renowned home of Êa or Enki, father of Merodach, king of the gods, is of special interest. The other sites treated of are Jôkha; Fâra (the home of Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah); Abû-hatab; Warka (Erech); and Muqayyar (Ur of the Chaldees). One would have liked, however, to see something more about Bismâya (Adab), where an exceedingly interesting crematorium was found; Sinkâra, the Biblical Ellasar, and other sites. It is needless to say, however, that there were many more important cities in ancient Babylonia than these, and the inscriptions furnish

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1 It is noteworthy that Nabonidus is sometimes called "King of Eridu".
2 This seems to prove the burning of the dead in that state, in which case the statement on p. 21 would need modification.
us with a hundred Babylonian place-names, all of which, it is to be hoped, will ultimately be explored and identified. It is gratifying to note that the first descriptions of two of the primitive cities of Babylonia—Mugheir or Muqayyar and Abū-Shahrain—were published in the Journal of this Society, and still retain their original value. With regard to Tel Ibrahim, there is no doubt that this marks the site of Cuthah; tablets found by Rassam in the ruins seem to place this beyond a doubt.

With respect to the racial type of the Sumerians, the author regards that as not proven. Probably none will find fault with him for this, but those who put forward their Mongolian origin will object to the statement that the idea was first suggested by “the obliquely set eyes of the figures in the earlier reliefs, due mainly to an ignorance of perspective characteristic of all primitive art”. The Mongolian theory I, too, hold as possible, but I did not base my opinion upon these reliefs, though I regarded one, and one only, as supporting it. Most, too, will probably deny that the comparison of certain Sumerian words with Turkish is unworthy of being considered—“may well be fortuitous.” Concerning the entry of the Semites into the country, there is every possibility that the author may be right when he imagines it to have been from the north-west, “after traversing the Syrian coast-lands”. They not only settled in Babylonia, but also founded “the independent principalities of Lulubu and Gutii”. Other Semitic states mentioned in connexion with Lulubu are Simurum, and we also meet with the apparently Semitic names Šašrum and Urbillum, as well as Harši and Humurti, cited along with Kimaš, whilst yet another similar name is Simalum. All these occur in the date-lists of the dynasty of Ur, about 2800 B.C., and others are to be found in the texts of the tablets of this period. Yet others are Karšum in South Babylonia, and Sabum, a doubtful district. In all probability the predominance
Sumerian names for the cities of Birs and in early times is a sufficient proof that the Sumerians were the first inhabitants of the country; about 30 per cent. only are to all appearance Semitic, indicating either later (Semitic) foundations or Sumerian cities to which Semitic names were afterwards given. How far back the foundation of the Sumerian settlements went is uncertain, but the date of their civilization would be about 3400 B.C., but not earlier, in the opinion of Mr. King.

From the chapter on the wars of the city-states and the fall of Lagaš we gather that the early Sumerians had already elaborated all the needful machinery of government, even at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. The author quotes in full Thureau-Dangin's translation of the remarkable record of the misfortunes of Lagaš, and points out the cumulative effect of its oft-repeated phrases; and to this may be added the force of its final words: "The power that is come unto them, from them shall it be taken away. Of sin on the part of Uru-ka-gina, king of Girsu, there is none; but as for Lugal-zaggi-si, issaq of Umma, may his goddess Nidaba bear this sin upon her head."

Discussions of the cultural influence of the Sumerians and an account of the recent explorations in Turkestan, though they lead to no definite conclusions, add to the value of the volume.

T. G. Pinches.


This is a continuation of Professor Møller's well-known researches upon the subject of the connexion of the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic languages with each other, and, notwithstanding the abbreviated way in which the work is presented, will be found of considerable interest. The book shows much and extended research, and the number
of comparisons which are registered therein is enormous, when the limited extent of the work (152 pages) is considered. The roots are arranged alphabetically from the Indo-Germanic standpoint, and the sounds are classified systematically. It is difficult to choose any special entry as being more interesting than others, but that under ãd, the preposition, might be chosen, in which the Latin ad, Ags. æt, Phœn. yad, Aram. yad, Assyrian adî, etc., are compared. An index, especially for the Semitic words quoted, would be a help to the study of the work.

T. G. PINCHES.


The importance for Biblical history of the Babylonian story of the Flood accounts, doubtless, for the great amount of interest that has been aroused by these publications, though not for the severe criticism to which the first has been subjected. As the title indicates, this new fragment comes from the Temple Library of Nippur, which is identified with the Calneh of the 10th chapter of Genesis. This, according to the Biblical record and the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria, was one of the oldest cities of Babylonia, and anything coming from the site, if written in archaic script, would naturally have authority
as being either an original or a copy of the oldest possible period. Whatever be the date of the fragment, it is probably a copy of an earlier original, but how it compares in the matter of antiquity with the other versions known must be left to future research to determine.

The fragment which forms the subject of these two modest publications is small, measuring only $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The obverse is entirely broken away, except for the ends of three lines visible on the right-hand edge. The text preserved consists, therefore, of the remains of fourteen lines of the right-hand column of the reverse, and where it first becomes legible the Creator seems to be speaking. He announces that he will loosen [the confines of heaven and earth, and make a deluge], which shall sweep away all men together; but the Chaldean Noah is to [seek life] before the deluge cometh forth, for [over all things], as many as there were, he was going to bring overthrow, destruction, and annihilation. The person spoken to is directed to build a great ship, the dimensions of which were given, though they are unfortunately broken away on the fragment. It was to be "a house-boat", carrying what had been saved of life, and was to be covered with a strong deck. Into it were to be taken the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven, [and the creeping things, two of everything], instead of a number, according to the author's restoration of this line. The patriarch's family is then referred to, and at this point the text unfortunately breaks off.

There is no doubt that we have here an exceedingly interesting and important addition to our knowledge of the Babylonian deluge-legend, in this case with noteworthy variations, bringing it apparently more into accord with the Biblical version. It would take up too much space here, however, to make all the comparisons with the account in Genesis which Professor Hilprecht suggests, but the "loosening of the bonds", etc., is compared with
the loosening of the fountains of the great deep in Gen. vii, 11; the sweeping away of all men finds its parallel in Gen. vi, 11, where the destruction of all men along with the earth is referred to. The destruction and annihilation of all things is compared with the destruction of all flesh in Gen. vi, 17. It is to be remarked that in the directions to take the living things into the ark the birds of heaven are referred to as in Gen. vi, 20, etc. (this is absent in George Smith's Nineveh version). The description of the vessel as a ma-gurgurrum, which the author translates as "house-boat", is noteworthy. It apparently refers, as he explains, to its being covered in (as the Nineveh version has it), "like the abyss," by the crust of the earth—domed, seemingly, as the second Daily Telegraph fragment implies, "like the vault of heaven."

Naturally, in such a small fragment, there is much that is doubtful, but all unprejudiced readers will probably admit that Professor Hilprecht has done his best with the meagre amount of material at his disposal. Whether the line containing the characters ku-um mi-ni is to be translated and completed "[two of everything] instead of a number", and the translation of the corresponding phrase in Hebrew, נבנ ה, is to be modified in accordance therewith, as he contends, may be left to future discoveries to settle—in any case, it is worthy of careful consideration, and may be substantially correct.

Concerning the date of the fragment, there has been much discussion, as it has been contended in America that it belongs to the Kassite period (1700-1300 B.C.). This, however, would seem to be against the indications of the explorers, as it came, according to the statements published by Professor Hilprecht, from "Tablet Hill", a part of the ruins of Niffer which, among the 2200 fragments or thereabouts found there, has produced none of a later date than Rim-Sin, the contemporary of Hammurabi and king of Larsa. This statement, which is supported by the
evidence of Dr. J. P. Peters, the first explorer of the site since the days of Layard, and the first leader and director of the American explorations on the site, would seem to be conclusive, and in that case would overrule any palæographic indications that the fragment belonged to a lower date. When my attention was called to the matter I was inclined for the later (early Kassite) period, but frankly stated that I had not had an opportunity of examining many tablets of that period at first hand. Moreover, it may be argued that no hard and fast line with regard to the date of the script can be drawn. I therefore refrain from further committing myself in the matter. Professor Hilprecht’s estimate of the date of the fragment is probably correct, and in any case, he, having seen the tablets of the site where it was found, both those of the Kassite and the earlier periods, has had better opportunities of estimating the date of the fragment than I have.

A great many interesting questions are touched upon by the author of this important contribution to the literature of the Flood, among them being the chronology of the second portion of the Dynasty of Isin, the order of whose rulers he gives as follows:—


The tablets containing these names, the author says, show a mingling of the older and younger forms of writing, the scribes of Itêr-pi-ṣa and Enlil-bani preferring the older, and those of Zamba and Damiq-ili-šu the later forms of the Babylonian characters.

An interesting point for the present writer is Professor Hilprecht’s note upon the name of Itêr-pi-ṣa. According to him, the character represented by pi is that quoted in the Journal of this Society for 1909, p. 1155. This
confirms my reading of Pi-ša-Isi-Dagan in the Amherst Tablets, vol. i, pp. xv, xvi, 52, 54, etc., the first component of which is expressed by the sign in question.

Both works are worthy of the reputation of the author, to whom American Assyriology is greatly indebted.

T. G. Pinches.


Many years ago I suggested that the single language of the world as known to the Hebrews, abolished by the Creator on the occasion of the building of the Tower of Babel, was the Assyro-Babylonian lingua franca, which, as the Tel el Amarna tablets prove, was used from the Babylonian plain to the Mediterranean, and also, it would seem, in Persia and Elam. Professor Sayce, in the Expository Times, has gone farther than this, and shows that in the second chapter of the Book of Genesis a number of the verses are simply reproductions of a Babylonian original text. Professor Naville, however, in the opusculum before us, makes a good attempt to prove that the whole of the Pentateuch was written in cuneiform, and that Deuteronomy, hidden in the foundations of the Temple at Jerusalem, was lost and forgotten until the time of Josiah, when it was discovered by the High Priest Hilkiah. Being unable to understand the script in which it was written, he handed it to Shaphan the scribe, whom Naville supposes to have been learned in that script. The result of this was that the king regarded it as being of such importance that it was read before the people, and
restored to its place in the sacred canon. The Egyptians were accustomed to inscribe chapters of the Book of the Dead on stone, which were sometimes hidden under a divine statue, and the writing is described as having been of a special and mysterious nature. It was, moreover, the custom of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians to place records in the foundations of their great buildings, and to this custom we are indebted for a not inconsiderable amount of the Assyro-Babylonian literature which has come down to us. The placing of the book in the foundations, however, was really due to the influence over the Hebrews of the Egyptian custom referred to, of which Professor Naville gives numerous interesting examples.

The great literary man of the Hebrews was Solomon, who had close relations with Hiram of Tyre. It was probably owing to this great king that the Phoenician script replaced the complicated cuneiform among the Hebrews, and afterwards penetrated to the other nations of Western Asia, being used even in Babylonia and Assyria, the strongholds of the wedge-written records, though to a rather limited extent.

Such is the theme of Professor Naville’s interesting paper, which is worked out in detail, and contains many noteworthy arguments. Naturally it lacks the advantage of absolute proof, but this is a defect from which all theories, even the most probable, suffer. Should it turn out to be correct, however, the higher critics will have to reconsider their position, and all conceptions concerning the earlier books of the Old Testament will probably need modification.

Naturally such a book as the Book of Deuteronomy would have been written on skin or some similar flexible substance, and special precautions must have been taken to preserve it against decay. Clay tablets, however, are not altogether excluded, though necessarily bulky; indeed,
they would need quite a considerable recess for their accommodation.

Professor Naville may be congratulated on having brought forward a most attractive theory for all except the higher critics, and it is to be hoped that he may be able to elaborate it.

T. G. PINCHES.
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(July, August, September, 1910.)

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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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<th>Sanskrit Alphabet</th>
<th>Roman Equivalent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अ (Amsa)</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ (Imsa)</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>ऋ (Imsa)</td>
<td>rig</td>
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<td>ए (Emsa)</td>
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<td>ई (Emsa)</td>
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<td>उ (Umsa)</td>
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<td>ऊ (Umsa)</td>
<td>nda</td>
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<td>ऋ (Imsa)</td>
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*Note: The above table represents the Sanskrit alphabet along with their Roman equivalents.*
II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Letter</th>
<th>English Sound</th>
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<tr>
<td>ك</td>
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<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ى</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>w or v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ي</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ى</td>
<td>ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>ء</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>h or kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs:
- wasla...
- hamza...
- silent t...

Vowels:
- a
- i
- u

Additional Letters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian, Hindi, and Pakshtú</th>
<th>Turkish only.</th>
<th>Hindi and Pakshtú.</th>
<th>Pakshtú only.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ب . . . . p</td>
<td>كّ when pro-</td>
<td>بّ or ب . . . t</td>
<td>خ . . . ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج . . . c or ч</td>
<td>nounced as</td>
<td>ء or ء . . . d</td>
<td>ڇ . . . g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض . . . z or zh</td>
<td>g . . . k</td>
<td>ڇ or ء . . . r</td>
<td>ن . . . n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>چ . . . g</td>
<td>ئ . . . ډ</td>
<td>ڇ . . . ksh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX FOR 1910

A

'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubair and Abū Dāhbal, 1023.

Abhinava-gupta, author of Paramārthaśāra, 707-47.

Abhinava-gupta in modern Kashmir, 1334-8.

Abū Dāhbal al-Gumāhi, poet, 1017-68; genealogy, 1018; poems to 'Ātika, 1018; poems on murder of al-Husain b. 'Ali, 1022; poems to Ibn al-Azraq, 1023; last date for, 1024; only MS. of poems at Leipzig, 1025.


Adorable, the forty-two Beloved of the, 269 seqq.

Aghoris in Assam, 1160.

Akhām Sultānīyya of Māwardi, 763.

Aḥmad ibn Ishaq, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, joint founder of the Khargird Madrasa, 1149.


Ahoms and Śaktism, 1161; and Hinduism, 1163.

Ahuna-Vairya from Yasna XXVII, 13, with Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations, 57, 641-57.

Ahunaver, sources of the, 58; Pahlavi text of, 61.

Ajāmidha, Purāvava king, 11.

Ajāmīla, story of, 105.

Akhsī township, 115.

Akrūra, Beloved of the Adorable, 288.

"Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" in Arabic from a Bodleian MS., 327-86; origin, 327-31; compared with Galland's version, 327-32.

Ambariṣa, Beloved of the Adorable, 281; story of his queen, 284-7.

Amedroz, H. F., Office of Kādī in the Akhām Sultānīyya of Māwardi, 763-96.

Amīr Fā'ik Amid-ud-Dawla, his mosque in Meshed, 1130.

Anṭalikita, Indo-Greek ruler, 814.

Ančialē, 1340.

Ancient Indian genealogies and chronology, 1-56.

Andijān, 112.

An̄ga dynasty, 24.

Antalkidas, Indo-Greek ruler, 817.

Antiquity of Vedic culture, 456, 464.

Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra in unknown language, 1283, 1290-3.

Āpastamba Mantra Brāhmaṇa, ii, 8, 4, 466.

Arameans, 397, 411.

Archaisms in the Rāmāyaṇa, 1321-6.

al-Argī, poet, 1017.

"Arrow" demon, 485.

Artha-Pañcaka of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, 566-607; Sanskrit translation of, 565.

Āryabhāṭa and Hindu mathematics, 753.

Asfara, 114.

Aṣōka, last words of, 1300-8.

Assam, Hinduism in, 1155-86; tribes of, 1155-7; cults of, 1157; human sacrifice in, 1160; Śaktism, 1157-71; Vaishnavism, 1162, 1171-86; Vaishnavism and Buddhism, 1185.

Assyrian inscription, Sennacherib, his campaigns and architectural work, 387-411; currency, 410; winged bulls, 397-411.
Astadasa-bhedas, 1103-12.
Astronomy, Hindûs receive Greek, 400 A.D., 821.
"Átika, daughter of Caliph Mu‘āwiya, 1018.
Auniiati monastery, 1180-1.
Auspicious marks on the feet of the Incarnate Deity, 87 seqq.
Austins of Bordeaux, 494, 1343-5.

B
Babar-nāma description of Farghāna, 111 seqq.
Baibars, Sultan, 785.
Bailey, Rev. T. Grahame, Kānauji Vocabulury, 659-705.
Bakkār, anecdote of, 782.
Bāla-Lokācārya, 568.
Bali, Mahābhakta, 103.
Barnett, L. D., Kelaḍī Rājas of Ikkeri and Bednūr, 149.
— Notes on the Dynasties of Bengal and Nepal, 150.
— Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta, 707-47.
— Exegetical Notes on the Paramārthasāra, 1338-9.
Basavappa, Kelaḍī Rāja, 149, 487-9.
Besnagar inscription A, 141.
Besnagar inscriptions, note on the two, 813-17.
Beveridge, A. S., Bābar-nāma Description of Farghāna, 111 seqq.
Bhāgabhadra, king, 814-17.
Bhagavat, translation of the term, 159.
Bhāgavata doctrine, 565 seqq.
Bhāgavata Niṣṭhās, 94; Mahābhaktas, 97.
Bhāgavata systems of incarnation, 87 seqq.
Bhakta-māla, gleanings, 87-109, 269-306.
Bhandarkar, R. G., Vāsudēva of Panini IV, iii, 98, 168.
Bhāskara and Hindu mathematics, 755-7.
Bheḍa Saṁhitā in the Bower MS., 830-3.
Bhîma, Mahābhakta, 102.
Bhū with the accusative, 159.
Bishwa Singh supports Hinduism, 1164.
Bit-Yakin, Sennacherib’s campaign against, 388.
Blagden, C. O., Indonesian Alaphbets, 164.
— Revised Buddhist Era in Burma, 474.
— Note on the Inscriptions of the Myazodi Pagoda, 797-812.
Blunt, E. A. H., The Tomb of John Mildenhall, 495.
Bol-Chāmarāja, Mysore ruler, 436.
Bower MS., The Bheḍa Saṁhitā in, 830-3.
Brāhma, Mahābhaktas, 98.
Brahmagupta and Hindu mathematics, 755 seqq.
Brahmaur, the ancient Po-lo-hihmo-pu-lo, 489.
Brahmins of Malabar, 625-39; village system, 627 seqq.; customs and observances, 632; their literature, 634.
Buddhism, its influence on Vedantic illusion, 129.
Buddhism introduced into Tibet, 1217.
Buddhist notes: Vedânta and Buddhism, 129 seqq.; the “Five Points” of Mahâdeva and the Kattihavâthu, 413-23.
Buddhist (revised) era in Burma, 474-6.
Burma Society, 172.
Burmese (revised) Buddhist era, 474-6.

C
Caitanya, doctrines of, 1168.
Cakra, Śākti ceremony, 1166.
Candrahāsa, Beloved of the Adorable, 292; parallels to legend, 449.
Cedi, founder of Caidya kings, 11.
/Chagz-po-ri Monastery, Lhasa, 1215; anatomical chart from, 1215-45; founded 1640-80, 1216.
Chāmarāja, Mysore ruler, 435.
Chan-chu country, 1196; possibly Sarjū, 1196.
Channamāmbā, queen of Sōma-šekhara, 149, 489.
Ch' a-po-ho-lo and Ka-p'i-li, 1187-1203; as capital of Central India, 1188; situation, 1189-92, 1202.
Chhāprā, 1192-3.
Chia-ch'ing, Chinese emperor, 69; edict of 1808, 69 seqq.
Chinese imperial edict of 1808 in the origin and transmigrations of the Grand Lamas of Tibet, 69 seqq.
Chinese riddles on ancient Indian toponymy, 1187-1203.
Cilician cities of Anechialē and Illubri, 1339-43.
Citrakētu, Beloved of the Adorable, 298.
Cotton-growing in Assyrian inscription, 403.

D
Dahā, another name for the Sundī, 1201.
Dakhinpath monastery, 1172, 1174-9.
Dalai Lama's seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian characters, 1205-14.
Dhrṣṭabuddhi, 293.
Dhrvula in Vedic calendar, 461 seqq.
Dhrvula, Beloved of the Adorable, 280.
Dhvanikārikas, who is the author? 164.
Diṣṭa, 25.
Dīwān of Abū Dahbal al-Ǧumāḥī, 1017-68.
Dragon-myth, 485.
Draupadī, Beloved of the Adorable, 304.
Dream of one hundred suns and the sibyl, 609-23.
Dynasties of Bengal and Nepal, 150.

E
Eighteen points of doctrinal differences between the Teṅgalais and the Vadagalais of the Viśiṣṭa-dvaita Vaishnava school, 1103-12.
Elephant statues at Delhi, 490.
Eliot, Sir C. N. E., Hinduism in Assam, 1155-86.
Eṣṭyappā, inscription of, 434.

F
Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, joint founder of the Khargird Madrasa, 1149.
Farghāna, Bābar-nāma description, 111 seqq.
Farjeneil, F., Une Inscription du Yunnan (Mission d'Ollone) traduite par M. Chavannes, 1069-1102.
Firdawsi, lived in Tus, 1116; in village of Paz, 1117; fled to Tabaristan, 1117; tomb, 1119-20.
Five points of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu, 413-23.
Fleet, J. F., Besnagar Inscription A, 141.
— Note on Rūpnāth Edict, 146.
— Mahishamaṇḍala and Māhishmati, 425-47.
— Revised Buddhist Era in Burma, 476.
— Besnagar Inscription, 815-17.
— Ḥāthigumpha Inscription, 824-8.
— The Last Words of Aśoka, 1300-8.
— Vāsiṣṭa the Kuśana, 1315-17.
Forty-two Beloved of the Adorable, 269 seqq.
Foster, W., Austin of Bordeaux, 494.
— Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian Characters, 1205-14.
INDEX

G
Gadadhar Singh, patron of Saktism, 1162; oppressed Hinduism, 1172.
Galland's version of Ali Baba compared with Araoic Bodleian MS., 327-32.
Gaugāvādi country, 434.
Ganges termed Ka-p’i-li by Chinese, 1189.
Gurūdā, Beloved of the Adorable, 271.
Gaster, M., Parallels to the Legends of Candrahāsa, 449.
— The Sibyl and the Dream of One Hundred Suns, 609-23.
Gaudapāda, influenced by Buddhism, 134.
Gaudapādakārikās, Buddhist character, 134.
Gauhar Shād mosque at Meshed, 1150.
Genitive-accusative construction in Marathi, 481.
Gerke, Col. G. E., Chinese Riddles on Ancient Indian Toponymy, 1187-1203.
Ghaghā River, 1189; identified with Shan-lien, 1191.
Gleanings from the Bhakta-māla, 87-109, 269-306.
— The Astadasa-Bhedas, or the Eighteen Points of Doctrinal Differences between the Teōgalais and Vādagalais of the Viśistādvaita Vaisnava School, 1103-12.
— Nārāyana Parivartha, 1326-7.
Greek Astronomy received by Hindus, a.d. 400, 821.
— Translation of the term "Bhagavat", 159.
— Modern Indo-Aryan Polite Imperative, 182.
Grierson, G. A., Vasudeva of Pāṇini IV, iii, 98, 171.
— Artha-Pañcakā, Introduction, 565; Text, 598.
— Abhinavagupta in Modern Kashmir, 1334-8.
Gupta-Valabhi era supplants Śaka, 824.
H
Hā Darwesh, 115.
Hanumat, Beloved of the Adorable, 271.
al-Ḥārith b. Ḥālid al-Mahzūmi, poet, 1017.
Harivallabhas, the forty-two, 269-306.
Hathigumphā inscription, 824-8.
Hatti, Sennacherib’s campaign against, 388.
Hilākku revolts against Sennacherib, 389-91; apparently Cilicia, 391.
Hindu mathematics, source of, 749-59.
Hinduism in Assam, 1155-86.
Hire-Bettada-Chāmarāja, 435.
— The Unknown Languages of Eastern Turkestan, 834-8, 1283-1300.
Hultsch, E., Second Note on Rūpṇāth Edict, 142.
— Third Note on the Rūpṇāth Edict, 1308-11.
I
Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīhi, editor of Omar’s Instructions to the Kādi, 307 seqq.
Ibn al-Kalbī, his account of Abū Dahbal, 1021.
Ibn Ḥājar, 782.
Ibn Khaldūn, editor of Omar’s Instructions to the Kādi, 307 seqq.
Ibn Kutaibah, editor of Omar’s Instructions to the Kādi, 307 seqq.; translation of his text, 311.
INDEX

Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyat, poet, 1017. Ibn Zabr, 783.
Ibrahim b. Adham, 167.
Ilubri, 1339 seqq.; the same as Olymbros, 1342.
Ilubru, residence of governor of Que, 390-1.
Indian genealogies and chronology, 1-56.
Indian toponymy, Chinese riddles on, 1187-1203.
Indonesian alphabets, 164.
Ingirâ, 1340; captured by Sennacherib, 390-1.
Inscription at Isapur, 1311.
Inscription du Yunnan (Mission d'Ollone), 1077-1102.
Inscriptions, Besnagar A, 141; newly discovered cylinder of Sennacherib, 387-411; Nandigunda, 1021 A.D., 431; Kuppêhalu, 432, 435; of Šripurusha Muttarasa, 434; of Egeyappa, 434; Myazedi Pagoda, further note on, 797-812; two at Besnagar, 813-17; Bâdami, 818; Deogad, 818; Háthigumpha, 824.
Irvin, W., Austin of Bordeaux, 1343-5.
Isapur inscription, 1311.
Isila, town of Vanavasi, 430; not in Mysore, 431; received Asoka's last edict, 431.
Ili, peculiarities in the use of, 1317-21.

J
Jacobi, H., Antiquity of Vedic Culture, 456.
Jahiz, editor of Omar's Instructions to the Kâdi, 307 seqq.
Jambavat, Beloved of the Adorable, 272.
Janaka, Mahâbhakta, 102.
Jatâyu, Beloved of the Adorable, 279.
Jauzâ Masjid-at Úsh, 113.
Jayadhwaj Singh, Ahom king, 1171; and Hinduism, 1171.
J-e-lâ, Tibetan minister, 1252; introduced pig-tail into Tibet, 1253; known in China as Hsi-lieh, 1253.
Jo-k'a'n temple at Lhasa, 69.

K
Kâdi, the office of in Mawardi's treatise, 763 seqq.; jurisdiction in Egypt, 791.
Kalât-i-Nadiri fortress, 1151; inscription of Arghun at, 1151.
Kalinda of Candanaâati, 294.
Kalâ-yuga era, 821.
Kâmâkhyâ, temple of, 1163-5.
Kamala Bari monastery, 1181.
Kamalâ, Beloved of the Adorable, 270.
Kânauri vocabulary, English-Kânauri, 659-705.
Kand-bâdâm, dependency of Khujend, 115.
Kanishka, 1315.
Kapila, Mahâbhakta, 99.
Ka-p'î-li, identified as Kauriâla, 1189; Chinese name for Ganges, 1189; earliest mention of, 1197; must mean Gupta-empire, 1198.
Ka-p'î-li River, 1188; term applied to the Ganges, 1199.
Kârtavîrya, reigned at Mâhishmati, 442.
Kâsân township, 116.
Kassites and Yašubi-galleans, Sennacherib's campaign against, 388.
Kašî line, genealogy, 24.
Kathâvatthu and the Five Points of Mahâdeva, 413-23.
Kay Khusraw of the Kayâni dynasty, 1114.
Kerth, A. B., Bûh with the Accusative, 151.
— Antiquity of Vedic Culture, 464.
— Āpastamba Mantra Brahma, ii, 8, 4, 466.

JRAS. 1910.

91
Kerrl, A. B., Grammatical Notes: Personal Pronouns, 468.
— Peculiarities in the Use of īti, 1317-21.
— Archaisms in the Rāmāyaṇa, 1321-6.
Kekayas, 24.
Keladi Rājas of Ikkekī and Bednūr, 149, 487.
Khāravēla, 828.
Khangird, the Madrasa at, 1148; date of erection, 1149; identification of founders, 1149.
Khujend, 114.
Khurāsān, historical notes on, 113-54; stricken by the Mongols, 1131.
Khāwāja Rabi, shrine near Meshed, 1120-9.
Kirua, governor of Illubri, 1339.
Kirua, governor of Illubri, revolts against Sennacherib, 389-91; slain, 390.
Kitāb al-Āgānī, 1017.
Kiwām-ud-Din, architect of Gauhar Shād mosque at Meshed, 1150.
Koch kings as patrons of Hinduism, 1164.
Kolār, Gaṅga capital, 434.
Krenkow, F., The Dwām of Abū Dabhal al-Gumāhī, 1017-68.
K'rīj-Tsug-de-btsan, edict by, 1252; date of edict, 1255.
Kṛṣṇa Rādzān, 1334.
Krishnārām Bhaṭṭācārya, Śāktist Brahman, 1163.
Kṛttakās in Vedio calendar, 463-5.
Kuntī, Beloved of the Adorable, 303.
Kupphālū inscription, 432-5.
Kusānas, discovery of new King Vāsiśka, 1311-17.

LESSY, V., The Construction of Genitive-Accusative in Maṇḍhāra, 481.
Lhasa, anatomical chart discovered at, 1215-45; ancient historical edicts at, 1247-82.
Lu-koā, Tibetan minister, 1256; hero of Potala Pillar Edict B, 1258.
Lunar race, list of, 20.

MACDONELL, A. A., Max Müller Memorial Sanskrit MSS., 829-30.
Māḍhab Deb, apostle of Vaishnavism in Assam, 1170.
Mahābhaktas, the twelve, 97; list of, 98-105.
Mahādeva, the Five Points and the Kathāvatthu, 413-23; tenets of, 416; visits Mahāshāmanḍala, 425.
Mahāsāṅghikas, origin, 413; schism, 414.
Mahāshāmanḍala wrongly identified as Mysore, 429 seqq.; located as border-land of Buddhist Middle Country, 447.
Mahāshāmanḍala and Māhishmati, 425-47; visited by Mahādeva, 425.
Māhishmati, capital of Mahāshāmanḍala, 441; mentioned by Pāṇini, 441; mentioned in Mahābhārata, 441; mentioned in Harivānśa, 442; identity with Mysore disproved, 442; identity with Mahēśwar disproved, 443; identified as Māṇḍhātā, 445.
Maitrēya, Beloved of the Adorable, 302.

Majuli Island, head-quarters of Vaishnava Gōsains, 1173.
Malabar, the Brahmins of, 625-39; village system, 627 seqq.; customs and observances, 632; their literature, 634.
INDEX

Māndhātā, island-village in the Narbadā identified as Māhiṣmatī, 445.

Manu, Mahābhakta, 101.

Marāṭhi, construction of genitive-accusative, 481.

Margõthinān, 114.

Margoliouth, D. S., Omar's Instructions to the Kādi, 307-26.


Maurya era, 825 seqq.

Māwardi, editor of Omar's Instructions to the Kādi, 307 seqq.; on the office of Kādi, 763 seqq.

Max Müller Memorial Sanskrit MSS., 829-30.

Mayā-doctrine not Vedic, 131.

Buddhism in disguise, 131.

Mayusundā, territorial division of Mysores, 431.

Mazumdar, B. C., Vasudeva of Pāṇini IV, iii, 98, 170.

Merodach-baladan, Sennacherib's campaign against, 388.

Meshed, legendary history, 1130; mosque of Amir Fā'îk Amid-ud-Dawlah, 1130; burial-place of Harun-ar-Rashid, 1130; of Imām Riṣā, 1130; visited by Clavijo, 1131; beautified by Şēfāvi dynasty, 1132; great shrine described, 1132-48; Gauhar Shād mosque, 1150.

Mildenhall, the tomb of, 495.

Mills, L., Ahuna Vairya from Yasna XXVII, 13, with its Pahlavi and Sanskrit Translations, 57-68, 641-57.

Mitannian gods, 457.

Moʰāmārī sect, 1169-70; rebellion, 1173.

Moggaliputta's missions, 425 seqq.

Muʰāwiya Caliph and Abū Dahbal, 1019-22.

Mubarrad, editor of Omar's Instructions to the Kādi, 307 seqq.

Muchukunda, reputed founder of Māhiṣmatī, 442.

Musallā, near Meshed, 1152; inscription at, 1153.

Myazedi inscription as evidence of Buddhist era devised in Burma, 474-80.

Myazedi pagoda, inscriptions of, 797-812; Burmese text, 797.

Myingaba pagoda inscriptions, 797.

Mysore as village existed in tenth century, 433; as appellation of territory not earlier than A.D. 1600, 437; origin of name, 438-40.

N

Na Gōsains, 1163.

Nābhā's list of auspicious marks on feet of Rāma, 88 seqq.

Na-fu-ti A-lo-na-shun usurps throne of Śilāditya, 1187.

Nahapāna, founder of Saka era, 820; overthrown, 821.

Nambūtiris, 626; structure of their caste, 626; customs and observations, 632; their literature, 634.

Nandigunda inscription, A.D. 1021, 431.

Nāonhaiṭhya = Vedic Nāṣatya, 457; controverted, 458.

Nārada, Mahābhakta, 98.

Nārāyana Parivrāt, 1326-7.

Nāvanitaka, 830 seqq.

Nēyōsangh, 63.

Nineveh, described in newly discovered inscription, 396-411; rebuilt by Sennacherib, 396-411; size of, 410.

Niṣṭhās, the Bhāgavata, 94.

NOTICEs OF BOOKS—


Benfey, M., Theodor Benfey, 930.
Blochet, E., Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid el-Din, 1365.
Bode, M. H., The Pali Literature of Burma, 525.
Brandstetter, R., Wurzel und Wort den Indonesischen Sprachen, 905.
Bray, D. de S., Brähui Language, pt. i, 908.
Broekhaus, Albert, Netzuké, 188.
Bushell, S. W., Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain, 1369.
Caland, W., Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharveda, 934.
Chavannes, E., Le T'ai Chan, 1377.
Davids, Mrs. Rhys, Psalms of the Early Buddhists. I. Psalms of the Sisters, 536.
Foster, W., English Factories in India (1630-3), 1375.
Geil, W. E., Great Wall of China, 977.
Geldner, Karl F., Der Rigveda in Auswahl, 921.
Giles, L., Sun Tsu on the Art of War, 961.
Gollancz, H., Translations from the Hebrew and Aramaic, 501.
Hertel, J., Tantrākhyāyika Text, 966, 1347; Tantrākhyāyika übersetzt, 966, 1347.
Hilprecht, H. V., Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge-story, 1391; Neue Fund zur Sintflutgeschichte, 1391.
Hultsch, E., Prākritarūpāvatāra, 220.
India, Archaeological Survey of, Annual Report for 1905-6, 240; for 1906-7, 545.
Irvine, W., Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708 (by Niccolao Manucci), 186.
Iyer, L. K., Ananta Krishna, Cochin Tribes and Castes, 918.
Kawaguchi, Shramana Ekai, Three Years in Tibet, 234.
Keith, A., Berriedale, Aitareya Ārañyaka, 892; saṅkhayāna Ārañyaka, 892.
King, L. W., History of Sumer and Akkad, 1386.
Kohler, J. & A. Ungnad, Hammurabi's Gesetz, Bände ii, iii, 506.
Macauliffe, M. A., Sikh Religion, 209.
Margoliouth, D. S., Irshād al-'Arib ila ma'rīfat al-Adīb, 885.
Marsden, E., History of India for Senior Classes, pt. i, 175.
de la Mazelière, Marquis, Le Japon, 956.
Mersier, Albert, Conversations en Langue Malaise, 197; Cinquante Histoires d'Extrême-Orient, 199.
Millot, Stanislas, Dictionnaire des Formes Cursives des Caractères chinois, 176.
Moszkowski, Max, Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra, 540.
Navaillé, E., Découverte de la Loi sous le Roi Josias, 1395.
Oldenberg, H., Rigveda: Textkritische und exegetische Noten, 224; Aus dem Alten Indien, 932.
Otramare, Paul, La formule bouddhique des douze causes, 201.
INDEX

Parker, H., Ancient Ceylon, 499.
Parmentier, H., Inventaire Descriptive des monuments Cams de l'Annam, 1373.
Pinches, T. G., The Amherst Tablets, pt. i, 240.
Rogers, Alexander, Shāhnāma of Firdūsī, 179.
Rogers, R. W., Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 529.
Sainsbury, Ethel B., Calendar of Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company (1640-3), 508.
Schirmeisen, K., Die Arischen Göttergestalten, 217.
von Schroeder, L., Kāthaka Saṁhitā, Books i, ii, 517.
Sen, R. R., Triumph of Vālmiki, 206.
Thurston, E., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, 914.
Walleser, M., Der ältere Vedānta, 1361.
Ward, W. H., Cylinders and Seals of J. P. Morgan, 1385.
—— Seal-Cylinders of Western Asia, 1382.
Watson, H. D., Gazetteer of the Hazara District (1907), 183.
Weneckstern, F. von, Bibliography of the Japanese Empire, 913.
Windisch, E., Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von den Seelenwanderung, 213.
Zeitlin, M., Le Style Administratif chez les Assyriens, 944.
Nukān, position of, 1116; now Nogliān, 1116.

O

OBITUARY NOTICES—
Ahlwardt, W., 553.
Cust, R. N., 255.
Robinson, W. H., 557.
Office of Kādi in the Ahkām Sultāniyya of Māwardi, 761–96.
Olymbros, 1342.

P

Pagan inscriptions of Myazedi pagoda, 797–812; Burmese text, 797.
Pāla dynasty of Bengal, 150.
Pañcāla line (north), 21; (south), 21.
Pāṇḍavas, Beloved of the Adorable, 301.
Parbatīya Gosains, 1103.
Pargiter, F. E., Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology, 1–56.
—— Suggestions regarding Rig-Veda, X, 102, 1328–34.
Pārśadas, the sixteen, 108, 271.
Pātaliputra Council concerned with the Five Points, 414; resulted in schism of Mahāśāṅghikas, 414.
Paurava or Lunar race, 20.
Paz, home of Firdawsī, 1117.
Phulesvari, wife of Sib Singh, 1172; bigoted Sākta, 1172.
Pillai Lōkācārya, Tamil author, 565 seqq.; date, 563; death, 569.
Pinches, T. G., Sennacherib’s Campaigns on the North-West and his Work at Nineveh, 387–411.
Polite imperative, modern Indo-Aryan, 162.
Po-lo-hih-mo-wo-lo, the modern Brahmaur, 489.
Po-lo-nai kingdom, 1190.
Potala palace at Lhasa, 69 seq.; hill, pillar edicts, 1247-82; language of, 1269.
Poussin, L. de la Vallée, Buddhist Notes: Vedānta and Buddhism, 129-40.
— The “Five Points” of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu, 413-423.
Prahlāda, Mahābhakta, 101.
Pratap Singh, Brahmanic supporter, 1162.
Prandha-śri-Basava, 149.
Pyang-khok Las-thug or anatomical chart, 1216.

Q
Que, probably Cilicia, 391; revolts against Sennacherib, 391; previously invaded by Assyria, 393.
Qurail, 1017.

R
Raghu Deb, Koch king, 1164.
Raghu-vīra, marks on the feet of, 87 seq.
Rāja-Wodeyar, Mysore ruler (1610), 433.
Ram Bapu, head of Dakhinpath monastery, 1172.
Rāma-candra, marks on the feet of, 87 seq.; incarnation, 88 seq.
Rāmapāpa, compiler of, Keladi genealogical tree, 487.
Rāmāyana, archaisms in, 1321-6.
Razān Gate of Tus, identified, 1118.
Rigveda, X, 102, suggestions regarding, 1328-34.
Rudbar Gate of Tus, identified, 1117.
Rudra Singh, patron of Śāktism, 1162; and Hinduism, 1172.
Rūpnāṭh edict, second note on, 142-9; third note on, 1308-11.

S
Sagara, king of Ayodhya, 10.
Sahadeva, 50.
Saihōn River, 112.
Saiva Siddhāntam, 707.
Saka era, 818-24; supplanted by Gupta-Valabhi, 824.
Śāktism in Assam, 1157-71; census of 1901, 1164.
Sam'alla, Aramean dialect, 411.
Sanāvarana, 51.
Sanābād, burial-place of Harun-ar-Rashid, 1130; of the Imām Rizā, 1130.
Sanākana, Keladi Rāja, 149.
Śankar Deb, apostle of Vaishnavism in Assam, 1169.
Śāna-rgyas rGya-mtsho, Tibetan minister, 1216.
Sanskrit grammatical notes: personal pronouns, 465; MSS., Max Müller Memorial, 829-30.
Sāran, identification of, 1190-2, 1202.
Sarjū, possibly Chan-chu country, 1196.
Śavari, Beloved of the Adorable, 275 seqq.
Sennacherib's campaigns on the north-west and his work at Nineveh, 387-411.
Seven-headed dragon, 484.
Sekkīl, R., Keladi Rajas of Ikkekī and Bedurū, 487.
Shadakshari Mantri, 149; court poet, 149, 487.
Shahid, the office of, 782.
Shahr-i-Band or Kakhha, original site of Tus, 1114.
Shan-lien identified as Sāran, 1190.
Shwesandaw Pagoda inscriptions, 797 seqq.
Sib Singh and Hinduism, 1163, 1172.
Sibyl and the dream of one hundred suns, 609-23.
Sibyl of Tibur, 609; of Beda, 609.
Siva, Mahābhakta, 99.
Śivamāra I, Gaṅga prince, 434.
Śiva-pariṣāyana, 1334.
Sivis, 24.
Solar dynasty, great length of, 9; derived from Ikṣvāku, 17.
Somaka, 50.
Soma-ākha, 149.
Sovani, V. V.; Who is the Author of the Dhvanikārikās? 164.
Śrīpurusha-Muttaśara inscription, 434.
Śrī-vacana-bhūṣaṇa, 570.
Sroṇ-btsan sGampo, 1217.
Sroṇ-śde-btsan, edict by, 1255-67.
Sudāman, Beloved of the Adorable, 289.
Su-fa-la-na-chu-ta-lo, the ancient Suvarṇa gotra, 490.
Sugriva, Beloved of the Adorable, 273.
Suka, Mahābhakta, 103.
Sūlasūtras, date, 753 seqq.
Sundi River, 1190, 1201.
Śūrat as-Samā, 1028.
Suvarnabhūmi, suggested to be the Karnasuvarna of Hiuen-tsiang, 428.
Sykes, Major P. M.; Historical Notes on Khurasan, 1113-54.

T
Tābaran, identified as modern Tus, 1115.
Talaing text of Myazendi Pagoda inscriptions, 797 seqq.
Talakād, Gaṅga capital, 434.
Tamāl Saiva Siddhāntam, 707.
Tantric legends, 1158.
Tarsus captured by Sennacherib, 390-1; taken by Shalmaneser II, 393.
Tarzi, 1340; or Tarsus, 1340; a colony of Anziali, 1342.
Tēṅgalai school, 566.
— and Vādagalai schools, differences in doctrine, 1103-12.
Tibet, Buddhism introduced into, 1217; edicts at Potala Hill, 1247-82; war with China, 1252.
Tibetan anatomical system, 1215-45; derived from India, 1218.
Tibeto-Mongolian alphabet, 1208-14.
Tibeto-Mongolian characters, 1208-14; comparative tables of, 1211-14.
Til-garimnu destroyed by Sennacherib, 394-6.
Ti-na-fu-ti A-le-na-shun, 1187-96; possibly Tirābhukti, 1196.
Tirābhukti, possibly Ti-na-fu-ti, 1196.
Tirumudi-adaivu, 1326.
Tomb of John Mildenhall, 495.
Tsā dynasty, 1083.
Tsuan, governor of Kienning, 1078.
Tucker, A. E.; Elephant Statues at Delhi, 490.
Turkestān, Eastern, unknown languages of, 1283-1300.
Tus, 1113-29; legendary origin, 1114; probably the Susia of Arrian, 1114; original site now known as Shāhr-i-Band, 1114; in Muhammadan times, 1115; home of Firdawsi, 1116; Rudbār and Razān Gates, 1117-18; seat of Nestorian bishop, 1118; ravaged by Mongols, 1118; of to-day described, 1119; Firdawsi's tomb, 1119-20.

U
Uddhava, Beloved of the Adorable, 281.
Ulāgārian, 568.
Unknown languages of Eastern Turkestān, 834-8, 1283-1300.
Urū ordeal, 72.
Ūš, 113.
Uttara-phalguni in Vedic calendar, 460-5.

Visishtadvaita Vaisnava school, the Astadasa-bhedas, 1103-12.
Vaisiṣṭha, 570.

Vogel, J. Ph., Vasiṣṭha the Kusana, 1311-12.

Vadagalai school, 567; and Telugu schools, differences in doctrine, 1103-12.

Vaisāli dynasty, 25.

Vaishnavism in Assam, 1102-64, 1171-86; Caitanya’s school, 1169; and Buddhism in Assam, 1185.

Vaiṣṇava school of Southern India, 1103-14.

Vajrachedikā in unknown language, 1283-90.

Vallabha, doctrines of, 1168.

Vāsiṣṭha the Kusana, 1311-17.

Vāsudēva of Pāṇini IV, iii, 98, 168, 170-1.

Vedānta and Buddhism, 129 seqq.

Vedānta Deśika, 567.

Vedic calendar, 460.

Vedic culture, antiquity, 456-64.

Venis, A., Note on the Two Besnagar Inscriptions, 8-13.

Veṅkatā, Keladi Rāja, 149, 489.

Vereṣthrajan = the Vedic Indra, 457; controverted, 458.

Vibhava Avatāra, 87.

Vibhūsana, Beloved of the Adorable, 273.

Vibhu, 87.

Videha line derived from Nimi, 19.

Vidura, Beloved of the Adorable, 287.

Vidurāṇī's feet, the Adorable, 287-8.

Violha-pāla, 151.


Wang-Hsüan-te's march into Central India, 1187.

Whinfield, E. H., The Seven-headed Dragon, 484.

Wool-trees mentioned in Assyrian inscription, 403.

Yadava race derived from Yadu, 19.

Yama, Mahābhakta, 105.

Yatindra-mata-dīpikā, 585.

Yazid, son of Caliph Mu‘awiya, 1019 seqq.

Yellow-hat Lamas, 72 seq.

Yunian, inscription from, 1069–1102.

Z

az-Zubair b. Abī Bakr, editor of Abū Dahbal’s diwān, 1028.